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THE

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CONTENTS.

Africa.

DISCOVERIES IN EAST AFRICA.

Explorations of the Rev. J. Rebmann in 1848—His discovery of the Snow Mountain, Kilimandjaro 25

Dr. Krapf's visits to Ukambani—His discovery of Mount Kenia, and subsequent perils in the wilderness 26

Difficulties of the routes to the interior now diminishing—Remarks on the Masai and Wakuafi 27, 28

Usambara, and its facilities for exploration—Residence there of the Rev. J. Erhardt 29

Early rumours, collected by the Missionaries, of a great lake in the interior—Consequent measures of the Geographical Society 29, 30

Expedition of Captains Burton and Speke—Their progress westward from the Sea—Discovery of the Mountains of the Moon and Lake Tanganyika . . 30, 31

The lake crossed to Kivira—Traffic for ivory—Journey to Uvira . . . . . 31—33

Unnatural effects of slavery—The East Africans as free labourers—Information gained respecting the great lake Nyanza—Departure of the caravan—Villages and scenery of the Uniamesi country . . . . . 34—36

Discovery of the Lake Nyanza—(the Nissa of the Missionaries), by Captain Speke, on the 3rd of August 1858—Probable extent of it and its river tributaries 36, 37

Return of the expedition—Face of the country 37, 38

Expeditions of the Egyptian Government to discover the source of the Nile—Journeys of Knoblecher, &c. 38

Phenomena of the Nile regions—Discrepancies in the scientific observations of travellers—the difficulty solved 39, 40

Recent explorations of Petherick—Proceedings at the Geographical Society, January 8, 1859 41

Testimony of Captain Speke to the labours of the Church Missionaries, and to their travels, as first advancing East-African discovery 41, 42

LIVINGSTONE'S DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA.

Dr. Livingstone's departure from Kuruman in June 1849—Discovery of Lake Ngami 42

Commencement of the long journey—Linyanti—Ascent of the rivers Leeambye and Leeba 43, 44

Journey overland—The Balonda—Portuguese traders—Face of the country—The Quango valley 44, 45

Arrival at the Atlantic—Return journey—Progress down the Barotse valley . 45, 46

Journey to the East Coast—Water route to the sea—Discovery of the Victoria Falls—The Falls described—Arrival at the mouth of the Zambesi . . . 46, 47

Plan for formation of Mission stations—Livingstone's recent discoveries of the River Shire and Lake Shirwa—Letter from him to the Church Missionary Society, inviting its co-operation 47, 48

*** *Vide* also "Recent Intelligence."

CONTENTS.

Mediterranean.

*** *Vide* "Recent Intelligence," and the article—"Missionary deductions from the Parables," under head "Miscellaneous."

India.

MISSIONARY ACTION IN THE PUNJAB.

Page

Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. J. Leighton, Missionary at Umritsur, from December 31, 1858 to February 20, 1859 . . . . . 21—24

OUDE—ITS HISTORY.

Introduction—Physical features of Oude 49
Sketch of the history of Oude—Early connexions with England 49, 50
Profligacy of the native Court—Remonstrances of successive Governors-General . 50
Cession of the Southern Doab to the East-India Company in 1801—Yearly subsidy paid to the Company—New Treaty 51
Oude from 1814 to 1822—Continued profligacy 51, 52
Nuseer-ood Deen and his wives—Interview between the King and Lord Comberbermere at Lucknow in 1827 . . . . . 52, 53
Barbaric magnificence of the Court—Suspicious death of the King 53
Moonna Jan elected King—British interference—Coronation of Mohammed Ali Shah 54
Accession of Wajid Allee Shah, the last King of Oude, in 1847—his character and habits 54, 55
Revenue System of the Country—Instances of judicial oppression and suffering under Dursun Sing and Rughbur Sing, official collectors of tribute . . . 55, 56
History of Man Sing—his conduct during the Mutiny of 1857—opposite conduct of the Raiah of Bulrampore 57

OUDE AS IT WAS BEFORE THE ANNEXATION.

Lucknow as visited by Bishop Heber in 1824 73
Lucknow of our own times—The Residency and its prospect—The Imambara and Hall of Chandeliers—Reckless expenditure of the Kings . . . . . 73—75
The Choke or main street of the old city—Lucknow a Sodom 75
Panorama seen from the roof of the Chutter Munzil 76
Extortions of the native rulers—Oppressions of the Talookdars and robber gangs of the country 77
Desolation of districts following misrule—Absence of wealthy men in the rural districts and consequent overpopulation and depravity of the capital . . . 78, 79
Sufferings of the peasantry—Restoration by the British Government of the forfeited Estates to the Talookdars—Sunnud (Note) 79, 80
Female Infanticide in Oude—Scarcity of Marriageable Women—Customs at the murder of the babe . . . . . 80—82
Continued apathy at the Court—Rise of the Jungle fastnesses 82
Question of the Annexation—Minute of Lord Dalhousie, &c. 83
Opposite opinion—Proposed new treaty with the East-India Company, and Proclamation 84
Interview of the British Resident with the Prime Minister of Oude, January 30, 1856 . . . . . 84, 85
Interview with the Queen-Mother, February 1st 85, 86
Interview with the King, February 4th . . . . . 86—88
Royal Proclamation, and subsequent departure of the King to Calcutta to lay his case before the Governor-General 88

CONTENTS.

INDIA—WHAT IS TO BE OUR POLICY?

Page

Two questions of primary importance—
1. What is the extent of Christian liberty Government officials in India may practice? 58
Spirit of inquiry in the 24th Regiment of Punjabee Infantry—Action of officers, and prohibition of Government—Letter of Rev. R. Clark, Nov. 2, 1859 . . . . . 58, 59
2. Is the policy of Government Education in India to be changed? . . . 60
Need of alteration, and permission for scholars to read the Bible . . 60
Native employés, and how they should be obtained—Remarks on Education debarred of a Christian tone 61, 62
Bible examinations at Benares, January 1857—Communications of H. C. Tucker, Esq. . . . . 62—64
Details of the examination, and results—Reflections 64, 65
Instances of success following an open Christian policy 66
Speech of Colonel Edwardes at Shrewsbury . . . . . 66—70
How India must be elevated 70, 71

THE POPULATION OF EASTERN BENGAL.

Extracts from the Forty-sixth Report of the Calcutta Bible Society . . . 71, 72

GONDWANA AND ITS ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

Position of Gondwana in India—Its physical features, divisions of the country, and inhabitants 145, 146

The Gonds—
The district they inhabit—Divisions of the people—The Bennia and the Malia Gonds 146, 147
Dress, agriculture, &c.—Religious opinions—Legend of the creation—Tradition of the Fall of Man 147, 148
Human sacrifices—Invocation of Tari Pennu—Government suppression of the rite 148, 149
The Puttowa tribes—their pursuits 149
The Mica Mines of Behar—Mode of opening a mine—Uses of the mica, &c. . 150, 151
Duty of Christians as regards these people 151

The Hill Tribes of the Upper Godavery—
Paper by Colonel Cotton respecting the Koiys, and the facilities for Missionary action among them . . . . . 151—153
Missionary efforts at Nagpore, Jubbulpore, &c. 153

Bhagulpore—
Description by Captain Sherwill—Situation, climate, soil, vegetation, &c. . 154, 155
Towns of the country—The Mundar Hill 155
People of the Kurrukpore, Purbutpara, and other Pergunnahs . . . 156, 157

The Santhals—
Their features, food, dress, and religion—Prayers for preservation—Government 157, 158
Sherwill's journey through the Raj Mahal hills—His notices of the people, their manners and customs; scenery of the country, vegetation, agriculture, geology, &c. . . . . 158—162
Commencement of Missionary operations in 1850—The Santhal outbreak—Evidence of influence of Missions on the people 162
Grants-in-aid allowed to Christian schools in 1854—Withdrawal of the grant in 1857—Remarks 162, 163
Extracts from the journal of the Rev. T. E. Hallett, Missionary among the Santhals, Dec. 1859 . . . . . 163—168

CONTENTS.

THE REVIVAL IN NORTH TINNEVELLY.

	Page
Introduction—General features of Revivals	175, 176
Itinerating Mission of North Tinnevelly, its extent, &c.	176
The Revival—	
Letter of the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhen, March 27, 1860	177
Letter of the Rev. A. Dibb, May 15	177
The Work at Vageikulam—Letters of Rev. D. Fenn	178—182
Letter of the Rev. W. Gray, May 14	182—185
Additional later information—Letter of Rev. W. Gray, May 21—Extract from his Journal, May 18	185—188
Letter of Rev. W. T. Satthianadhen, May 25—Letter of Rev. W. Gray, June 1	188, 189
Differences between the present Revival and former ones	265
The movement among the Retty caste in 1841—Remarks of Rev. G. Pettitt	265
Recent testimonies from North Tinnevelly — Letter from Rev. A. Dibb, September 15	266
Letter from Rev. A. Valpy, September 7	266—269
Mission House at Surandei—"Agastya's Hill"—Traditions of Agastya	269

CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

Opening remarks—Hindu ceremonies on the last day of the month	92, 93
Festivals of the Ehath, Ekadshee—Auspicious days	93, 94
The Beas Pooja—Anniversary of Krishna's birth	94, 95
The Goorea-teohar—The Raki-teohar, The Skunka-choth and the Tej	95, 96
Ceremonies of the Ununth and the Dussurah Leela—Tradition of Ramchund and Leta—Its theatrical representation yearly in Bengal	116—118
The Dewalee—The Sunka Nath and its origin—The Busunth, the Hoolee, &c.	118—120
Indian customs regarding Births	142
Marriages	142—144
Deaths	189—191
Belief as to the after state of the Soul	191
Hindu Beggars	192

*** *Vide* also "Recent Intelligence."

China.

ENGLISH POLICY ON THE COAST OF CHINA.

The new disturbances on the Chinese coast—Remarks	97, 98
Injustice of British action with the Chinese—The opium traffic	98
Voyages of the "Lord Amherst" and "Sylph" along the coast, in 1832, with opium	99
Diplomacy up to 1841—Cause of the war—Blockade of Canton and bombardments of Tinghae, &c.—Sufferings of the wounded, and self-slaughter of the Mantchus	99, 100
Close of the war—Stipulations as to the traffic—Treaty of 1843	100, 101
The question of opening the city of Canton to foreigners—Native unwillingness—Letters of Lord Palmerston disadvising the attempt to force entrance	101, 102
Interview between the Chinese Commissioner, Seu, and Governor Bonham	102, 103
Official correspondence of 1849—Apparent settlemnt of the question—Honours conferred on Seu by the Emperor	103, 104
Commemorative temple near Canton, with its inscriptions—Governor Yeh	105
Correspondence with Consul Bowring and the authorities in 1854, respecting the entrance into Canton	106, 107

CONTENTS.

Page

Change of sentiment in the Home Ministry in 1854 respecting Canton—Further correspondence—Yeh's determination not to open the city . . . . . 107—109
Seizure of the "Arrow" in October 1856—Immediate and violent action of the British—Yeh's remonstrances—Public notification . . . . . 109—111
Convention at Bocca Tigris, April 1846—Remarks 121
Etiquette of Chinese Diplomacy connected with British—which should yield? Necessity for a just perception of our position with China 122, 123
Recapitulation of events to 1856—Seizure of the Dutch Folly—Yeh's yamun fired upon—His consequent proclamation offering a reward for each Englishman slain 124
Attempt at pacification—Yeh's reply—Offensive operations resumed—Notification of Mr. Consul Parkes 124, 125
Address from the whole of the inhabitants of Canton to the British authorities—Translation of the document 126
Deputation from the city—Surrender of Yeh demanded 127
Seizure of the Bogue and Shamun Forts—Further correspondence . . . 127, 128
Destruction of the British Factories by the Chinese—Retirement of the Admiral . 128
Question of Foreign Ambassadors at Pekin—Imperial reply to Lord Macartney in 1793—Remarks . . . . . 128—130

THE TAI-PINGS.

Sketch of the insurgist rebellion in China since 1854 278
The skirmish with Lord Elgin in 1858—Reduction of cities 278, 279
Fall of Hang-chow and Soo-chow—Description of Soo-chow—Present ruinous and desolate state of these once flourishing towns 279, 280
Suicides at Shanghae—Characteristics of the Chinese mind 280, 281
Deputation of Missionaries to Hung-jin, the minister of the rebel king at Soo-chow—Remarks 281, 282
Intention of the insurgists to capture Shanghae—Proclamation and replies . 282, 283
The Rev. J. S. Burdon's narrative of an interview with the Kan wang (Hung-jin), 283
The million New Testaments for China sent out by the people of England—Early history of the Kan wang 283, 284
Start from Shanghae—Kwun shan—I-ting—Arrival at Soo-chow . . . 284, 285
Treatment at the gate—Admittance—Appearance of the city—Detention at the house of Lieu-ta-jin 285
Interview with the Kan wang—His appearance—Leading points of the conversation—Errors of the insurgents in doctrine and practice . . 286—288
Christian worship performed by the Kan wang—Departure 283

NINGPO—A GLANCE AT THE SOCIAL LIFE OF CHINA.

Ningpo, its situation and importance—Characteristics of the City within and without the walls 211, 212
The Temples of Ningpo—Milne's account of the Seu Tsoo and other Monasteries—A Mohammedan Mosque in China 213, 214
The domestic life of the Chinese—The suicidal mania—Infanticide—Parental murders 214, 215
Romish Missions in Ningpo and Shanghae—A question for the Protestant Church, 215, 216

*** *Vide* also the article, "Missionary deductions from the Parables," and "Recent Intelligence."

CONTENTS.

New Zealand.

NEW ZEALAND—THE EPISCOPATE, THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, AND THE NATIVE RACE.

	Page
Advantageous position of New Zealand—Points of identity between it and the British isles	1
Fertility and natural features of the country—Paucity of the population	2
Can Britons and Maoris ever blend into one united people?	2, 3
Retrospect—Implanting of Christianity in New Zealand—Its success	3, 4
Arrival of the Bishop; his testimony to the success of the Church Missions	4
Colonization scheme in 1833; Remarks by the late D. Coates, Esq., and the Rev. J. Beecham—Formation of the New-Zealand Company	4, 5
Precipitate action of the Company—Treaty of Waitangi—Native Insurrection—Pacification	6, 7
Creation of the Episcopate—Remarks—Requisitions of the Bishop—Ecclesiastical relations of the Church Missionary Society	8, 9
Establishment of a lengthened Diaconate—Collegiate schemes—Extracts from letters of Missionaries	9, 10
Clouded aspect of the Mission—Conference of the Church Missionary Society with the Bishop and the Governor—Decision of the Committee—Minute of Sir G. Grey	11, 12
Assembly of the Synod at Wellington, March 1859—Unanimous Resolutions passed on the occasion	12, 13
The Native Race—their Christianity, capabilities for industry and for military tuition	14—16
Causes of decrease among the Maoris—Explanations	16, 17
Educational Missionary Institutions in New Zealand at Auckland, Otaki, &c.	17
Government of the Country—Privileges of the Natives—their neglect of them—Duties of their Teachers	18, 19
Extract from the Address of the Bishop of Waiapu to the Wellington Synod	20
Resolutions adopted by the Parent Committee as a Response to the Resolutions of the Synod	20, 21

CHRISTIANITY IN ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Colonization and native races—The Maori and the European	217, 218
Christianity in New Zealand preparing the way for the settler—Zeal of the early Missionaries	218, 219
Instances of the influence of Religion in New-Zealand History—The Treaty of Waitangi	220
Recognition of the Treaty by British Statesmen—Extracts of letters and speeches of Lord J. Russell, Sir Robert Peel, &c.	220—222
Native law as to tenure of Land—Tribes of the island and their subdivisions	222, 223
Attempts to wrest land from Natives by Europeans in 1840, and results—Subsequent proceedings	223, 224
Heke's insurrection—Rumours from England—Fresh outbreak—Panic at Auckland,	224
Preservation of the Colony—Celebration of peace	225, 226
New Constitution—Right of the native to legislate in the Parliament, and its overrulement	226, 227
Governor Grey's return home—Early proceedings of the New-Zealand Parliament—The direction of native affairs vested solely in the Governor	227
The Governor's concessions to the House—Memorandum of the Secretary for Native Affairs, September, 20, 1858	228, 229
The Seal granted to New Zealand, its devices—Remarks	229

CONTENTS.

THE WAR IN NEW ZEALAND.

	Page
Meeting of tribes at Ngaruawahia—State of feeling in the Colony respecting the Governor's policy	229, 230
The King-Meeting in May—Description of the proceedings	230, 231
Events at Taranaki—Colonel Gold's attack—Repulse of the British	232
Mutual distrust between the races—Extract from a Memorandum of the Bishop of New Zealand, May 8, 1860	233, 234
Settlers' desire for native land—Meeting at Auckland—Despatch of an exploring party into the interior	234—236
Correspondence on the subject—Conclusions to by drawn from its tenor	235—237
Governor Browne to the Duke of Newcastle, September 20, 1859—Memorandum of the Assistant Native Secretary—Letter of Rev. R. Maunsell in the "New Zealander	237—239
What is to be the issue of the war?—Despatch of Lord Carnarvon	239, 240
Closing remarks—the duty of Christians at home with regard to the present juncture	240

COLONIAL NEW ZEALAND.

Natural advantages of New Zealand—Harbours of the Northern Island	241
Gradual physical alterations of coast lines in the Provinces of Wellington, &c.—Mountains of the country	241, 242
Vegetation of New Zealand—its forest scenery and wooded elevations	242, 243
Water and water power—Cultivable nature and fecundity of the land—climate—fruits	244, 245
Extent of land acquired from the natives—Native depopulation of the Middle Island	246
Provinces of the Middle Island—The Nelson or Northern Province—its ports, rivers, and capabilities	246, 247
The Canterbury or Central Province—Settlements, &c.—Lyttelton—Christ Church—Population	247
Otago or Southern Province—Dunedin—Invercargill—Southern Island	248
Natural Ocean Docks of Otago—Extract from the Admiralty Blue Book—Population	248, 249
Colonial population of the Middle Island—Its general resources	249
Provinces of the Northern Island;—The Wellington Province—Population—Town of Wellington and outlying districts	249, 250
Province of New Plymouth—Population—Natural features—Mount Egmont—Taranaki	250, 251
Letter of Mr. Fox protesting against the Memorial in favour of the Governor's proceedings in respect to the native outbreak	251, 252
Province of Auckland—Population, &c.—Position and advantages of the capital	252, 253
The demand for land by the Auckland Colonists considered—Statement of the Superintendent, and reply to the Chief Commissioner—Remarks	253, 254
Speech of Mr. Forsaith, June 4, 1859—Remarks on Emigration—Suppositious reply of a Maori to an unreasonable emigrant	254, 255
Further investigation of the subject—Real cause of the restlessness at Auckland—Territorial Rights' Bill	255, 256
The Credit System at Auckland—Concluding Observations	256, 257

*** *Vide* also "Recent Intelligence."

CONTENTS.

North-West America.

RUPERT'S LAND—ITS PROSPECTS.

	Page
The Red-River Colony sixteen years ago—Gradual openings of intercourse with the United States and Canada	111, 112
The overland Canadian route by Dog Lake, Rainy Lake, and Lake of the Woods, to Red River	112
Importation of whisky to the colony—Extract from letter of Rev. W. W. Kirkby	113
Religious condition of St. Andrew's—Conservative power of true Christianity—Remarks by the Rev. A. Cowley	114, 115
Extract from the Journal of the Rev. J. Horden, of Moose—Missionary diffusiveness—Visit of the Bishop of Rupert's Land to English River	115, 116
Tour of the Earl of Southesk through the colony—Interesting discovery made by him	116
Progressiveness of Missionary Action—Extracts from the Journal of Rev. H. Budd,	130, 131
Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. T. H. Fleming of a journey of 500 miles in snow-shoes	132, 133
Efforts of Rome in the extreme North—Extract from Archdeacon Hunter's Journal,	133
Extracts from the Charge of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, delivered in January 1860,	133—141

*** *Vide* also "Recent Intelligence.'

Rome.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES TO THEIR SPHERES OF LABOUR.

Instructions of the Committee delivered March 12th, to the Rev. J. Bilderbeck, the Rev. J. C. Taylor, and the Rev. R. H. Weakley	89—92

VALEDICTION OF MISSIONARIES, AND INSTRUCTIONS ADDRESSED TO THEM.

Introductory Remarks	257
Instructions to Missionaries	258—264

CONTENTS.

Miscellaneous.

MISSIONARY DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PARABLES.

	Page
The string of parables in Matthew xiii., and their main subject	169
The Wheat and the Tares—The Field of the World—Remarks	169—171
The disturbances in Mount Lebanon—The locality described	171
The Druzes and the Maronites—Asaad-el-Shidiak, the Martyr—Tribe contentions,	172
Labours of the American Missionaries—Formation of Churches at Beyrout and Hashbeyia—Hindrances	172, 173
Insurrection of the Druzes—Fall of, and slaughter at Hashbeyia, Deir-el-Kamr, &c.—What is to be the issue?	173—175
The Chinese Question—Remarks on the British policy towards that nation	193, 194
Appeal of the Four Powers—Oliphant's account of the presentation at Soochow	194—196
Macartney's Embassy of 1793—The journey to Pekin—Performance of the "Kotow"—Journey towards Tartary—The great wall	196, 197
Arrival of Macartney at Zhehol—Office of the "Board of Rights"—Appearance of the Emperor—Presentation of the Gold Box	197, 198
Return to Pekin—The Emperor's answer—Departure of the Embassy	198, 199
Lord Amherst's Visit in 1816—Davis's Account of his reception	199, 200
Late efforts to obtain permission for a British Minister to reside at Pekin—Signing of the Treaty	201, 202
Letters of the Chinese Commissioners to Lord Elgin—Lord Elgin to Lord Malmesbury, November 5, 1858—Instructions to Mr. Bruce	202—204
Action of the Russian Government—Remarks—Memorandum of a conversation with a Chinese from Pekin	204, 205
The Action at the Peiho—Mr. Bruce to Lord Malmesbury, July 13, 1859—Chinese treatment of the American Minister	205—208
England's duty to China at this emergency, political and religious—Native Memorial to the Emperor on the subject of Christianity	208, 209
The 29th Article of the American Treaty—Proclamation against Romish Christianity in the Kiang-si province—Persecution of Native Converts	210, 211
The Seed, the word of God—God's revelation to man	270
The "Essays and Reviews from Oxford"—their direct object and tendency	270
The language of the "Essays" aggressive on the authority of revelation	271
Dr. William's Review—his summary mode of explaining away the miracles and prophecies of Scripture	272
The third "Essay"—its object—General remarks on the series	272—273
Various efforts to counteract the teaching of revelation—The true medium	273, 274
Weapons of attack against the truth—the Gospel its own defence	274, 275
Peculiar and valuable properties of the Seed	275, 276
Analogy between the natural and the spiritual Seed	276, 277

Illustrations.

(Engraved by Johnston.)

Pa in the Hutt District, New Zealand	1
Panoramic View of Lucknow	49
Burning the dead in North India	93
Western Gate, Pekin	97
Church, &c., of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Red River	131
A Mica Mine in Behar	145
The Great Tank at Strivilliputthur, North Tinnevelly	175
The Great Wall of China	193
Stage erected at the Bay of Islands in 1849, to celebrate peace	217
A New Zealand forest	241
View from the Mission Bungalow, Surandei	265

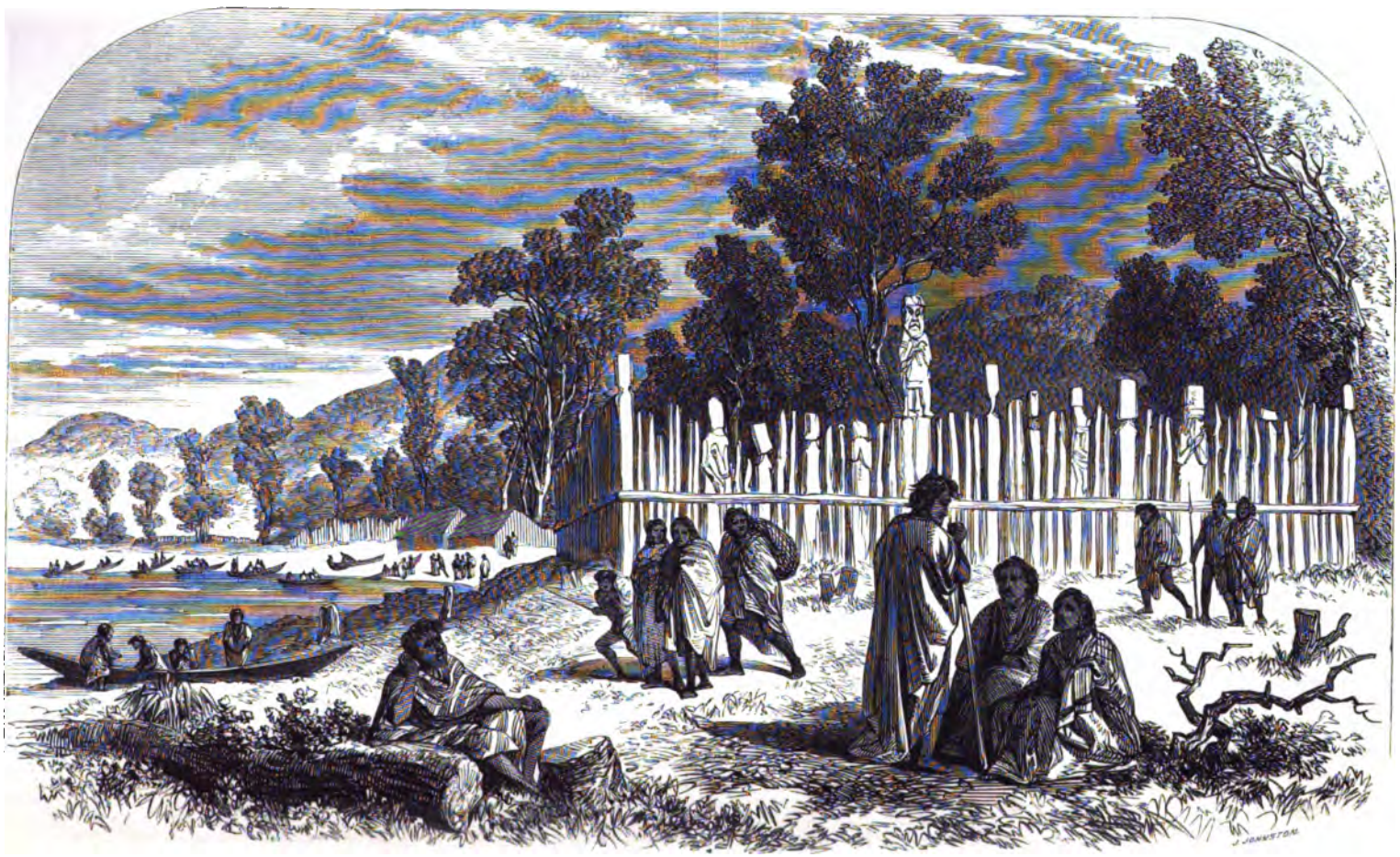
Map.

Map of East Africa showing the recent discoveries (February 1860)	25

CONTENTS.

Recent Intelligence.

Supplement to January Number—Extract from the "Bombay Guardian."
Letter of Rev. W. A. Russell, Ningpo.
February—Financial Affairs.
Letter of Rev. J. Rebmann, Mombas.
Christianity among the Natives of India.
Sir C. Wood on the Madras Memorial.
Festival of St. Francis Xavier at Goa.
Departure and return home of Missionaries.
March—Financial system of the Society.
Letter of Rev. C. C. Mengé, Western India.
Ordinations in Tinnevelly—Letter of Rev. P. S. Royston.
Candidates for Ordination.
Death of a Missionary.
April—Success of Mr. Williams, Native Protestant Missionary in Turkey.
Letter of Rev. J. Vaughan, Burdwan.
Letter of Rev. A. Strawbridge, Umritsur.
Letter of Rev. R. Clark, Peshawur.
Letter of Rev. P. P. Schaffter, Tinnevelly.
Dismissal, return home, death, and ordination of Missionaries.
May—Prayer Meeting in January—Letters from Rupert's Land and China.
Letter of Mr. Smith, Ishaga, Yoruba.
Extract from the "Iwe Irohin."
Letter of Rev. J. P. Mengé, Lucknow.
Return home, departure, and ordination of Missionaries.
June—Sixty-first Anniversary of the Society—Annual Sermon and Meetings, Movers and Seconders, Resolutions, Committee, Finances, and Conclusion of Report.
Lord Stratford De Redcliffe and Lord Wodehouse on Protestantism in Turkey.
July—Petition of the Society respecting Bible Schools in India.
Letter of Rev. J. Vaughan, Burdwan.
The Swinging Festival—Extract from "Allen's Indian Mail."
Dismissal, departure, and return home of Missionaries.
August—Presentation of the Petition of the Society respecting the Bible in Indian Schools.
Finances of the Society.
Destruction of the Misssonary Premises at Magbeli, West Africa.
Extract from the "Bombay Guardian."
September—Minute of the Governor-General of India on the promulgation of Christianity by Military Officers.
Candidates for ordination.
October—Progress of Christianity among the Kols.
Missionary Meeting at Victoria, Vancouver's Island.
Notes on the Indians at ditto.
Return home, departure, and ordination of Missionaries.
November—Expected arrival of Prince Alfred at Sierra Leone.
Religion of the Chinese Insurgents—Letter of a Missionary.
The Taranaki outbreak, New Zealand—Letter of Rev. R. Burrows.
Return home of a Missionary.
December—Visit of Missionaries to the Kan wang.
The Slave-trade.
Dismissal, departure, and return home of Missionaries.



PA IN THE HUTT DISTRICT, NEW ZEALAND.

Church Missionary Intelligencer.

NEW ZEALAND—THE EPISCOPATE, THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, AND THE NATIVE RACE.

New Zealand has been designated the Britain of the South, and assuredly if the possible future of New Zealand might be concluded from her advantageous position and natural endowments, there would be no enthusiasm in affirming that she will yet prove to be the Great Britain of the southern hemisphere. The points of identity between these widely-separated island groups are interesting and remarkable. They each consist of two leading islands, with their satellites, of which, in the New-Zealand group, Stewart's island, about half the size of Perthshire, is the principal. The New-Zealand isles extend from north to south eight hundred miles; and if the two great islands of the British archipelago were placed to the north and south of each other, instead of to the east and west, their longitudinal extension would be about the same. New Zealand is more approximated to the equator than the isles of the United Kingdom; the most northern point of New Zealand, that which is nearest the equator, being in 34° 10′ south latitude, and that of the British isles reaching a little to the south of 50° north latitude. Yet are they both within the limits of the temperate zone, and fitted to be the homes of energetic races. The position of the United Kingdom is influential and commanding, as regards the coasts and kingdoms that border on the Great Atlantic with the gulfs and bays; nor is that of New Zealand less so as respects the Pacific and its shores and islands. "Close to the west she has the busy marts and markets of Australia. Close on the north, the thousand Polynesian islands, slumbering in their summer seas, and needing but the touch of magic steam to open new worlds to our commerce. She stands on the great Panama highway from Europe to the southern gold-fields. Within easy sail, on the one side, she reaches the Dutch and Spanish colonies, China, and our Indian possessions; on the other, California, Mexico, Chili, and Peru. She stands in the centre of the Austral Ocean, mid-way between ocean's greatest capes, Cape Horn and Good Hope; and so before the doors of Australia, that every wool and gold ship has to pass within sight of her southern shores." And as thus placed in a position of great importance, so she is gifted with an indented coast line of great extent, from whence commercial relations may radiate forth to the ends of the earth. In this respect the New-Zealand isles can compete favourably with our British home: "being more generally indented with estuaries and deep bays, they have a sea-board exceeding considerably that of the islands of Great Britain." The position of Auckland, the capital, is, in this respect, one of admirable selection. "About 150 miles from the north cape, the northern island of New Zealand is almost intersected by two large estuaries, which indent the coast so deeply on either side, that the waters are separated only by a narrow isthmus. On the eastern side is the estuary of the Manukau; on the other side, lying deep in the south-western extremity of the estuary of the Thames, and completely shut in by a group of small islands, is the land-locked harbour of the Waitemata." Studded with islands of various size and form, its outline broken by numerous deep bays and jutting headlands, it presents the appearance of an English lake, and "is seen to greatest advantage on one of those rare days when a perfect calm prevails, with a deep but soft blue sky, studded here and there with fields of snow-white silvery clouds, seen through a glistening atmosphere. Thus seen, under all the advantages of light, colouring, and repose, the harbour presents a scene of placid beauty, which it would tax the imagination to surpass."*

Nor is the interior less richly endowed. As to its surface character generally, it may be classified as a "wooded-highland country, with some half-dozen noble plains, and thousands of brook-watered villages, dells, and dales." The soil, though light, is often rich, "and the fertility of the earth, quadrupled by

* Swainson's "New Zealand and its Colonization," p. 216.

the genial climate, literally produces a wilderness of vegetation. Sea-spray crags, shore margins, plains, valleys, hill-sides, mountain-steeps, are alike clothed with perpetual verdure; and the expression 'smothered in vegetation,' is not a mere figure of speech when applied to New Zealand, but a term truly descriptive of the country."* "In those features which constitute the foundation of fine scenery, New Zealand is unsurpassed by any country in the world. She displays noble forests, snow-capped mountains, shooting up 10,000 feet from a sea of green, and wooded up to the line of snow, tracts of rolling champaign country, dells, valleys, rivers, and rivulets innumerable." Nor is this mere beauty. "New Zealand is a fertile cultivable country, where plough, and sickle, and mill would singularly enrich and brighten the landscape." Taranaki, under the shadow of the snow-peaked Mount Egmont, with its neatly-thatched cottages, farm buildings, and its abundant wool and farm produce; the grassy plains of Ahuriri and Wairarapa, clothed with rich pasturage for sheep; Nelson, with its settled climate and opening gold-fields; Canterbury, with its extensive grass plains and great agricultural capabilities; the well-watered and well-wooded Otago, with its superior advantages for pastoral pursuits, and its valuable harbours;—these are some of the more familiar points of the New Zealand of our day. Of the climate it may suffice to say, that it is "favourable alike to the preservation of robust health, and to the improvement of weak health;" a climate most congenial to all pastoral and agricultural pursuits; one in which every English domestic animal thrives and fattens; and one in which every English grain, grass, fruit, and flowers, attains full development and perfection. "But besides growing nearly all the fruits of Europe, the climate has been proved to have the singular power of maturing crops of both potatoes and Indian corn. In scarcely any other country are maize and potatoes found to flourish in the same climate, the growth of Indian corn being commonly confined to the country of the vine."

But what avail abundant resources, the fertile soil, and the numerous and capacious harbours, unless there be present the active and industrious population, turning to account the gifts of God's providence, making the solitude re-echo with the voice of man, and causing the earth and sea to yield forth their treasures? In this consists the great defect under which New Zealand labours—the paucity of its population. It is not land that is wanted, but people to possess it. The entire population of New Zealand at the present moment amounts to no more than 120,000 souls. Man, therefore, is the element of prosperity which is most needed, which is most scarce and most valuable, and all available means should be adopted to improve and strengthen the existing stock, if so be it may increase and multiply, and replenish the earth.

The 120,000 occupants of New Zealand consist of two distinct races—an aboriginal people, the Maories, and Europeans brought thither by emigration; the former exceeding the latter in the proportion of seven to five. Of the value of the European population, no man doubts. They are mainly our own countrymen, who have gone forth from our own shores; and if only they forget not the faith of their fathers, and be guided in their actions by the fear of God, and submission to his revealed will, we doubt not they will be blessed and prospered. That the settlers who have raised new homesteads on far New-Zealand's shore, and have taken root in that their adopted country, should desire an increase of their numbers by emigration, is most natural; nor can we be surprised when writers urge the importance of attracting population to an infant colony where there is "one human being to 1600 acres of fertile wilderness." But it is, we hesitate not to say, a great mistake so exclusively to regard this source of increase, as to ignore and set aside, as of no value, the aboriginal population.

But can these two races, so distinct in origin, and so removed from one another in their respective conditions of semi-barbarism and civilization, ever so blend as to become an united and happy people? Is amalgamation possible? Or, before such an issue can be reached, shall not the old catastrophe be acted over again, and the inferior race become extinguished in the presence of the superior one? This is the problem that, at the present moment, waits solution in New Zealand.

The question is asked, Is its possible that two distinct portions of the human race, in the opposite conditions of civilization and barbarism, can be brought into immediate contact without the destruction of the uncivilized race? We believe it to be possible, quite possible, if only Christianity in its purity and power be on the spot to counteract those antipathies which repel, and induce those sympathies which attract and invite. We are too

* Hursthouse, "New Zealand," vol. i. pp. 95, 96.

well aware of the blood-stained annals of colonization; but they have been so because Christianity has been either entirely absent from the scene, or present in name only, without the power. The European without Christianity has been alike dangerous to the native, whether as friend or foe. As a friend, he slew him by his vices; as a foe, he slew him by the sword. But where Christianity, in its purity and power, is on the spot to mediate, a different result may be expected, and the two streams, derived from sources so widely remote, may meet and blend under wholesome influences, so as to form one united and prosperous population. Instances are on record in which the European, covetous of the patrimony of some heathen tribe, has cast aside all restraints of religion and conscience, and pursued, at whatever cost, his grasping scheme, until the native race, crushed and enfeebled in the contest, has been left like the sick man, whose vital powers rapidly fail, and the moment of dissolution is momentarily expected. Yet even then, although apparently too late, its arrival deferred to the last moment, Christianity has come, and administered reviving cordials, and the sick man nigh unto death has been restored, and the old stock, re-invigorated, has thrown out fresh shoots, and, under a new condition, promises to be more fruitful and vigorous than it was before. So it has been with the remnants of the Apallachian tribes on the United-States frontier. Broken in repeated conflicts with the white man, they "have received teachers, and applied their efforts to master the problem of civilization. They have also admitted the axiom, that the Indian communities cannot exist, in prosperity, within the boundaries of the States. One tribe after another has consented to dispose of their lands and improvements, and, carrying along their teachers and the arts, have removed to the west of the Mississippi, and to the waters of the Missouri. A revival and very striking improvement of their condition has been the result, with all the industrial and temperate tribes. They have erected schools and academies with a part of their annuities; they raise large stocks of cattle and horses; they cultivate extensive fields of Indian corn and the cereal grains; they erect substantial dwelling-houses and farms; they build mills, and manufactories of articles of first necessity; they have, to a considerable extent, adopted the European costume and the English language. The principal tribes have organized systems of government, courts, and civil codes. The writings of their public men compare very well with those of politicians of the frontier States and Territories. Men of learning and piety conduct their system of education, and, in the most advanced tribes, no small per-centage of the population, as compared with European communities in that region, are shown to have adopted Christianity."*

Christianity in New Zealand was more advantageously circumstanced than in the conflicts between the colonists of America and the native races. It had there preceded formal colonization. It had laid hold on the mind of the native, and acquired influence over it, which it was enabled to use for good, to control his fiery passions, and guide him in comparative safety through the most critical period of his national existence. No one can duly reflect on what Christianity has effected in New Zealand, without feeling encouraged as to the future. Whatever new difficulties may arise, they cannot surely be greater than those which have been already overcome.

What was New Zealand when the first Missionaries went there? What a land of horrors! In reading the annals of its earlier history, one feels in the midst of fiends rather than of men. It is almost impossible to conceive that human beings could have so deteriorated, and become so shameless and so pitiless, so intensely bloodthirsty and indescribably revolting in their practices. We shrink from retracing the outlines of that earthly pandemonium, or lighting up again the lurid fires around which the cannibal held his horrid feast. No wonder they are but the remnant of a nation. When we remember that they went forward to their wars prompted by a double appetite—the lust for revenge and the lust for human flesh—the wonder is, not that so few survived, but that any survived at all. Twenty and seven years back, when Missionaries, amidst untold difficulties and dangers, were persevering in a work which many pronounced to be hopeless, the desolating traces of mutual slaughter were but too plainly discernible. Marks of former settlements might be seen, all swept as with the besom of destruction. No one can tell what the Missionaries had to endure in those dark times. Yet there they were, amidst all that was disheartening and repulsive, first the Church Missionary, and then the Wesleyan Missionary. They stood alone in this valley of death. There was no church in its integrity sent out in those days; no episcopate, founded at the expense of several thousand pounds, was thought necessary to initiate the

* "Schoolcraft."

work; the dogma had not yet been enunciated, that the preaching of the Gospel is unavailing, and carries with it no blessing, unless accredited by the presence of a bishop. Evangelists went forth, depending not on organization, but on the teaching and preaching of Jesus Christ, and Him crucified; and that simplicity of procedure God blessed. Before the bishop arrived, the steep wall-side had been climbed, the level summit reached, and Christianity, although made known only by simple presbyters, had attained acknowledged influence over the people. The subduing power of the cross had been felt, and many, whose names might well be Legion, might be seen sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in their right mind.

"On his first arrival in the country, fifteen years ago, the Bishop of New Zealand was struck with their orderly observance of religious ordinances. In February 1843, he wrote, 'I held my first confirmation, at which 325 natives were confirmed; and a more orderly, and, I hope, impressive ceremony, could not have been conducted in any church in England; the natives coming up in parties to the communion-table, and audibly repeating the answer, 'Ewakoatia ana e ahua' ('I do confess'). It was a most striking sight to see a church filled with native Christians, ready at my first invitation to obey the ordinances of their religion. On the following Sunday, 300 native communicants assembled at the Lord's table, though the rain was unceasing; and some of them came two days' journey for this purpose.' On another occasion 'a noble congregation, amounting to at least 1000, assembled amidst the ruins of the chapel (recently blown down). They came up in the most orderly way, in parties, headed by the native chiefs and teachers, and took their places on the ground with all the regularity of so many companies of soldiers. We were placed under an awning made of tents, but the congregation sat in the sun. The gathering of this body of people, their attentive manner, and the deep sonorous uniformity of their responses, was most striking.'"*

That was a wondrous change: the great mass of an independent and savage people moved to submit themselves to an influence which they had long despised, numbers of them honestly embracing Christianity, in a thorough change of heart and an earnest abandonment of their heathen practices. That marked and memorable result, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, gave an impulse to the modern Missionary efforts of the church which continues to be felt to this very day. It encouraged the friends of Missions to expect results greater than we had yet ventured to hope for; and with New Zealand inscribed on their banners, Missionary agencies went forward to the conflict with a strong expectance, not merely of future, but of present success. In the achievements, then, of the past may we not often find encouragement as to the difficulties of the future?

But just as our affairs in New Zealand assumed this improved and encouraging aspect, a new difficulty arose: colonization commenced, and the tide of emigration set in strongly on the shores of New Zealand. Many of the most earnest friends of the Maori race dreaded such a movement, and earnestly deprecated it. We can scarcely wonder at this, when we remember the horrors which had too frequently attended that procedure. A Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines had been appointed in the Session of 1833, and renewed in that of 1835. Men of experience and character bore their testimony to the calamitous results of European contact with native races, except through the medium of an active and restraining Christianity. On that occasion Mr. Dandeson Coates, the then Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, expressed himself forcibly on the subject of the colonization of New Zealand—

"Speaking with reference to New Zealand, I would suggest the importance of the firm establishment of British influence on the minds of the native chiefs. They are at present extremely well disposed towards England; they look to England, and regard this country as a point of reference, as a friendly power. They are disposed, therefore, to receive suggestions and recommendations; and in this way the British Government, without exceeding their appropriate limits, might, I apprehend, materially facilitate the social, moral, and religious improvement of the New-Zealanders, by its influence on the minds of the native chiefs. But in saying this, I wish to add most distinctly, a protest, if I might venture to employ such a term, against the colonization of New Zealand on the part of the Government; because, though I do not conceive colonization to be necessarily productive of destructive consequences, yet it has so generally led to that result, that there is nothing that I should deprecate more than the colonization of New Zealand by this country. And this the more especially, as, by the agency of Christian Missions—there being a Mission of the Wesleyan, as well as of

* "Swainson," pp. 31, 32.

the Church Missionary Society in operation there—a process is going on by which those general interpositions of the Government that I have referred to would secure, so far as any human means can secure, the moral, social, and religious improvement of the people, and preserve them entire as a distinct race."

Another gentleman, the Rev. J. Beecham, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, pointed out, in his evidence, the special feature in the existing system of colonization, which he considered most productive of injury.

"When I read some of our Acts of Parliament which relate to the formation of our colonies, I find that the lands of certain countries are sold to the colonists, without any reference whatever to the aboriginal inhabitants: the very countries which, at the times when the Acts are passed, are occupied by various aboriginal tribes, are all disposed of as though they were waste and uninhabited regions. Now I must confess I have never yet been able to see the equity of such a proceeding. I have ever thought, and must still continue to think, unless eternal justice itself should change, that this is essentially and morally wrong; and that our colonization system is thus based upon a principle of unrighteousness. This I regard as the original cause of many of the evils of which we complain: a great proportion of the ill consequences resulting from intercourse between the colonists and the natives are to be traced to this very source. I do not see what else can follow than very disastrous results. The colonists and the natives are necessarily brought into painful collision at the very outset: the one seeks to obtain possession of the lands secured to them by Act of Parliament; the other to keep possession of those very lands which are theirs by a prior right; and what is the consequence? The whole history of colonization tells us. The natives have to retire, but they retire with irritated feelings, and in the spirit of revenge; and thus the foundation is laid, as the natural consequence of the wrong principle on which our colonization is based: the foundation, I say, is laid of a system of painful and angry intercourse between the colonists and the natives for years to come."

There were, however, in England, men of different opinions. They were resolved to colonize, and New Zealand, no longer now the New Zealand of the "Boyd" massacre, was selected as the most suitable and promising field. In 1837 an association was formed in London for this express purpose. The first efforts of its members was to induce the Government to erect the New-Zealand isles into a British colony. Disappointed, for a time, in this hope, they then resolved to send their agents to New Zealand, purchase land, and prepare the way for emigrants; "and, calculating on the success of their agent, they proceeded at once to offer, for sale by lottery, in England, the right of selection amongst the lands thus anticipated to be acquired by them..... And though officially warned that their proceedings would not be sanctioned by the Government, the New-Zealand Company found purchasers in England to the amount of more than 100,000*l*."

Hitherto the policy of the Government had been to leave untouched the independence of New Zealand, and to confine its action to cultivating friendly relations with the chiefs, and exercising an influence over them for their good. But now they felt themselves necessitated to pursue other measures; and, to "protect the natives, to avert a war of races, and to rescue the emigrants themselves from the evils of a lawless state of society, it was now resolved to adopt the most effectual measures for establishing among them a settled form of civil government."

In order that such effectual protection might be rendered, it became necessary that the Queen should be acknowledged as the Sovereign of the country; and Captain Hobson was charged with the delicate duty of bringing these negotiations to a successful issue. The result was, the treaty of Waitangi, signed by a large portion of the chiefs, by which, on the express conditions that their territorial rights should be respected, they ceded the sovereignty of the islands to the Queen. In fulfilment of such stipulations, the English Government, instead of acting upon the unjust principle of appropriating at their convenience, and without due compensation, the lands of aboriginal tribes, proceeded to render a fair equivalent for such lands as it required; and, during the two and a-half years of Governor Hobson's administration "considerable tracts of land became, by purchase, the demesne lands of the Crown." "An experiment was about to be tried, deeply affecting the interests of humanity." A pledge had been "given by the ministers of the Crown that the natives of these islands should, if possible, be saved from that process of extermination, under which uncivilized tribes had hitherto disappeared, when brought into contact with civilization;" and the British Government was, for the first time in earnest, about to try the experiment, whether a fragment of the great human family, long sunk in heathen darkness, could be raised from its

state of social degradation, and maintained and preserved as a civilized people."*

The precipitate action of the New-Zealand Company had, however, already laid the foundation of coming troubles. The Company's titles were defective. "When their purchasers proceeded to take actual possession of the land, natives from various parts of the country, who had not been parties to the sale, came forward to assert their rights, and, regarding the Company's settlers as unauthorized intruders, actually opposed their occupation of the land; while the colonists, ignorant of the native law of property, naturally viewed the claims put forward by the natives as but a pretext for acts of violence, and for making extortionate demands."

The British Government refused to be responsible for proceedings which it had never sanctioned, nay, which it had expressly disclaimed. We must refer such of our readers as desire a further insight into the proceedings of the New-Zealand Land Company to Mr. Swainson's recent work on New Zealand, where they will find facts stated of the most painful nature. The settlers were placed in a most unhappy position, consigned either to idleness and poverty, or to attempt to possess themselves of lands, their title to which was denied by the natives. At length the first collision ensued in July 1843, in the Wairau valley, about seventy miles from Nelson, in which "upwards of twenty Europeans, including nearly all the leading members of the Nelson settlement, were tomahawked or shot."

That collision aroused the slumbering distrust of the native chiefs and people. They feared that their lands would be wrested from them. On the part of the Bay-of-Islands' natives in particular, other causes of dissatisfaction existed. They found that, by the selection of Auckland as a capital, trade had decreased on their part of the coast, while the duties levied on imported goods increased the price of such articles as they needed. Unhappily, too, about this time the House of Commons had violated the stipulations of Waitangi, by a resolution "that measures ought to be forthwith adopted for establishing the exclusive title of the Crown to land not actually occupied and enjoyed by the natives."

A copy of the Parliamentary report, which contained this recommendation, reached New Zealand at the moment when the insurrectionary disturbances first broke out in the northern part of the colony, and the purport of it was "communicated to the natives, already ripe for mischief, with an effect that may be readily imagined."

Heki, a chief of the Bay of Islands, who had been the first to sign the treaty, now raised the standard of independence. Kororarika was taken and sacked, the royal flagstaff was cut down, the military block-house was taken, the soldiers, seamen, and the whole population of the settlement, abandoned it, and, the places of worship being spared, the other buildings, with scarcely an exception, were sacked, plundered, and destroyed. Reinforcements of British troops arrived, and war ensued, but the Maories held their fortified pa, in spite of a spirited attack, and repulsed their assailants with heavy loss. The disaffection spread from north to south. The settlers were driven from the valley of the Hutt. In the town of Wellington the colonists were kept in arms for weeks together, keeping watch and ward, in daily expectation of attack; and it is hardly too much to affirm that Wellington owed its safety at that moment to a single individual, the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Otaki. "At Wanganui the outsettlers were driven in; houses, in the settlement itself, and within gunshot of a fortified military post, were plundered and destroyed, and the Queen's troops, during a period of several weeks, could only show themselves outside of their own stockade at the hazard of being shot."

It was a most critical moment. There was reason to apprehend that a large proportion of the Maori population throughout the island would rise in sympathy with Heki, on the north, and other chiefs in the south and west. Had they done so, what would have been the position of the settlers? The central area of the island, its mountain-fastnesses and strong positions, were occupied by the Maories, well supplied with fire-arms: there was not one of them who was not familiar with the use of a musket. Independent of any regular commissariat, they could "move rapidly from place to place, either across the country, or by paths where ordinary European troops would be unable to follow them, and, when closely pressed, they have always a dense forest, in some inaccessible fastness, to fall back upon." While the Maories thus occupied the high interior, the colonists were dispersed over the country, without the possibility of concentration for defensive purposes. "Besides isolated families scattered over a hundred different parts of the islands, there were no less than five distinct settlements, no two of which were within a hundred miles of each other, and all of

* "Swainson," pp. 100, 101.

them within easy reach of a superior native force." The Maories, had there been a national rising, such as Ireland has often witnessed, might have cut them off in detail, and, had they been the Maories of former days, they would have done so. But a new controlling power had been introduced amongst them. The light of Christian truth had penetrated many a dark heart, and given them new views of things. Its restraining influence was felt on their consciences. The New Testament was in circulation amongst them in their own tongue: they had taught themselves to read it, and numbers of them read it diligently. The Bishop and Missionaries were earnest and active. Influential meetings were held. It was shown them that their fears were groundless, and that there was no intention on the part of the British Government to set aside the treaty of Waitangi, and seize their lands. It pleased God to bless these efforts. Strong as was the sympathy with Heki, the exertions of the mediating parties—those whom the natives recognized as spiritual men, the teachers of the Gospel of peace, in whom they had confidence—were more powerful. The disaffected feelings of the moment evaporated in a few outbreaks in different parts of the island, which, left unsupported by the native masses, languished, and were, after a time, put out. The agitation gradually subsided, and the Maories settled down in contented submission to the British rule. That was an eventful crisis, one to be remembered, in which New Zealand was conserved from an overwhelming calamity by the action of the Gospel.

We would warn our readers against another version of these facts—that which describes the New-Zealand Company as the innocent and injured party, and throws the blame of the collision between the races on the Government and the Missionaries. We cannot accept that view. The facts of the case, when examined, entirely disprove it. We believe the Government to have been actuated by a real desire to act justly and impartially towards all parties; and we believe that the Missionaries may with truth be pronounced to be the benefactors of both races. We do not say there were no mistakes made. We cannot undertake to justify every step which every Missionary thought himself free to take. There were, no doubt, some things done which had far better been otherwise. But this we say, that but for the knowledge of Christian truth which the natives had received through the Missionaries of the two Societies in London, and the moral pressure which could thus be brought to bear upon them in the hour of danger, not all the military force which the authorities, at that remote point, could have collected from the mother-country and the adjoining colonies, would have sufficed to prevent scenes of bloodshed which would have laid waste the country, and put back for many a day the rising prosperity of New Zealand. As it was, the effect of these disturbances was highly prejudicial: emigration to New Zealand almost entirely ceased.

New Zealand now entered on a new phase of its history, and became exposed to new trials. In 1851 the Australian gold discoveries took place, and it seemed at first as if the influence of this event would be highly prejudicial to New Zealand. "The news which arrived by every mail of the prizes drawn by hundreds in the Australian gold-fields naturally excited the minds of the settlers in New Zealand, and rendered them impatient until they had tried their fortunes in the golden lottery; and for several months every vessel carried away numbers of the more adventurous and unsettled of the male population. As soon, however, as the first excitement had passed away, instead of fearing the effects of the recent gold discoveries, the settlers perceived a rapidly-increasing market close at hand for all their surplus produce; and they were soon convinced that in New Zealand itself they had a certain means of transmuting the materials around them into gold, by supplying the market of the neighbouring colonies; and they have now, for several years been in the enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity."*

In this industrial impulse the natives largely shared: gold, the proceeds of the sale of lands and grain produce, came largely into their hands, and native Christianity became exposed to a test severer than any which it had yet experienced. With the opportunity of acquiring wealth came the collateral opportunity of expending it on evil gratifications to which they had hitherto been strangers. The ungodly white man presented himself with his low vices; and grog-shops, opening in increasing numbers, tempted the natives to drunkenness and its attendant evils.

Let us consider in what state of preparedness this new trial found the native church. The Episcopate had now been nine years in the islands. No sooner had New Zealand been created into a colony than the ecclesiastical authorities in England decided on the establishment of an episcopal see at the seat of Government in that country. In that movement the Church Missionary Society heartily

* "Swainson," pp. 192, 193.

concurred. A great impression had been made upon the native mind, and that impression needed to be so deepened and strengthened, that it might prove to be, not a momentary glow of pleasing excitement, but such a real alteration in the native character as might be lasting and influential. It needed that the work should be followed up, and that promptly and energetically; that the Missionary agency should be made in all respects as effective as possible, and have afforded to it every facility of free action; and that amidst the increasing pressure of new inquirers, the European Missionaries should be supplemented, as quickly as was consistent with safe action, by a native pastorate, which might bring home the preaching of the Gospel to the little groups of New Zealanders, who now, encouraged by the prevalence of peace, were deserting the old pas, and dispersing themselves over the face of the country for purposes of cultivation. At such a crisis the advent of the Episcopate was most opportune. Hitherto, for the discharge of episcopal functions, the native church was entirely dependent on the occasional visit of the Bishop of Australia; but the transfer of the Episcopate to the spot gave to the native church, and the Missionaries who served it, an ecclesiastical basis of their own, to which they might recur as cases of necessity arose; and thus new vigour be infused into all departments of this work. Nine years was a considerable period in which much of these hopes might have been realized, and the ship rigged and in all respects fitted to meet the coming storm. We desire to touch as lightly as possible on this part of the subject. Of earnestness and conscientiousness of purpose we feel assured there was no lack in any quarter; the errors were those of the judgment. At the same time we should be untrue to ourselves, and untrue to our subject, did we not frankly express our conviction that, at the end of the nine years, the Mission had not derived from the Episcopate that increased measure of effectiveness which had been expected.

The Episcopate required the surrender of principles of action which the more mature experience of the Society had taught it to be essential to Missionary success. And yet the new principles on which the Episcopate had decided to act may easily be collected from published documents. The bishop, soon after his arrival in the island, issued a notice in these words — "Every clergyman, acting under a licence within the diocese, is required to be prepared to minister to the English settlers within his district, as well as to the native people, as occasion may require." A letter addressed to the Secretary of the Gospel-Propagation Society, dated November 2, 1852, expressed decision—"I require every town clergyman to learn the native language, and be ready to minister to the spiritual wants of the Aborigines; and I find it will be necessary also to establish the converse rule—that every Missionary to the natives shall also be ready to minister to the English settlers; for, in this country, English and natives will live side by side, unless some rupture, which God avert, should take place between the two races." Now it had long been an established principle of the Church Missionary Society, that its Missionaries, as a general rule, should abstain from ministering to their own countrymen. It was a decision formed on long experiences of the working of Missions in various fields of labour, which all combined to testify—that it is not possible to invest a Missionary with permanent relations to Europeans, except to the detriment of his proper work, the evangelization of the natives, and their establishment in a profession of Christianity.

Another point of discrepancy may be referred to. It will be found in the same letter from the Bishop to the Secretary of the Gospel-Propagation Society, dated Nov. 2, 184?—

"In carrying into effect the various plans which I have felt to be necessary for the establishment of a sound church system in this country, I have been continually reminded of the confidence reposed in me by the Committee, which has enabled me to act with decision in many cases where delay would seriously have injured the future prospects of the church. It is impossible to foresee what may be the peculiar position of this colony from year to year: even the course of population cannot be predicted: the relations with the native people involve a new element of uncertainty. If I had been fettered with strict rules, and obliged to refer every question to England; or if every clergyman were at liberty to communicate directly with the Society, instead of looking up to me as the *director of his duties*, and *the source of his emoluments*, I could never have met the changes which, even in one year, have completely altered many of the arrangements which I at first formed."

Now, that the Society should thus entirely abdicate its own functions by surrendering to other hands the direction of its own Missionaries, selected by itself, sent out and maintained by it in the islands, thus reducing itself to a mere instrument for the collection

of the necessary funds, is incompatible with the principles laid down in the paper on the ecclesiastical relations of the Society, appended to the Thirty-ninth Report, in which it is provided that its Missionaries, when intra-diocesan, must be under the bishop's licence, and that by granting or withholding his licence, the Bishop has the power of expressing his approbation, or otherwise, of the location to which the Missionary is appointed; but which as expressly reserves to the Society, "the superintendence of Missionaries in their labours among the heathen," and more especially the two points of income and location, "the Society continuing to be the paymaster, and proposing removals and changes to the bishop." In his location the Missionary is under episcopal superintendence and jurisdiction, but the selection of the place of labour must rest primarily with the Society, although, in the decision which may be come to, the judgment and wishes of the bishop always receive due consideration.

Again, the attempt was made to establish in New Zealand a lengthened diaconate. Several of the Society's Missionaries were kept in deacons' orders for nearly ten or fourteen years, notwithstanding the entreaties and applications of the Committee; and these ministers, being at the time in charge of large districts, containing many hundred native communicants, there not unfrequently occurred an interval of twelve months before the sacrament of the Lord's supper could be administered by the visit of some distant Missionary in full orders, and many aged and infirm persons were wholly cut off from an ordinance which, by the native Christians of New Zealand, is greatly prized.

Nor were the Missionaries supplemented as they might have been by the effective action of a native pastorate. The Episcopate, immediately on its arrival, had taken into its own hands the preparation of candidates for the ministry, as well European as native. A college was established, through which every candidate for holy orders was required to pass; and a similar institution, which had been commenced by the Church Missionary Society, was consequently closed. But not until a period of eleven years from the introduction of the Episcopate had the first native been ordained. Eventually the Episcopal College proved a failure, and the preparation of candidates for the ministry reverted to the Church Missionaries. And thus it happened, that, at a time when the Mission stood in need of a complete organization, and full effectiveness of action, it was found in a crippled state, and ill fitted to cope with the emergencies of the moment. The Missionaries, in their reports, very frankly express the difficulties under which they laboured.

A European catechist, subsequently ordained, but whose ordination had been long delayed, and who, as a catechist, had to meet, in the best way he could, the requirements of a large district, complains—

"I am sorry to say the (Romish) priests have gained a considerable advantage here, from the weak state in which this district has always been left. No ordained minister having been placed here, our people always have been, and still are, put to great inconvenience for the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, and are thus become a reproach to their Popish neighbours. They are consequently much discouraged; and, as I have before remarked, some of them have joined the Papists. I hear, indeed, that the Rev. Christopher Davies has been appointed to Wakatane by the Bishop; but, as he is only in deacons' orders, this will not facilitate the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper."*

A Missionary who had laboured effectively in the Mission from the year 1830, but who was not admitted into Priests' orders until 1852, remarks—

"What, then, remains, but to urge upon the consideration of that branch of the Christian church to which we belong, more comprehensive measures than have hitherto been adopted for evangelizing New Zealand? And, to be effective, these measures must include the organization of a system that shall gather into the bosom of the church—not negatively, but operatively—the thousands who, having received baptism in infancy, are growing up in ignorance and disregard of all that belongs to their baptismal vow. This must soon be done, or we shall have done nothing. Everywhere the first steps have been taken, first-fruits have been gathered in: but the harvest has not been secured, and the seed-corn for the coming season is left to mildew, if not to perish."†

Archdeacon W. Williams, now Bishop of Waiapu, refers to the same great defect at a later period (1854)—

"The natives of Turanga have been generally an industrious people, and the stimulus communicated to them by the large demand for wheat at Auckland, and the high prices given for it, have led them to cultivate more

* "Church Missionary Record," October, 1852, p. 234.

† Ibid., November 1853, p. 267.

extensively, and has thrown into their hands a large amount of property. Temporal prosperity has led to worldly-mindedness and all its attendant evils. An avaricious spirit has been engendered, and—grasping at more, like the dog and the shadow—they believed that by buying vessels for themselves, and taking their own grain to Auckland, they should realise a much greater gain. About twelve of these vessels, averaging between twenty and thirty tons, have been purchased by the natives between East Cape and Turanga; but nine have been wrecked, partly for want of skill, partly because there are no proper harbours to shelter them along the coast. But this is the least evil. Those natives who have thus been led to hold intercourse with the English towns have always been injured in their morality. They copy from our own countrymen an indifference to religion, and pick up all other vices which are so common in an English community. There is now, unhappily, a disposition to indulge in drinking, which is fostered by the English traders, who, notwithstanding the heavy penalties enforced by the law upon all persons who supply the natives with spirits, nevertheless distribute great quantities among them. Thus, after a lapse of fourteen years since the Gospel was brought to this part of the island, there is more apparent difficulty meeting us at every step than when we first came among them. When the Gospel message was new to the people, there was astonishing favour shown towards it: "they heard the word gladly." But by-and-bye many were offended, when they found that they were still subject to tribulation and affliction; and in the case of many, we have to mourn that, under the influence of the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, the word is choked, and becometh unfruitful. Hence is seen the necessity of constant exertion, and of the faithful declaration of the Gospel. If in an English parish, much, under God, depends upon the labours of the clergyman, and, where he is remiss, the people fall back into a state of spiritual darkness, much more is care required where we have to encounter the influence of old superstitions and of new temptations. But what means have we for carrying out that which is required, where one Missionary has an extent of country to attend to which is fifty or sixty miles in length?"*

Another Missionary, in deacons' orders in a remote and extensive district, pointedly suggests the remedy—

"Some of our best and well-tried Christian teachers, of fifteen or twenty years' standing, should be ordained deacons while we have strength to pursue our work and overlook them. There should be one ordained native at Whangape immediately. We cannot personally attend to this district more than a very few times in a year; and a native teacher without a salary cannot be expected to attend to the duties required, for those duties would engross all his time. The Whangape district is a fine place to try a native deacon in the ministry. There are a few teachers at Herekino, five miles nearer our settlement; but as they do not attend our meetings but a few times, they are but weak, *i. e.* they do not visit about. It wants one invested with authority to preach, &c. Himeona is the teacher that I should recommend to be ordained, if he would consent, for I have not spoken yet to him on this subject, although I have made it known that I wish him to go to Whangape.

"The Lord's supper ought to be administered in all the suitable chapels in the district, and that every three months. Such is the nature of the times for worldly-mindedness, that our Christian natives are in the utmost danger of falling away unless we can often, both in the word and sacraments, set the Lord before them. New Zealand indeed, at this time, wants Bishops and Missionaries who will feel for the souls of the people, and not in any ways seek their own glory, but that of the great Shepherd who has laid down his life for the sheep. Neither bishops, priests, nor deacons, are ordained or consecrated to seek any thing else but the glory of Christ and the salvation of perishing souls; and what is our duty but to lead our people, the sheep of Christ's flock, into green or budding pastures? We, who are witnesses of the state of things, at least in the north of New Zealand, are fully aware that the present state is far from being a healthy one. We are altogether too weak or too short of hands, and a better state of things is needed; a brotherly and Missionary consultation should take place, and inquiry should be made whether a few of the best of the teachers could not or should not be ordained, &c. May God bless what I have suggested!"*

The Mission then, unhappily, had not been brought into full organization and effectiveness. It came to pass, therefore, that when the time of trial arrived, and, like children caught by glittering toys, the Maories were tempted to leave their first love, and be-

* "Church Missionary Record," Oct. 1855, p. 238.

* "Church Missionary Record," September 1855, p. 211.

come careless and worldly, it had not the vigour which was requisite to meet the emergencies of the moment, and native Christianity deteriorated. The crop, which in its first abundant spring had looked so promising, appeared, as it grew, disfigured with many evils, the product of a seed which the great enemy had sown. The vice of drunkenness, alike the evidence and melancholy consequence of religious declension, spread widely and rapidly, and the entire work assumed a sombre aspect. Multiplied testimonies might be adduced, but our space precludes enlargement on this point, and we must confine ourselves to such as have been already placed before our readers.

This was indeed a dark period in the history of the Mission. The hand of God's displeasure seemed to rest heavily on the native church. Sickness was abroad to an unprecedented extent. Whooping-cough, influenza, measles, wrought sad havoc amongst the native race, especially amongst the younger portion of them; and the fact, as stated by one of the Missionaries,* that, "in those residences where drunkenness and thefts were carried on, and where the greatest lukewarmness amongst the Christian party existed, the number of deaths" have been about seven to one of other places, is one of special emphasis as regards New Zealand, for it points to this as a settled axiom, that the preservation of the native race depends on the continued and efficacious action of Christianity on their hearts and lives; and that a declension amongst them, from whatever cause, of this conserving influence, must prove to be the death-warrant of the race.

It was at this crisis in the history of the Mission that the Bishop of New Zealand and the Governor, Sir George Grey, visited this country, and had an interview with the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. The Bishop, in his address on that occasion, expressed his conviction that the time had fully come for the Church Missionary Society to withdraw from New Zealand, and leave the future management of the native church in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities; and in order to enable the Society to effect this with a due regard to the best interests of the natives, and with a full assurance to themselves that those interests would continue to be regarded with every solicitude, and carried forward on the Society's own principles, the Bishop set forward his plan of making a division of the diocese, and using his influence to obtain the appointment of three of the elder and most experienced Missionaries of the Society to the new sees, proposing, with the unhesitating spirit of personal self-sacrifice which has characterized all his proceedings, to divide with such of the associate bishops as were not otherwise sufficiently provided for, the annuity of 600*l.*, which, since its formation, the New-Zealand Episcopate has received from the funds of the Church Missionary Society. That proposal was placed before the Committee, and became the subject of grave and prolonged deliberation. It was in no self-regarding spirit that its members addressed themselves to it but with a simple desire to ascertain what might be their duty before God. It led to a review of all the circumstances of the Mission, and the conclusion to which they came was, that they were not at liberty to retire from the Mission field of New Zealand, or abandon the measure of influence, which, as the result of long experience, of prolonged labours, and a costly expenditure, they had acquired amongst the native race; that their work was not complete, for as yet but one native had been admitted to holy orders, and the native church remained unprovided with a native pastorate. As to the appointment of new bishops, and the promotion of some of their own Missionaries to that office, the Committee was willing to concur, and that with a view to the more rapid development of the Mission.

Preparatory measures, moreover, it was ready to adopt; to diminish its annual grants, and to throw the native church more upon self-supporting efforts, so that when the mature moment did arrive, the Society might, without embarrassment, retire from a field once overrun with heathenism, but happily reclaimed and brought under Christian cultivation; but with reference to any immediate abandonment of its position, the Committee felt that the time was not come; and its feelings on this important question will be found expressed in two paragraphs from the Annual Report of 1855-56.

"The present is a great crisis in the New-Zealand Mission: the natives are in danger of losing their 'first love.' Some time back they were, as a people recently awakened from spiritual death, most anxious for instruction, and desirous of learning more and more of the Lord Jesus, that they might serve Him. Since then, riches have increased, and they are tempted to set their hearts upon them, to the neglect of the 'durable riches and righteousness' which Christ has to give. In some parts of the island, grog-shops which

* Rev. James Hamlin. *Vide* "Church Missionary Record," 1855, p. 241.

the white men have opened are much frequented. The New Zealander, who, as a heathen, was abstemious, is in danger, as a professing Christian, of becoming a drunkard.

"But the Committee do not despond. The Gospel is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth,' yesterday, to-day, and for ever. It brought the New Zealanders out of the pit of heathenism into the glorious liberty of the children of God; and it is as able to preserve them amidst the temptations of nominal Christianity or Romish apostasy. It is clear, however, that they still need the stay and support of their first spiritual guides, and that the Missionaries cannot be at present diminished in number. The Society, which has been honoured of God to bring a nation into the Christian church, must still stand by them in the critical hour of this struggle, that the truth of the Gospel may continue with them."

To this decision the Committee was strongly moved by the opinion of the Governor, Sir George Grey, which remains recorded in the following minute, corrected by himself—

"Sir George Grey stated that he had visited nearly every station of the Society, and could speak with confidence of the great and good work accomplished by it in New Zealand; that he believed that out of the native population, estimated by himself at nearly 100,000, there were not more than 1000 who did not make a profession of Christianity; that though he had heard doubts expressed about the Christian character of individuals, yet no one doubted the effect of Christianity upon the mass of the people, which had been evidenced in their social improvement, their friendly intercourse with Europeans, and their attendance upon divine worship; that there was in many places a readiness on the part of the natives to contribute one-tenth of the produce of their labour for the support of their Christian teachers, and to make liberal grants of land for the endowment of the schools; that some of the native teachers were, and many, by means of the schools, might be, qualified for acting as native pastors, if admitted to holy orders, and might be trusted, in such a position, to carry on the good work among their countrymen, and even to go out as native Missionaries to other islands of the Pacific; that the great want in the native church at present was a consolidation of the work, and its establishment upon a basis of self support; that it was impossible for a single bishop to accomplish such a work, from the extent and geographical isolation of the different parts of the diocese; that he understood it was the opinion of the bishop that there should be four bishoprics in the Northern Island, in which opinion he concurred; that the most suitable persons to be appointed to the new sees were those he understood to have been recommended by the bishop, namely, three of the elder Missionaries of the Society, who had commenced the work, and brought it to its present state; that the appointment of these gentlemen would, he believed, give satisfaction; that he believed nothing could induce the Missionaries to desert the natives; that they would rather give up their salaries, and throw themselves upon native resources; that they possessed the full confidence of the natives, and were thoroughly acquainted with their character: but that, if the Society were now wholly to withdraw from New Zealand, the work would, he believed, fall to pieces, and the Mission do an injury to Christianity; whereas, if the work should be consolidated and perfected, as he hoped, the conversion of New Zealand would become one of the most encouraging facts in the modern history of Christianity, and a pattern of the way in which it might be established in all other heathen countries."*

We dwell upon this topic, because "the Committee of the Church Missionary Society has been often censured for retaining the management of its Missions, instead of resigning them into the hands of the bishops. Even the warm friends of the Society have been sometimes disposed to blame the Committee for a too sensitive jealousy of ecclesiastical authority: they have thought that such authority, exercised on the spot, must be better able to direct and invigorate the Mission than a lay Committee sitting in London."

This question has now, we rejoice to say, reached a final decision.

"A Synod of the whole church was at length assembled in Wellington in March and April 1859, on which occasion Bishop Selwyn formally brought forward the question in his opening address to the Synod, stating his conviction that the time was come when 'it would be found impossible to carry on a double government for the Colonial and Missionary Church;' adding, 'It is now more than six years since a large public meeting at this place concurred unanimously in the following Resolution—

"'That this Meeting, gratefully acknowledging the vast benefits which, under Divine Providence, have been conferred upon the New-Zealand islands by the Church Mis-

* Church Missionary Society's Report, 1853-54, p. 153.

sionary Society, authorize Archdeacon Hadfield to communicate with the Society, in order to ascertain whether they would be willing to resign into the hands of the clergy and laity of the district of Wellington their present charge of the native settlements in that district, and upon what conditions they would assist in forming a fund for the permanent endowment of native parishes and schools.'

"'I would earnestly recommend to this Synod the adoption of a Resolution of a similar kind, including the whole field of the Society's Mission in New Zealand.'

"Instead of complying with this earnest recommendation of Bishop Selwyn, the Synod passed Resolutions without a division, in which they declared that '*there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment.*'

"The Resolutions of the Synod *in extenso* were the following—

"'1. This Synod wishes to avow its sense of the responsibility resting upon the church in these islands to extend, as far as in it lies, the knowledge of our blessed Lord and Saviour, and the enjoyment of his means of grace, to every creature within this ecclesiastical province, and to the heathen beyond.

"'2. This Synod desires to record its conviction that it is the duty of every member of the church to give, according as God hath prospered him, to the furtherance of these objects, and that it is the duty of every clergyman to bring these obligations periodically before his flock, with the view of stimulating their bounty.

"'3. This Synod commends to the several Diocesan Synods the early consideration of measures for securing a regular contribution from the congregations of their several dioceses, and for apportioning the same to the several objects—

"'(1) Missions to the settlers in thinly peopled districts.

"'(2) Missions to the natives within each diocese.

"'(3) The existing Missionary endeavours amongst the heathen of the Pacific Islands, which have hitherto been carried on by the Bishop of New Zealand.

"'(4) That with a view to the spiritual wants of the natives of New Zealand, the time has now arrived, in the opinion of this Synod, when the natives should themselves be stimulated to further efforts for the support of the church in New Zealand.

"'(5) That it is due to the Church Missionary Society to communicate to them the Resolutions which have been passed by the Synod with reference to measures for drawing out the contributions of this church in support of Home and Foreign Missions, and to accompany the communication with a grateful recognition of their labours for the evangelization of the aborigines of these islands; and with the expression of the opinion of this Synod, that since the colonization of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment.'

"It will be seen that these Resolutions propose measures for drawing out local contributions on behalf of Missions in New Zealand, as well as elsewhere; but they couple with such local efforts, their desire to retain the agency of the Church Missionary Society. It must be observed, also, that the Society has of late years withdrawn all pecuniary support to the Mission, beyond the payment of the salaries of its European agents; and that it has also forewarned its friends in New Zealand that they cannot supply fresh agents, or continue those salaries, when the present Missionaries are removed. These points were explained to the Synod in a speech of Bishop Williams immediately before the Resolutions were passed. It may therefore be fairly presumed that the Synod desires the continuance of the general superintendence of the Mission by the Parent Committee in London, especially for the maintenance of those Missionary principles, on which, under God, the great success of the Mission has been accomplished.

"The Committee beg to draw the attention of the friends of the Society to this very gratifying testimony to the value of the Society's action in a Mission, even when, so far as the Europeans are concerned, the church is fully organized. The sentiment of Bishop Selwyn and his friends is repeated in many forms by the writers of a section of our church. The demand for Missionary bishops is avowedly grounded upon such opinions. And yet, in a Synod of five bishops, eight representative clergymen, and thirteen representative laymen, these sentiments are formally overruled; the transfer of the Mission to the bishops, clergy, and laity, is virtually deprecated; and the continued action of the Church Missionary Society is urgently invited."

We may well pause here to inquire what are the circumstances in the existing condition of New Zealand which decided so influential a Synod to give expression to a judg-

ment of such solemnity, that, "since the colonization of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment."

Severe as the test was to which native Christianity has been exposed, and that with so little to back it up, it has nevertheless survived, and is again enkindling. Such was the declension at one time, that some feared that it would die out with the first generation of converts, and never have sufficient vigour to obtain amongst their children. We thank God it has not been so. These are encouraging indications, enough to assure us that the blessing of the Lord will not be withheld from prayerful and earnest efforts put forth for the spiritual welfare of the Maori race. Archdeacon Henry Williams writes—"There has been a more general interest amongst the people in seeking for divine knowledge than has appeared for some years past. We hope a good work is going on." Another, the Rev. R Maunsell observes—"I trust there are signs of spiritual life among my people generally." Another, the Rev. S. M. Spencer — "It is to be hoped, from recent indications observable in various places, that the natives, as a people, will ere long settle into a more regular community than ever." Another, the Rev. T. S. Grace, at Taupo—"The year now closed has been marked by a steady progress rather than by any thing particularly striking. There has been an increased attention to spiritual things; attendance of the adult classes for scriptural instruction has greatly increased; candidates for baptism have become numerous; some of the native teachers have shown more diligence in their work; and a growing interest has been manifested in our industrial school."

But there is a feature in connexion with them which may well call forth our sympathy—the native race is decreasing. "In some few districts the population has increased within the last few years; in others, again, it has been nearly stationary; but more generally it has been decreasing, and there is no longer any doubt that the Maori race are fewer in number than they were twenty years ago. There is a sensible diminution also in the number of very aged venerable-looking men. In almost every part of the country the sexes are unequal, the males predominating. And the children are still comparatively few. The average number of children born is, indeed, in many cases, considerable; but they commonly die young. In some parts of the country the children are reported to be 'healthy and numerous;' but more commonly they are found to be 'decreasing and few.' Some years ago the influenza carried off a considerable number of the natives, of all ages; and more recently the measles proved still more destructive. Small-pox has not yet shown itself in the country, and great efforts have been made to prepare for it by a general vaccination of the people. In one respect their constitution appears to have improved; owing, probably, to the use of wheaten bread, and to a general improvement in their diet: they certainly appear less scrofulous than before."*

Perhaps in the estimation of some persons this may be deemed a matter of little moment. "They are decreasing," it will be said, "by a natural process, and perhaps, on the whole, it is better it should be so. They will pass away, and leave the land for the occupation of a superior race." The friends of Missions may be excused if they cannot take so apathetic aview of their decline. We have been with them from the moment of their birth into a Christian profession, and have watched over them amidst the perils and fluctuations of their childhood; and we should like to see them, for the honour of the Gospel, grow up into a Christian manhood, blessed in themselves, and a blessing to other races throughout the wide Pacific. These, however, may be thought to be parental sympathies, weak, although pardonable.

But are the Maories of no value as a national element? or, like the Australian blacks, are they a wilful and degraded remnant, impossible to civilize, and indisposed to receive instruction; mere denizens of the wilderness, frequenting the forest depths, shunning the white man, or, when brought into communication with him, susceptible only of the evils of his character, and reluctant to the imitation of what is good? Let us hear some recent and important testimony as to their industrial and productive capabilities.

"Owing to the ignorance which has generally prevailed in England of the value of their labour, and of the extent to which the native population are engaged in industrial pursuits, the importance of these islands as a dependency of the Crown is commonly estimated with reference only to the number of the English settlers, without taking into account their native inhabitants; who, instead of being occupied as formerly in a state of constant and destructive warfare, are now peaceable and industrious, and occupied in

* "Swainson," pp. 12, 13.

various departments of productive industry: acquiring property to a considerable amount, the owners of the greater portion of the soil, the principal producers of the wheat grown within the province, and large and increasing consumers of British manufactures.

"In seasons of harvest the English settlers are largely dependent upon the labour of the natives for mowing, hay-making, reaping, threshing, &c; and experience has proved them to be capable, not only of acquiring skill in various descriptions of handicraft work, but, under judicious superintendence, of steady application to laborious pursuits. During the disturbance in the south, native labour was chiefly made use of in the construction of the military roads; and about 300 natives were engaged upon the work. In the course of a year they earned upwards of 3020*l.*, and felled about twenty miles in length by 120 feet in width of dense forest; constructed seven miles of bridle-road, chiefly cut out of the side of steep hills and precipices, and helped to construct six miles of carriage-road; taking part in every operation, such as bridge-making, sloping, draining, metalling, &c.

"The amount of property now possessed by the New Zealanders is certainly remarkable. The Bay of Plenty and the Taupo and Rotorua districts have a native population estimated to amount to above 8000. In the year 1857 the natives of these districts alone had upwards of 3000 acres of land in wheat, 3000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2000 acres in maize, and upwards of 1000 acres planted with kumeras. They owned nearly 1000 horses, 200 head of cattle, and 5000 pigs, four water-mills, and ninety-six ploughs. They were also the owners of forty-three small coasting vessels, averaging nearly twenty tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes. In the course of the same year the natives of the east coast (a tract of country extending from the East Cape to Turanga, about fifty miles) supplied 46,000 bushels of wheat to the English traders, of the marketable value of 13,000*l.* From a distance of nearly a hundred miles the natives of the north supply the markets of Auckland with the produce of their industry; brought partly by land-carriage, partly by small coasting-craft, and partly by canoes. In the course of a single year, 1792 canoes entered the harbour of Auckland, bringing to market by this means alone 200 tons of potatoes, 1400 baskets of onions, 1700 baskets of maize, 1200 baskets of peaches, 1200 tons of firewood, 45 tons of fish, and 1300 pigs, besides flax, poultry, kauri gum, and vegetables."*

* "Swainson," pp. 63-66.

Is it not, then, worth while to put forth an energetic effort to maintain the race? or shall we leave them to their fate, and suffer the depopulating process to waste them away? And yet circumstances might arise of such a nature as to make the New Zealander of value, even in the eyes of those who have hitherto regarded him as no better than a worthless refuse, fit only to give place to the advancing footsteps of the white settler. Let it be remembered that their military capabilities are of a superior kind, and that when they have taken up arms against us, as has been the case, they have proved themselves to be no contemptible adversaries.

"They have long been well supplied with fire-arms. There is not a single man amongst them who is not familiar with the musket, and warfare has been the business of their lives. Instead of wearing a conspicuous dress, and standing to be shot at like a target, they frequently, when engaged in skirmishing, disencumber themselves of every stitch of clothing, well contented to have strapped about their persons a plentiful supply of dry ball-cartridges. Thus unencumbered, they dodge about from cover to cover, skilfully availing themselves of every tuft and inequality in the ground, and move away the moment they have delivered their fire. From lengthened experience they have become good tactitians; when opposed to us they can always choose their fighting ground, and invariably show great wisdom in the choice. The are independent of any regular commissariat, and can move rapidly from place to place, either across country, or by paths where ordinary European troops would be unable to follow them; and, when closely pressed, they have always a dense forest, or some inaccessible fastness to fall back upon. The idea was formerly entertained, that a single well-armed Englishman was sufficient to put to flight a horde of naked savages, but recent experience in New Zealand and at the Cape has done much to dispel this dangerous illusion; and it is now admitted that, on their own ground, the Maories, man for man, are fully a match even for disciplined English troops. In knowledge of the art of war, and in the planning of a regular campaign, they excel the North-American Indians, and for irregular bush-fighting they are better armed and epuipped than the much-drilled, tight-laced, belted British soldier."*

Suppose, then, an European war should break out? Such an event, unhappily, is by no means improbable. Our own defensive preparations demonstrate sufficiently the national feeling on the subject, and the deep conviction that a crisis might supervene in

* "Swainson," pp. 152-154.

which every Briton, who could bear arms, would be summoned forth to defend our hearths and homes, is covering the face of the land with rifle corps. Suppose the heavens should become suddenly overcast, and Great Britain find herself in the presence of a formidable combination for her overthrow, isolated from all alliances, and thrown entirely on her own resources, and that amidst the strain and pressure of the conflict she was compelled, for the moment, to leave her colonies to defend themselves: if such a crisis should arrive, would the Maories be worthless, and of no value? The New-Zealand group occupies a commanding position. Invaders, possessed of that point, could easily coerce and overcome the gold colonies, and dominate over the South Pacific. Just at the moment when the English Government decided on the assumption of the sovereignty of those isles, another European nation had similarly decided, and had sent out an expedition for that purpose, which, had it not been anticipated by the English Mission, would have planted the standard of France on their shores. If considered valuable then, surely they are not less so now. An expedition might be fitted out by a hostile power, and, our fleets being evaded, an enemy's force be landed on the New-Zealand shore. Should such a crisis ever supervene, we hesitate not to say, that, with the Maories still numerous, physically strong, loyal, and well affected to the British rule, the colonists might set at defiance the most powerful efforts that could be put forth for the subjugation of those islands. The Englishman and the native, occupying in concert the rugged ascents from the coasts into the interior, would present so formidable a resistance as to render it impossible for an invading force to effect a passage and would so harrass it, when encamped upon the shore, as to compel it to a quick retreat.

But to what may the decrease of the Maories be attributed? To their domestic habits, which are injurious to health, and sufficient to account for the prevalence of epidemics and the destruction of youthful life. "The great majority of the people are still living in a rude uncivilized state; their habitations are small, and, for want of chimneys and fireplaces, their persons, their garments, and every thing belonging to them, become perfectly saturated with the pungent odour of wood smoke. Finger-forks are still in common use, and they are by no means extravagant in the use of soap."*

Another writer, with somewhat of graphic freedom, describes the domestic habits of the natives—

"A tribe generally lives together in little communities of from 50 to 200 individuals, in various villages (pas), scattered over their district. These villages, planted on some hill or precipice near the coast, or perched on some river's cliff, cover half an acre to two or three acres of ground. A common pa consists of two or three rows (two or three feet apart) of stout split paling, ten to twelve feet high, lashed with flax and creepers to posts and cross rails, entered by two or three narrow posterns, and divided by similar paling into numerous little labyrinth-like passages, courts, and squares.

"Here we find built the houses — little rush-and-pole verandah-huts, devoid of window, door, or chimney, and displaying the firebrands smoking on the floor. Here, too, are stacks of fuel, the warepuni, some chief's or rich man's better house, and perchance a bell-decked wooden chapel. Here, too, is the larder — bits of kumera and potatoes, maize and wheat, dried eels, roots and berries, stowed aloft on shelves or poles, away from rat and dog. Here, too, will congregate the hundred pests of the village—yelping curs and shrillest cocks, monstrous cats, fleas by bushels, a goat or two, pet calves and foals, intrusive pigs, the mocking tui, caged but clamorous, and the gloomy kaka, tied to his pole, and bewailing his fate in indignant screams, like Hiawatha's felon raven."*

In another place the same writer adds—"There are no people in the world whom a knowledge of common things would benefit more than the New Zealanders. The Maori will gorge on grease, oil, eels, and rancid fish, till he has induced or aggravated scrofula; and will hold night arguments in his foul warepuni, and then rush out and sit in the damp night blast to check perspiration and cool himself, till he has induced consumption."†

There are other causes of decrease which we cannot particularly specify, but which may also be found among their domestic habits. Suffice it to say, that they need to feel that girlhood marriages produce a sickly offspring, and that infants, in order that they may live, need to be well cared for. Maori mothers require to be taught how white mothers manage their children. The Maori men require to be taught that "the woman is the weaker vessel, and should only do indoor work; and that the sight of a girl staggering

* "Swainson," p. 27.

* Hursthouse, "Great Britain of the South," vol. i., pp. 170, 171.

† Ibid., pp. 184, 185.

along for a dozen miles under a sixty-pound potato-kit, would be disgusting even among the wretched blackfellows of Australia.

And how comes it that they are Christians, and yet so defective in their domestic habits? Because, first, impressions have not been sufficiently followed up, and Christian truth brought *home* to them in that clearness and power of application which would have enabled its influence to pervade, and correct, and improve all the details of domestic life. Because they have wanted amongst them living models; not merely European Christians, whose peculiar habits and mode of living they ascribe to their race, and consequently never intended for their imitation; but native Christians, so trained and educated as to be sufficiently in advance of them to lead them on, and yet not too much in advance of them, lest they be discouraged; men no longer content to live in a warepuni, to eat their meals *aux doits*, to accept as an article of diet putrid maize, and to abstain from the washing of their persons as a waste of time; men who should be able to show their countrymen that improved habits belong not to race, but to Christianity, and ought to have place in a Christian Maori as well as in a Christian Englishman. Had there been raised up a well-qualified native agency, pastors and catechists, this desideratum would have been supplied. This is a defect which must be remedied, and that as promptly as possible, if the decrease of the native race is to be arrested. Mr. Hursthouse, from whose work we have already quoted, recommends that intelligent settlers should be located in the different villages as "training exemplars." They must be natives and religious teachers, or they will have but few copyists.

Here, then, is a good work in which the Church Missionary Society has to render important help—the raising up promptly and effectively of a well-qualified agency, and to this work it has already with energy applied itself. The admirable institution of the Rev. R. Maunsell is labouring towards this pressing and important object. Archdeacon Kissling, near Auckland, has been selected by the bishop to train native theological students for ordination, and receive them for this purpose from the various Missionary districts. The Bishop of Waiapu, on his visit to this country in 1852-53, had especially committed to him, by the Committee, this important trust, and, in conjunction with his son, the Rev. L. Williams, who, having graduated at Oxford, was sent forth in 1854, with a special reference to this object, he has put forth measures of such a nature as to enable him to express his hope that, "If our present plans can be continued without interruption, there is every reason to believe that a better class of schoolmasters for the villages will be provided, as well as pastors, who may gradually fill up the vacancies which occur. Already many applications have been made for natives who have been some time in the school, to take charge of distant villages, for the people begin to appreciate their superiority over the old teachers. We see much reason to rejoice in our prospect. God has raised up assistance for us in quarters from which we did not expect it; and it is abundantly clear that his good hand is with us, and that his blessing will accompany our efforts."

At Otaki, Archdeacon Hadfield's station, in the diocese of Wellington, a similar effort has been commenced. A graduate of Cambridge, of high standing, who has devoted himself to the work of education in the higher branches, has been appointed to the charge of a new collegiate school With these various institutions in active operation we trust that native candidates for ordination, of suitable qualifications, will rapidly increase; and when we remember that, as the Bishop of New Zealand stated in his opening address to the first general Synod, "The great object for which the Missionary diocese at Waiapu has been constituted is, to widen the basis of native ordination," we feel secure in the future close relations of the Episcopate and the Society; that there will be no more misapprehensions or unhappy discrepancies of judgment of such a nature as to impede necessary action; but that both will harmoniously co-operate for the consolidation of the native church, and the conservation of the native race; and that the serious defect under which that church has laboured, and to which the evils and discouragements of this Mission may be mainly traced—the want of a native pastorate—will soon and for ever be removed.

And there is another reason why we earnestly desire this more universal diffusion of regular Christian instruction and Christian ordinances throughout the land, and a closer application of the truth to the hearts and consciences of the natives, so as to move them to more decided self-improvement in their personal and domestic traits, namely, that on this depends the maintenance of peace between the races, and the continued prosperity of New Zealand. At present there is between them no amalgamation.

"For the purposes of trade the natives constantly, and in large numbers, frequent

our English settlements, but the two races really live apart; and, with the exception of the Missionaries, and a few isolated settlers, few have sufficient knowledge of the language, superstitions, and social life of the native race, to be able to form a judgment of their real character. . . . . The Maori is impatient of injustice, yet amenable to reason, and possesses more common sense and judgment than the mass of a European community."*

And yet to these races *conjointly* Great Britain has confided the government of their common country. The new constitution given in 1853 recognises the political rights of the native as fully as those of the settler.

"The elective franchise, as prescribed by the constitution, is without distinction of race, and every man of the age of twenty-one, or upwards, who owns land to the value of 50*l.*, or who holds land on lease to the value of 10*l.* a year, or, being a householder, occupying a tenement in a town of the annual value of 10*l.*, or a tenement in the country of the annual value of 5*l.*, if duly registered, is not only qualified to vote at the election of a member of the House of Representatives and of the Provincial Council, and also of the superintendant of the province, but to be himself elected to the office of superintendant, or as a member of the Provincial or General Legislature, or both."

But the native race has not as yet accepted these responsibilities, nor has it in the slightest degree identified itself with the governing action of the country. "They take no part in the exercise of the elective franchise, nor exercise any influence on party combinations." There is not yet sufficient assimilation between the races. "By some friend of the race, a well-disposed native is occasionally invited to a meal at an English table; and he uniformly conducts himself with studied and scrupulous propriety; . . . but, both by their language, and by their widely different modes of life, the two races are still entirely kept apart."

The result is, that the administration of political affairs rests entirely in the hands of the European race, and the shield, on which is emblazoned the arms of New Zealand, is at present left with one supporter, the other not having yet come forward to the place intended for him, and is therefore in danger of becoming one-sided, and falling from its uprightedness. In such a position of affairs there is danger; danger lest the European become encroaching and trespass on recognised rights; danger, lest the native become irritated, and fall back on the law of might. This danger became more apparent when the principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced, and the continuance in office of the advisers of the Crown was made to depend on their being able to command a majority of votes in the House of Assembly. It then became necessary to limit the application of this principle of government, so far as the natives were concerned, and to leave entirely in the hands of the Governor the direction of native affairs. The justice of such an arrangement is apparent.

"A ministry, chosen by and from the elected representatives of the Europeans, can have no claims to absolute authority over the Maori race; and, while the colonists claim for themselves self-government, representative institutions, and irresponsible ministry, they cannot in reason refuse to the native race that form of government which they prefer, viz. that the management of their affairs should be left, as heretofore, in the hands of the representative of the Crown. And the just and generous course would be to ascertain what amount of annual revenue is contributed by the native race; to pay into the general treasury that proportion of the income which is due to works and objects in which both races have a common interest; and to place the surplus at the disposal of the Governor for strictly native purposes: thus placing the native race in the position of a distant province, paying to the general Government a certain portion of the revenue, and retaining the remainder for its own local expenditure. Such were some of the reasons assigned for retaining still in the hands of Her Majesty's representative the immediate government of the native race."

"The natives of New Zealand ceded their independence, not to the English settlers, but confidingly to the justice and wisdom of the British Crown; and the British Government became morally responsible for their just and paternal government. They know little, and they care less, about a responsible ministry—here to-day and gone to-morrow; a ministry whom they hardly know by name, and for whom they can have no respect: but they are disposed to yield obedience to the representative of the Crown; and for that reason it is expedient, for the interest of both races, that the prestige of the Governor should be carefully maintained, and that his administrative powers—so far, at least, as native interests are exclusively concerned—should be free and uncontrolled."*

* "Swainson," pp. 8, 9.

* "Swainson," pp. 373—379.

This, however, is not the case. "Subject to a charge of 7000*l.* a year for native purposes, the revenues of the colony are at the disposal of a legislature in which the natives themselves are not immediately represented, and over which they have, practically, no control, while the Governor of the colony can carry on the management of native affairs on his own responsibility, and by means of officers appointed by himself, only so far as he may be supplied with funds by an annual vote of the Colonial Legislature."*

Evidently this is but a temporary arrangement, and cannot be of long duration. "It may be received as a law, as constant in its operation as the law of gravitation, that the powers of the Governor on native questions will constantly be liable to be limited and encroached upon by the popular representatives, and that if the Governor is to hold his own, there will be a constant state of antagonism between the representative of the Crown and the ministers of the people."†

When this safeguard is removed, what shall be the issue? That, under God, will depend on the condition of improvement which the native race shall have attained under the ameliorating influence of Christian instruction. The happiest results may be produced on both races by a number of well-educated Christian natives, brought forward into the responsible positions of Christian pastors. It would give their own race confidence, and convince the European that the Maories are improvable, and not lightly to be thrown away. The European Missionaries and native pastors would constitute a point of junction at which the two races would meet each other on terms of assimilation and equality, and from this the process of amalgamation would really commence. We feel persuaded, that not only the conservation of the native race, but the maintenance of peace between the European and Maori sections of the population, depends, under God, on a more energetic and rapid development of the resources of the native church than we have yet witnessed.

With such important interests at stake, and relations so intricate to be adjusted, no influence, from whatever quarter, which is of the right kind, and capable in a great or less degree of controlling men's minds for good, can possibly be spared, especially the influence of a body of men who have been deeply interested in and intimately conversant with the native race from the time when they were to a man heathen. The Episcopate has thought that, in order to the right management of ecclesiastical affairs, it is desirable that they should be left entirely in its own hands and under its own control; and that a body like the Church Missionary Society had better abdicate its functions, and withdraw from all interference with the progress of Christianity in New Zealand. But is this a well-founded persuasion? Are the decisions of the Episcopate always unerring? Have there been no mistakes, no errors in judgment? And although a check, a remonstrance, when authority is going forward too hastily in one direction, may be far from agreeable, is it not timely and most useful? Is there no advantage in the continued relationship to New Zealand of a body constituted like the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, far removed from those local prejudices and influences which so often bias the judgment of the most gifted men; a body whose decisions are not the product of a single mind, or of a mind whose advisers are always of a deferential character, but of a number of Christian men, who frankly speak their sentiments, take different views of the same subject, check and compare those views, correct by this reciprocal action what is erroneous in one another's judgment, and whose decisions at the last are almost always the expression of an unanimous opinion? We do not wonder that the Synod, in a deliberate and recorded Resolution, deprecated the withdrawal of the Society.

"It is generally found in other important undertakings, as well as in Missions, that those who superintend the work at a distance are in a position better fitted for the maintenance of the right principles of action than those who are involved in all the details of the work. A pressing practical difficulty will often suggest a compromise of principle, or at least obscure its importance and countervail its influence.

"In the great work of evangelizing the heathen, questions occur in the case of every tribe of the human race, identical in their nature, and capable of only one true solution, but so various in their aspect, and often so complicated, that the Missionary who has only dealt with them under one form may be easily perplexed and deceived, while a judgment formed upon a wider experience will at once supply the right answer. Among these questions, none are more liable to be misunderstood by the agents on the spot than those which relate to the proper treatment of the native race."

The truth of these remarks is strikingly confirmed by the Bishop of Waiapu in his address to the Synod—

* "Swainson" p. 375. † Ibid., p. 378

"It has been proposed, that in the districts where the population consists of a mixture of the races, the clergyman who has charge of our own countrymen shall be also held responsible for the native race, but experience tells us in most cases the system will not work. A clergyman, whose special care is the white population, having withal a new language to learn, finds that the charge is difficult; and while the English settlers will have seven-eights of his attention, the natives will scarcely receive the remaining portion. The only remedy for this state of things is to raise up a native pastorate, and I am thankful to be able to state, for the information of the Synod, that there is every prospect that this provision will be made. There is already the Rev. Rota Waitoa at the East Cape, who has now been several years a native clergyman, much respected by his countrymen, over whom he exercises a most beneficial influence. Then, again, there is the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu. He, too, is a most satisfactory instance to show how well the plan of a native pastorate is likely to succeed. There are many other natives also preparing for ordination at the central schools at Turanga, Auckland, and elsewhere. One great difficulty must be the means of support for a native ministry: but the subject of endowment has been already before the natives, and there are many who enter into it with spirit. Among the natives of East Cape many contributions have been brought together, and more than 100*l.* now forms the basis of a fund to which those members of our church who are able to do so will do well to add. I trust, therefore, it will be recognised as a duty resting upon the church in general to promote the establishment of a native pastorate, and that this subject will be recommended by the Synod to the consideration of the several Diocesan Synods."

Our readers will now be prepared to appreciate the Resolutions which were adopted by the Parent Committee as a response to the Resolutions of the Synod in New Zealand.

"Resolved, 1. That this Committee receive with great satisfaction the Resolutions passed April 4, 1859, in the Synod of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, of the branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand, especially that which states—

'That it is due to the Church Missionary Society to communicate to them the resolutions which have been passed by the Synod with reference to measures for drawing out the contributions of this church in support of home and foreign Missions, and to accompany the communication with a grateful recognition of their labours for the evangelization of the aborigines of these islands, and with the expression of the opinion of the Synod, that, since the colonization of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undimished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment.'

"2. That, as the Synod have accompanied their Resolution with measures for drawing out local support for Missions, and as this Committee have frequently explained, in printed documents, the necessity of gradually withdrawing its pecuniary grants from New Zealand, which the Bishop of Waiapu brought under the notice of the Synod, explaining the principle on which such withdrawal would be carried into effect,—this Committee accept the Resolution of the Synod as especially inviting the continuance of the Society's aid by counsel, sympathy, and prayer, in upholding the spiritual and Missionary principles which have ever characterized its proceedings: they regard the resolution as also inviting the Society to retain the direct control of its pecuniary grants, as long as they may be continued,—of the lands held by the Society in trust for the native church,—and of the educational establishments which may be supported by its endowments.

"3. That this Committee recognises many advantages which Missionaries and settlers, commingled in any land with aborignal races, may derive from a direct and intimate connexion with a central Missionary body in a long-established Christian church; such a central body being able to gather experience from many fields, and being familiar with questions which everywhere arise between different races, brought together to co-operate in the same work. More especially they recognise the benefits of such connexion when cemented by a common and supreme value for the truth of the Gospel of the grace of God, and for those Protestant and evangelical principles in which consist the strength and harmony of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"That this Committee, therefore, cordially respond to the appeal of the Synod, and trust, in reliance upon the grace of Christ, that they may do so without impairing the principles of independence and of self-support in the native church: more particularly, they are prepared to act throughout New Zealand upon the plan agreed upon with the Bishop

of Wellington and Archdeacon Hadfield, in their late interview with the Committee, October 19th, 1858, namely, to keep up the efficiency of the Society's educational establishments for the preparation of native teachers, and to employ its European Missionaries, and a few native assistants, in working out the complete organization of native congregations and of native-Christian institutions.

"5. That, for the effectual carrying out of the purposes already described, the Parent Committee, on their part, invite the formation of local Church Missionary Committees, or Associations; the object of which Committees shall be to collect funds for Missionary purposes, and to hold direct communication with the Parent Committee on various matters connected with the native congregations, as well as on measures for bringing those, who are still 'without,' into the fold of Christ."

MISSIONARY ACTION IN THE PUNJAB.

The following notes refer to a preaching tour carried out by one of our Umritsur Missionaries, the Rev. James Leighton, in a circuit round about Umritsur, one of the most populous portions of the territory beyond the Sutlej. The census of January 1, 1855, brought out very remarkably the rapid and great alternations of sparseness and density of population, for which the Punjab districts are remarkable. Two districts may be observed in the same division, perhaps adjoining each other, yet exhibiting an extreme diversity in this respect: thus, in the Lahore division we have Sealkote, with a population per square mile of 479·37, and Googranwalla of 147·47. This arises from the varied surface of the Punjab, "the submontane portion only being fertile, and the remainder a wild tract, with exceptional strips of cultivation." Thus the Baree Doab, in which the capital cities, Lahore and Umritsur are situated, is fertile towards the north, but, towards the centre and south, elevated and covered with brushwood, the margin near the rivers only being fringed with cultivation. It is in remedial of this inequality of productive power, by affording the means of irrigation, that the Baree Doab canal is being constructed.

"*Dec.* 31, 1858—I left Umritsur this afternoon, about half-past four P.M, to reach my tent at Nangli, four miles distant, for the evening.

Jan. 1, 1859—We left Nangli, about half-past ten A.M., for Tulwundee, twelve miles. It was very late in the evening before the tent came up; but reaching the village about three, the Lambardar and others came to make their salaam, and we explained to them the institution of the Sabbath, which it was our intention to spend among them, and invited them to be present at a service which we proposed to hold under a tree at the entrance to the village.

"*Jan.* 2: *Lord's-day* — Before breakfast I found eight respectable men, with as many, apparently, of a poorer class, come to pay their respects. No Missionary having been in these villages before, I suppose they concluded me to be a Government officer. Their custom is to bring a rupee, which they put upon a cloth in their hands, as a token of respect and submission. This is touched by the person to whom it is offered, as a sign of acceptance, but not taken. These people could ill afford to lose so much. Paulus, the catechist, begun to talk with them, explaining the object of my visit, and introduced some of the chief facts of Christ's life, and the commandment of the Sabbath. I then read to them the parables of the prodigal son, the lost sheep, and the lost piece of money, with application, and promised to visit their villages in the course of the day.

"*Jan.* 17 — To Sangatpur, where, immediately upon our arrival, about twenty men came to converse. I seated them on two carpets for a quiet address. They asked what the custom of our country is in regard to marriage. After telling them the social view of the matter, I read and explained to them the duties of husbands and wives as contained in 1 Peter and the Epistle to the Ephesians; also the duties of servants and masters, parents and children. With this they seemed gratified. We introduced also the account given of the union between Christ and his church, and explained the nature of faith as the root from which these Christian fruits spring. While here on the 11th, I gave a copy of St. John's Gospel and the Shir-i-Tiflan to an intelligent man, who said that perhaps he also should come to the

light. He was present at the latter part of this meeting, and after the others had gone away, I asked him some questions, to ascertain whether he had read them. His answers evinced a very attentive reading; *e.g.* as to what is necessary to any one wishing to enter the fold of Christ; the three kinds of sin; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. He mentioned of his own accord the substance of St. John v., Christ's healing the man at the pool of Bethesda. Oh that this soul might be given me in the day of Christ.

"*Jan.* 20 — To Ram Das, eight miles. The country is now very beautiful, and the road through the fields tolerable. It is the season when the wheat is about a foot high. Another plant, which overtops the wheat, and bears a yellow flower, is sown along with it. This is now in full beauty, and often, as far as the eye can reach, on all sides large fields of this wave in the breeze. They now pull up the yellow plant for food for the cattle, cutting it in pieces, and mixing it with chopped straw. This reminds us of two things in Scripture—the mingling of tares with the wheat and the command in Leviticus xix. 19, Deut. xxii. 9, 10, 'Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed.'

"*Jan.* 22—After a short walk this morning, groups of twenty or twenty-five assembled near the tent to hear, at different intervals during the day. We are thus literally sequestrated from other pursuits, and constantly talking with others upon religious subjects. Altogether, the whole town is moved, of which we had proof in the evening. The smooth reception hitherto met with I felt to be too gentle for much real work to be going on, and was therefore not sorry to see more opposition in the evening. We chose a place near another gate, where very quickly we had as many hearers as we could have wished for, from this other side of the village. I was speaking from Isaiah liii., showing the prophecies of Christ's character and work, with their fulfilment, and had nearly done, when a pundit, respectably dressed, but quite excited and rude, attempted to stop us. I told him to say what he had to say, but this did not answer his purpose. As often as we begun, he burst out in violent invectives, evidently determined that the people should not hear us. When he had done all he could to excite the people, and had interrupted us several times, yet declining fair discussion, I was obliged to tell him that it could not be borne, and that it would be necessary to call for other interference. Upon this he was ashamed, and went off with a shout, trying to take the people away. About two-thirds, however, remained, and we finished our subject, our hearers evidently better disposed towards us for the man's violence and insults.

"*Jan.* 23: *Lord's-day* — In the evening, once more preached at the place where we had been disturbed the day before. The interest was not diminished, and we had as large a number as before. I preached upon the Apostle Paul's success at Ephesus, and the burning of the sorcerers' books; after which Paulus spoke upon the comfort given to those who suffer for Christ's sake. (2 Cor. i.). In this town we had thus given three full days to regular preaching, besides constant assemblies round the tent-door, so that, as Paulus remarked, "the preaching was going on from morning to night." What was to be the result?

"*Jan.* 24—We left Ram Das for Narowal. The prospect of preaching in Narowal came before my mind with much solemnity, and a deep sense of my inability to set forth the Gospel message as I should wish. It is a small town, and important in its neighbourhood, the centre of one of the pergunnahs of the Umritsur district: the population about 6000 or 7000. It has a good many brick buildings: the chief bazaars and streets are clean and respectable, but the remainder narrow and undrained. Paulus' forefathers were Lambardars of the place, and he himself held a position of authority here under Runjeet Singh. He was present fighting in most of the battles between the English and the Sikhs ten years ago. He settled in Sealkote as shopkeeper, where he heard the Gospel from Mr. Fitzpatrick, and, shortly after, came to Umritsur seeking baptism. He is a man of somewhat different character from most native Christians, especially those who have been brought up as orphans with Missionaries. Unassuming and unobtrusive, with a firm grasp upon the essential truths and evidences of the Gospel, he has an independence of character and strength which enable him to stand alone, and an aggressive spirit of Missionary action, which he is able to support by a close acquaintance with the Koran, and some knowledge of the Hindu Shasters, the former of which, especially, he quotes with remarkable ease and appositeness. I have not yet seen any native opponent able to stand before him in argument: and, what is above all, he is a man of earnest personal and intercessory prayer. His great desire has ever been to see a church established at Narowal. He lives here now the greater part of the year, preaching and conversing with the people, and, in the season,

accompanies the Missionaries of Umritsur on their tours. Blessed be that grace which gave Umritsur so efficient a convert at the commencement of its Mission. He has now several friends whom he regards as inquirers, and for whom he never ceases to pray. Some of them are in other villages, which I hope to visit with him. My first object in coming here now is to preach in the town; a second object is to ascertain what openings there may be for a Christian vernacular school.

"After much prayer we went to the bazaar to preach this morning. I could not induce the people to sit upon the carpet I spread for them, so some stood on the right, some on the left, some sat in the shop-stalls on the opposite side of the bazaar, and some on the tops of the houses, which were of one story. At the first address I explained to them the Scripture meaning of salvation, pointing out the means which God has ordained for it in his dear Son. There was no opposition.

"*Jan.* 27--29—Preaching in the city generally one part of the day, and the other visiting some neighbouring village. On the 28th I visited Jessore, four miles distant, which is an interesting village. About fifty hearers, to whom I spoke of the way in which we should approach God in prayer, from the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. The interest was remarkable, and encouraged me to visit the place again. The preaching in Narowal itself is attended as I never saw preaching attended before so continuously. We have preached generally twice, sometimes three times, and even four times, at the same places, and thus gone almost through the town; still the interest is not diminished.

"*Feb.* 3—To-day one of Paulus' inquiring friends has come from Zufferwal, sixteen miles. His mind is fully made up as to Christianity, and he will read with me to-night for further instruction. He is a man of humble spirit and respectable position in life.

"*Feb.* 4—Read last night and this morning with Jiwan, the new disciple, the 1st Epistle of Peter, with explanations. He has studied the Bible very carefully, and has very clear views of the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit. He spoke this morning of his having committed many sins, and showed much contrition of heart. He has been studying the Scriptures five years, and is known in his town of Zufferwal as a Christian. His younger brother, too, he says, is as earnest as himself, and knows more. One day, when some one was preaching in Zufferwal, a man proposed the ordeal of poison as a test of Christianity, offering to become a Christian in case it should not take effect. Jiwan's younger brother came forward to answer him, saying, first, that this could be no proof of a religion, since it was the nature of poison to kill; and secondly, that it was written, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' It appears, that at the time of the mutiny he was known as a reader of the Scriptures, and the people began to abstain from associating with him, and wished to exclude him from their wells. Upon this the Tahseeldar asked him if he had not Christian books. At that time, he said, he had the three volumes of the Scriptures in Urdu, the Tariq-ul-Hayat, and several smaller tracts. The Tahseeldar told him if he would give up the books he would give him a certificate of orthodoxy, which would secure him access to the wells, and participation in the hukka (a great test of social intercourse). He said that he took the Tahseeldar three small tracts, and denied having more, as he was challenged with having; and, upon his return home, resolved to brave the danger if search should be made, and refuse to give them up. Since that time, he said, he had kept the Scriptures closely shut up in a box, and only read them when his shop was shut at night and he was alone. He appears now stronger in faith, and would, I have every reason to believe, gain much strength by his baptism. He kneels and prays with us as the other Christians do. By profession he is a doctor and attar, and has a shop for the sale of medicines, sherbet, &c., which supports his whole family, including mother, brother, wife, &c. A prominent part of instruction to him has been the tribulation everywhere spoken of in the Scriptures as the lot of those who would live godly in Christ Jesus; at the same time I have set before him the joy and peace which are in believing.

"*Feb.* 6—Yesterday Jiwan explained to me his views of baptism. He had, he said, to return to Zufferwal in consequence of the death of a relative, where he would talk with his brother about the step he proposed to take, in the expectation of both taking it together. He would then join me when I visit Zufferwal, and return with me to Narowal or Umritsur for baptism, and remain with us. His shop will have to be given up at once, as no one will deal with him after his baptism. I have every hope that God has higher work for him to do, as also his brother. There is also a prospect of Paulus' family joining him in the faith, with one or two other people here. The Lord give me wisdom and grace

in instructing them, and enable them to witness a good confession before many witnesses!

"*Feb.* 7--9 — Preaching regularly in the bazaars, and instructing Paulus' sons. On Sunday evening a very violent storm of wind and rain, with thunder and lightning, flooded us, and on Monday we took refuge in the tahseel in the city, now empty. Here we are at least dry, though, as there are no windows, and only shutters, which admit drafts of air, we are not in other respects very comfortable. But this is what, as Missionaries we must make up our minds to.

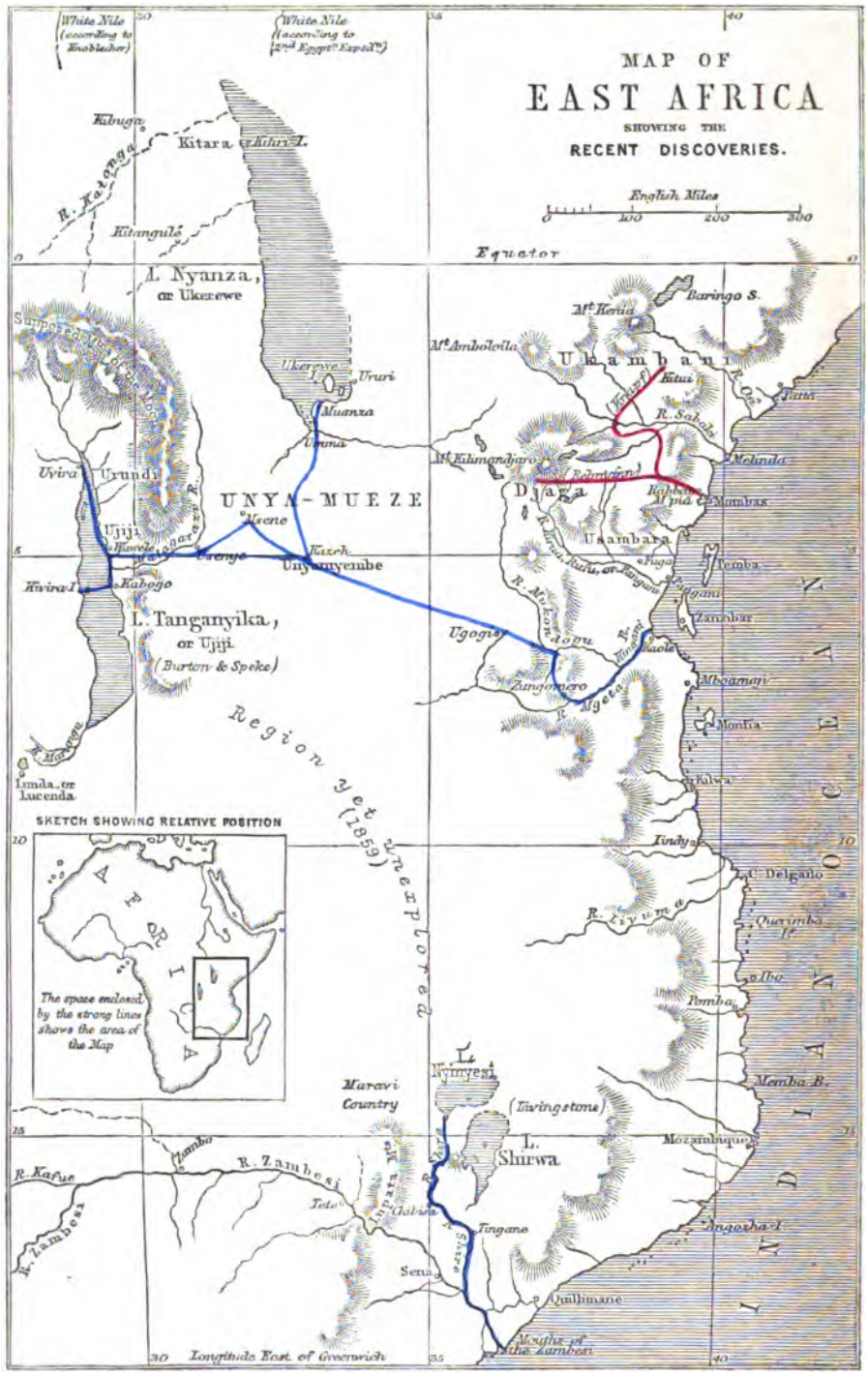
"*Feb.* 10 — Went to Zufferwal, sixteen miles. Here Jiwan and his brother Haima live. We met them in the bazaar as we entered, and Jiwan came with us to get a place for the rawti (a small tent), and then went to get some dinner cooked for us. In the evening his brother also came, and the spirit and conversation of both showed at once that the work of grace had begun in their minds, and was forming them into the character of the true children of God. Our discourse was very sweet and pleasant of the things of God. The night was spent in reading the Scriptures, prayer, and exhorting one another. Both evinced an enlarged and accurate acquaintance with the Scripture, but especially the younger, about twenty years old. He is of an inquiring and thoughtful mind, very quiet in perceiving the bearing of any principle, and cautious in accepting what he has not thoroughly considered. I loved him very much. As there were others in the tent, I took him out alone and asked him whether he loved Christ. He replied with much fervour, "Sir, I do love Him: I spake the truth, I do love Him." He then mentioned one or two difficulties in his mind, arising from apparent discrepancies, or various readings in the Bible, which he was anxious to have removed. It was evident, I think, that Christ was beginning to be formed in him the hope of glory, and he had decided to make a public profession of faith in Christ.

I felt I could only commit them to that grace which had already enlightened their hearts, and pray that He who had been the Author would also be the Finisher of their faith.

"*Feb.* 13—In the evening, after tea, we had evening prayers; present, Paulus, Jiwan, Haima, Jawahir Messeeh, a catechist of the Sealkote Mission, passing through, an inquirer going with him, and a relative of Paulus, called Ghulam Nabee. This latter had come to talk with Paulus, and being present when we begun our service, he was invited to stay. This he did, listening to the prayers and sermon very attentively. I explained and applied Coloss. iii.12,13, 'Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, longsuffering, &c.,' which was part of the epistle for the day. It was the the first time four of our number had ever joined in worship. May they be preserved to join in that assembly above who worship God day and night without ceasing!

"*Feb.* 14—To-day being fixed for our return, Jiwan and Haima were early with us to pay us a parting visit. I asked them again if they had decided upon their baptism, and they gave me the same promise as before. We then spoke of several parts of God's word, relating to their danger as living among strangers to God's covenant, the wiles of Satan, and the necessity of looking to Jesus as all in all. Then, reading Acts xx., we committed them to God and the word of his grace, which is able to build them up, and give them an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.

"*Feb.* 20—Preached to the native Christians (Umritsur) from Ephesians iii. 1—6. In the evening, after service, Sadiq begged me to remember his anxiety for baptism, and as I felt it better not to delay, he was received into the church by the name of Sadiq Mesiee, a truly humble convert, I believe, conscious of his sinful nature, and his need of Christ, and desirous of living to the Saviour's praise. He begged to be allowed to spend the night with me, to be quite alone, without any other conversation from the native Christians. His mind is extremely tender: he needs much care and tender watching. The Lord give him strength equal to his day! He continued his education in the Mission school, and privately with me, until it shall appear to what work it may please God to call him.


MAP OF
EAST AFRICA
SHOWING THE
RECENT DISCOVERIES.
English Miles
0 100 200 300
White Nile (according to Knoblecher)
White Nile (according to 2nd Egypt. Expedn.)
Kitara or Mûrû L.
Kitangulé
R. Kadonga
L. Nyanza, or Ukerewe
Ukerewe
Ururi
Muanza
Uvira
Urundi
UNYA-MUEZE
Mwene
Kaseh
Unyanyembe
Ujiji
Kavira I.
Kabogo
L. Tanganyika, or Ujiji (Burton & Speke)
Region yet unexplored (1859)
Lmida, or Lucenda
SKETCH SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION
The space enclosed by the strong lines shows the area of the Map
Equator
Baringo S.
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Amboloila
Ukambani
Kitui
R. Sabaki
Mt. Kilimandjaro
Djagga
Mombas
Melinda
Usambara
Pangani
Zanzibar
Ugogi
Mgeta R.
Mhoamapi
Monfia
Kilwa
Lindy
C. Delgado
Querimba I.
Ibo
Pemba
Memba B.
Mozambique
L. Nyinyesi
(Livingstone)
Maravi Country
L. Shirwa
R. Zambesi
R. Kafue
R. Lambeza
Tete
Shire R.
Tingane
Sena
Quilimane
Mouths of the Zambesi
Longitude East of Greenwich
INDIAN OCEAN

DISCOVERIES IN EAST AFRICA.*

In the early part of the year 1843, the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were expelled from Abyssinia, and some of them were transferred to the Western-India Mission. One from amongst the number, Dr. Krapf, was unwilling to leave East Africa. While residing in Shoa, his attention had been directed to the heathen Galla tribes who lie to the south of Abyssinia, and who form one of the most powerful and remarkable nations in Central Africa. He resolved on attempting to reach them from the coast, and selected, as his place of observation and temporary residence, Mombas, a small island at the mouth of the Tuaca river, and in about 4° south latitude. In June 1846 he was joined by the Rev. J. Rebmann, and a Mission station was immediately formed on the mainland amongst the Wanicas, a people with whom Dr. Krapf had been for some time previously on friendly intercourse, so as to acquire their good opinion. Finding themselves in a new region, the Missionaries felt anxious to learn something of the surrounding countries and their inhabitants, with a view to the extension of their labours, and exploratory tours were commenced. To these we shall briefly refer. One was undertaken to Jagga in April 1848. Seven days' journey in a westerly direction through the wilderness brought Mr. Rebmann to the Bura mountain, which consisted of several ranges stretching parallel to each other, from south to north, for about a three days' journey. Ascending the second range, he felt as if he was once more walking on the Jura mountains in the canton of Basle, so cool was the air, so beautiful the country. Five days subsequently (May 11th), the mountains of Jagga rose to view, and one amongst them, eminent above its fellows, crowned, as the monarch of the group, with a silver diadem of snow.

Of this mountain they had heard at Mombas. Strange stories were in circulation respecting it: that it was a silver mountain, but inaccessible, on account of evil spirits, by whom many persons attempting to ascend it had been killed. In November of the same year Mr. Rebmann again left Rabbai Mpia with the intention of penetrating to Kukuyi, a country north-west of Jagga. His previous visit to Jagga had been in the rainy season, and Kilimandjaro, as the mountain was called, obscured with clouds, was only occasionally visible. In November it was the middle of the dry season, and the route which he pursued conducted him within eighteen miles of the foot of Kilimandjaro. Under such favourable circumstances the great mountain was distinctly visible, even by moonlight, and the cold was as severe as in Europe during November. The country, which he traversed was intersected by valleys of from 1500 to 2000 feet deep, through which ran perennial streams, not less than twelve of them being crossed in one and a half-days' journey. It was while resident in the territory of Jagga that Mr. Rebmann first heard mention made of certain lakes in the interior—one called Rō, in or near the country Itandu, where the Kilimandjaro is still visible, and another on the north-west foot of that mountain. The country of Uniamesi, as lying more to the westward, and occupying a vast tract of Central Africa, was also referred to. It appeared, however, that the customary route to these central regions did not lie through Jagga.

Although not the usual road, still the hope was entertained, that through Jagga access might be found to Uniamesi, more especially as the king had promised an escort to protect our travellers from the wandering Masai and Wakuafi. In April 1849, Mr. Rebmann set out on his third journey to the Jagga districts. It was the rainy season: the rivers were swollen, and the route perilous and fatiguing. The ruler, instead of showing friendship, proved to be a heartless robber, and the Missionary, disappointed in his expectations, with much difficulty returned to the coast.

* The accompanying Map, carefully compiled from several sources, will be found to illustrate all the points discussed in this article. The routes of Krapf and Rebmann are indicated by a red line: those of Burton and Speke by a blue line nearly intersecting the Map. At the top of the Map will be found the White Nile, as laid down severally by Knoblecher and by Werne (of the second Egyptian Expedition), who each penetrated southward to about the same degree of latitude, but differ as to the meridian in which the river is to be placed. The still more recent traveller, Petherick, to whom also we allude, appears to have made his way to the Equator, passing somewhere between the routes of his predecessors, but his direction is not yet laid down precisely. We are indebted to the courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society for being able to present our readers with as yet unpublished discoveries in the regions of the River Shire and the Lake Shirwa from a sketch-map by Dr. Livingstone, whose route in that direction is indicated by a blue line near the bottom of the Map. This portion of the Map illustrates the other article in the present Number.

It now appeared desirable to visit Ukambani, an extensive country to the north-west of Mombas, and, in November 1849, Dr. Krapf set forth on this lengthened journey, accompanied by a small party of Wanika bearers. After passing through the wilderness, Mount Maunga was reached, from the summit of which an extensive prospect presented itself. Amongst other distinctive features, the snow-capped Kilimandjaro was seen towering over the high mountains of Bura and Ndara. Its dome-like head, glittering with transparent whiteness, was visible on several occasions, and did not fail to present itself to the attention of the Missionary at every spot which was somewhat elevated. While in Ukambani, Dr. Krapf heard of a great river, which one of his Wanika bearers had crossed on a journey from Jagga through the Wakuafi wilderness to Kikuyu. On that occasion he expressed his conviction that important discoveries remained to be made in these latitudes, and that future geographers would wonder at the simple manner in which the countries of Central Africa are connected. He adverted to the fact, that, as to their sources, the Nile, the Tchadda, the Congo, the Kilimani, all point towards the Equator, and the extensive territory of Uniamesi, which might be rendered, by interpretation, "Possession of the moon." In the great lake of Uniamesi, or at no great distance from it, they might be found to take their rise.

From Kivoi, the Wanika chief, whose guest he was, Dr. Krapf was informed of another snow-mountain in Kikuyu. This mountain, which the natives called Kenia, was said to be the living fountain of many rivers. Kivoi also made mention of a *bahari*, or sea, which he placed to the north of Kikuyu, according to the information received by him from the Wakamba hunters. This chief also referred to a fire mountain in the Wakuafi country, to the north-west of the Kenia mountain.

Doubts have been cast on the existence of snow-capped mountains in these equatorial regions. With respect to one of them, however, the Kilimandjaro, no room seems to be left for uncertainty. It has been seen by two Missionaries, and that repeatedly, and from different points of view. One of them, in his journeying, came sufficiently near its base, as not only to see it, but to feel the cold temperature; and if he approached no nearer than eighteen miles, it was simply because, beyond that point, through the superstitious fears of the people, the land was uninhabited.

Respecting the Kenia, we have not the same amount of testimony. Dr. Krapf describes it on his first visit to Ukambani. Kivoi conducted him to an elevated spot, about four miles distance from his hamlet, from whence "I enjoyed the great pleasure of distinctly seeing the Kenia. The sky being clear, I got a full sight of the snow-mountain, which I had been told by Kivoi is situated between Kikuyu and Uembu. It stretches from east to north-west by west. It appears to be like a gigantic wall, on whose summit I observed two immense towers or horns. These, which are at a short distance from each other, gave the mountain a grand and majestic appearance." On his second visit, however, the Kenia was not seen. On approaching the Dana river, Dr. Krapf says, "Before us lay the mountains of Mbé and Uembu eastward. In the west we saw the high Kikuyu mountains, whose termination and highest point is the Ndurkenia, which mountain I did not, however, see at present distinctly, for it was covered with clouds."

In June 1851, Dr. Krapf proceeded on a second visit to Ukambani, for the purpose of commencing a Mission among the Wakamba on the elevated plain of Yata. The sufferings and dangers of this attempt were extreme. On this passage through the wilderness the Missionary and his bearers were attacked by the Aendi, a predatory tribe of the lower country of the Bura. On arriving at Yata, the Wanika bearers whom he had engaged to build him a good cottage, refused to fulfil their agreement, and prepared to return home, after hastily constructing a miserable hut. Under these circumstances, Dr. Krapf found himself obliged to defer for a time the commencement of the Mission. Before, however, his return to Rabbai, with a view to more successful arrangements, he proposed to spend some time in exploring the country of Ukambani. An excursion to the river Dana, lying three days' journey north of Kitui, the hamlet of the chief Kivoi, was decided upon; this river, which falls into the sea under the name of the Osi, being reported to flow from the Kenia mountain. This expedition proved calamitous. The caravan was attacked by robbers, Kivoi slain, and his companions having fled in all directions, our Missionary found himself alone in a wild and unknown country. Devoured by thirst, he was constrained to seek the river, which he found to be, although in the dry season, 150 feet in width, and six or seven in depth. From thence, amidst excessive perils and privations, he made his way to the coast.

It had been a great object with our Missionaries to reach the central region of Uniamesi, and with this, amongst other objects, Mr. Rebmann had penetrated thrice to Jagga;

but beyond that point, as we have seen, no advance could be made, partly through the jealousy and avariciousness of the rulers, who wished to monopolize the white man, and appropriate to themselves all that might be gained from him; but also because of the wild Masai and Wakuafi tribes, whose predatory habits rendered travelling unsafe beyond the western frontier of Jagga. Disappointed in that direction, the Missionaries concluded that "Ukambani would be more likely to present a thoroughfare to Uniamesi, because the Wakamba themselves are great travellers;" and on Dr. Krapf's first visit to Ukambani, this idea seemed to be confirmed, the chief, Kivoi, having offered to convey him 300 miles beyond Ukambani to Kikuyu, Mbé, Uembu, and other countries. The results, however, of the second visit showed that he had promised more than he was able to accomplish, and that access to Uniamesi was impracticable through Ukambani as through Jagga. The wild Masai and Wakuafi rove over the territory which extends between the Kenia and the Kilimandjaro, and have hitherto rendered that route so unsafe, that in carrying on their ivory traffic the Arabs of the coast prefer the circuitous route by Unyanyambe. Captain Speke, however, states that the difficulties of the route through Ukambani are diminishing.

"That commerce does make wonderful improvements on the barbarous habits of the Africans, can now be seen in the Masai country, and the countries extending north-westward from Mombas up through Kikuyu into the interior, where the process has been going on during the last few years. There even the roving wild pastorals, formerly untamable, are now gradually becoming reduced to subjection; and they no doubt will, ere long, have as strong a desire for cloths and other luxuries as any other civilized beings, from the natural desire to equal in comfort and dignity of appurtenances those whom they now must see constantly passing through their country. Caravans are penetrating farther, and going in greater numbers, every succeeding year, in those directions, and Arab merchants say that those countries are everywhere healthy. The best proof we have that the district is largely productive is the fact that the caravans and competition increase on those lines more and more every day."*

If this route permanently and safely open, the facilities of access to the great Victoria Nyanza will be greatly increased, and happily the commercial advantages of intercourse with the interior are of sufficient promise to induce the Arab traders to brave the difficulties.

It may be suitable here to say something respecting these wild Masai and Wakuafi, who have hitherto been the scourge and terror of the more peaceable tribes of Eastern Africa.

"The Wakuafi and Masai," says Krapf, "who call themselves 'Orloikob, or 'Loikob,' 'loigob' (in the singular, 'Orloiksbani'), that is, possessors of the land, aborigines, primeval inhabitants—occupy a flat region in the interior of Eastern Africa. They extend from about two degrees north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakuafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. Their language diverges widely from the great South-African section (which I call the Orphno-Hamitic), and has, on the contrary, regarded lexicographically, some affinity with a very ancient Arabic language, termed by me the Cushite Arabic. Their way of life is nomadic. Where they find water and grass, there they encamp, often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the flesh of cows, goats, and sheep, and of the game which they hunt down. They have a great distaste for agriculture, believing that the nourishment afforded by cereals enfeebles, and is only suited to the despised tribes of the mountains; while to feed on flesh and milk gives strength and courage. When cattle fail them, they make raids on the tribes which they know to be in possession of herds of beeves. They say that Engai (Heaven, God) gave them all that exists in the way of cattle, and that no other nation ought to possess any. Wherever there is a herd of cattle, thither the Wakuafi and Masai are commissioned to proceed and seize it. Agreeably with this fundamental faith, they undertake expeditions for hundreds of leagues to attain their object. They make forays into the territories of the Wakamba, the Galla, the Wadschagga, and even of the Wanika on the sea-coast. They are dreaded as warriors, laying all waste with fire and sword, so that the weaker tribes do not venture to resist them in the open field, but leave them in possession of their herds, and seek only to save themselves by the quickest possible flight.

"The arms of the Masai and Wakuafi consist of a spear, a large long shield, and a club, round and thick at the top, hurling

* Captain Speke's Discovery of the Victoria Nyanza, the supposed source of the Nile—"Blackwood's Magazine," Nov. 1859.

which, with the greatest precision, at a distance of from fifty to seventy paces, they can dash out the brains of the enemy. It is this weapon, above all, which strikes terror into the East Africans, the Suahelis with their muskets not excepted. The Wakuafi conceal themselves behind their long shields, until they come close enough to the enemy to make good use of their clubs. They conquer or die: death having no terrors for them."

Happily for the weaker African tribes, these two brother-tribes are possessed by a deadly hatred toward each other. If united, none of the East-African tribes, not even the Gallas, could withstand them.

"As regards the physical conformation of the Masai and Wakuafi," Dr. Krapf continues, "their forms are tall and slender, with handsome and rather light-complexioned features. Their greatest resemblance is to the Somali, who are considered Mohammedanized Gallas, and who, divided into many tribes, inhabit the eastern coast of Africa from the river Dschub northward to the Bay of Tadschurra. From their beauty of form, the Masai and Wakuafi slaves, especially the young females, are much sought after by the Arabs and Suahelis of the coast. They grow much attached to their Mohammedan masters, provided always that the latter do not require from them any labour (field-work, for instance) which is repugnant to their inclinations and habits.

"The Wakuafi and Masai consider themselves as pastoral tribes, the exclusive possessors of the plains and deserts, and the springs and rivers therein. But they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, so long as these confine themselves to the mountains, and refrain from descending into the level country to turn it to agricultural and pastoral account. It is said, however, that very recently they have resolved to take possession of the mountain Kadiaro, to facilitate their freebooting expeditions against the Galla, Wanika, and Suahelis, and to exclude these tribes of the coast from access to the interior. . . . .

"Like all East Africans, the Wakuafi and Masai are passionately fond of tobacco, but use it more to snuff than to smoke. They procure it principally from Kikuyu, Dschagga, and Usambara, countries with which they have some connexion. They also obtain it, as well as clothes, glass beads copper wire, &c., from the Suaheli traders, who, in caravans from 600 to 1000 men strong (most of them armed with muskets), venture into the countries of the Wakuafi and Masai to fetch ivory, but are often nearly all slain. . . . .

"As regards the religious conceptions of the Masai and Wakuafi, they appear, like other East Africans, to have a vague idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Engai, which primarily denotes 'rain, the sky.' This highest of beings dwells on the White Mountain, whence comes the water or the rain, which is so indispensable to their meadows and herds. But according to the notion of the Wakuafi, between the Engai and themselves there is an intermediary being, the Neiterkob, who is, as it were, the mediator between God and man; and it is therefore to him that the Wakuafi first turn to gain a hearing from the Engai, when, as already mentioned, they pray for rain, health, victory, and cattle. What conceptions they entertain of evil spirits, and how far their souls are subjugated by a fear of these, I have not been able to learn. Probably they do not, in this respect, differ much from other Africans; for the dread of evil spirits is the invariable accompaniment of fallen man, so long as he does not learn to know and to experience in Christ Jesus a reconciled God and Father."

Disappointed in the hope of commencing Missionary operations in Jagga or Ukambani, the Missionaries looked toward the kingdom of Usambara, lying south-west from Mombas. In 1844, when visiting Zanzibar, the Pangani river, Tanga, Wasseen, and other places on the coast, Dr. Krapf had marked its lofty mountains, and wished, even then, to visit its king and people; and in the year 1848 he had succeeded in doing so. His interview with the king Kmeri was, on the whole, favourable, the sable ruler having granted him permission to come and teach his people.

After his return from his second journey to Ukambani, Dr. Krapf decided on again proceeding to Usambara, in the hope of obtaining from the king a renewal and confirmation of the favourable answer given by him in 1848, and the assignment of some specific locality where Missionary efforts might be at once commenced. Accordingly, in the early part of 1852, he again visited Kmeri at his capital, Fuga, and had allotted to him the maritime districts of Tengue, Pembina, and Pangani, as the first places to be occupied.

Usambara is a mountainous country, the ranges being very steep and eave-shaped, and their summits not admitting of many inhabitants or much cultivation, only villages, groves, and plaintain-plantations being found on the heights. Dr. Krapf suffered much from the continual windings, and the ascents or descents of the country. "Here we skirted a precipice, there we had only a shrub or some tufts of grass to lay hold upon

is clambering up the precipitous path." On returning, a different road was selected: by keeping to the south and south-east our traveller succeeded in leaving behind the mountain region, and, descending into the valley of Kerenge, reached the mouth of the Pangani without difficulty.

Of the importance of Usambara as a central position, and affording a door of access to the interior, Dr. Krapf was led to form a favourable opinion. "My journey has shown that there is no country of East Africa better situated than Usambara, whence the Missionary has so much space for extending his operations. He may proceed to Pare, to Jagga, to Unguena, and Ngu, to the Masai and Wakuafi country, or to Uniamesi. There is a road to all these quarters."

In August 1853, the Rev. J. Erhardt proceeded to Fuga to present himself to Kmeri as the Missionary that had been long promised to come and dwell amongst his people, and labour for their instruction and improvement. On the frontier he was soon surrounded by a strange mixture of races, anxious to see the Msungu—"the naked Mkamba, with his red-painted body; the proud Msegua, wrapped in his highly-coloured cloth; the tall, thin Mdigo, firmly grasping his bow and arrows; with a few skin-clad Wabondei." In ascending Muango, the highest mountain-range of Bondei, he experienced the same difficulties as his predecessor—

"Muango is a very deceptive mountain: in looking up we always flattered ourselves that, after having cleared a certain promontory, we should have mounted the whole; but hill was towered upon hill, and mount upon mount, so that when the sun went down we had not seen the end of hills yet. The steep sides of the mountain are covered with gigantic grass, far more luxuriant than the plain. Trees of large dimensions and valuable wood are only now and then to be seen, underwood being very scarce. At some parts the wild grape has got the ascendancy over the grass, and produced very good-sized black grapes. On the higher parts of the mountain we met with very large isolated blocks of stone, lying and hanging about in every direction. At some places they are even piled up to considerable heights. It was curious to me to find that they were the very same kind of sandstone, some even with very similar holes, as those I had seen in the wilderness. .... The west side of this mountain is steeper and richer in water than the east. .... Towards the north I saw the horizon-bound wilderness, and towards the south a fine lake and the plain of the Rufa."

Finding a continued residence at Kmeri's court impracticable, Mr. Erhardt, in 1854, selected Tanga, on the coast, as his place of residence, applying himself to the study of the languages, and conversing with the men of various races by whom Tanga is frequented. There he found himself in that part of the coast from whence caravans start for the interior; and, in conversation with him, the ivory-traders spoke of the great lake of Uniamesi. Of this Dr. Krapf had heard when on his second visit to Ukambani. At Kivoi's house he became acquainted with a merchant from Uembu, a country lying, according to his informant, two days' distance across the Dana, in a northerly direction, the mountain Ndurkenia, or Kirenia, in the language of the Wakuafi and Uembu people, being five more days' distance from Uembu. From the Ndurkenia, or White Mountain, several rivers are described as having their course, the Dana, the Tumbiri, and the Nsaraddi; the two former having their course towards the Indian Ocean; the latter running down into a lake on the north-eastern side of the Kenia, from whence it flowed north-east into a much larger lake, called Baringa.

Again, in the beginning of 1850, when voyaging along the coast from Mombas to the southern extremity of the Imaum of Muscat's dominions, at a village called Mtotána, Dr. Krapf met with a considerable number of Waniamesi. They had spent three months in coming down to the coast with ivory and slaves. These men all made mention of a great lake, which they described as increasing and decreasing, or as being subject to periods of flood and contraction.

At Tanga, again, Mr. Erhardt heard native testimony on this point. Being one of the starting-points from the coast into the interior, he found himself there, as well as at Fuga, Kmeri's capital, brought into communication with caravan-leaders, Arabs, Suahelis, ivory-merchants, and slave-dealers, who visited him in his tent, and freely communicated to him what they knew of the interior; and it certainly did seem remarkable, "that persons journeying into the interior, all from very different starting-points, along a tract of coast extending some six degrees of latitude, should represent themselves, at very varying points of distance from the coast, as arriving at a bahari, or inland sea." Their statements also indicated, not two lakes, but one only, the lake Niassa being, according to their view, simply a prolongation of the lake of Uniamesi.

Mr. Rebmann, at Kisuludini, the Mission-

station at Mombas, had obtained similar shreds of information from a man in his service, who had been a slave at Mombas, and who described his native country as lying two days' west from a lake, which, by the tribes who reside on its banks, is called Niansha, or Nianja He had been used to go often to the lake, in search of a species of palm, of the leaves of which the natives made mats, bags, &c., as also to buy cotton, which is grown near the lake, and of which a coarse kind of cloth is prepared. The lake, from his description of it, and from more recent information, would appear to be the Niassa lake, yet he called it the Niansha. Thus names and descriptions were all confused. The two Missionaries resolved all the descrepancies and difficulties into one enormous inland sea, a map of which, as an approximation to the reality, appeared in our volume for 1856. This vast body of water was spread over an area extending from the equator to 13° south latitude, and from the 24° to the 35° of east longitude; the apex of the broad portion lying on the 27° east longitude, and the extremity of the tail-like projection to the south, touching the 35° east longitude, the shores being eastern and western shores, until, about the 8° and 10° of south latitude, they respectively curve to the east, and, having considerably approached each other and diminished the breadth of the water, they become north and south shores, until they approach the 36° of east longitude, when still nearing each other, they curve to north and south, and terminate in a tail-like prolongation. This enormous and strangely-shaped sea, in which, as we now perceive, not less, perhaps, than three distinct bodies of water were confused, received as many names as belonged to its supposed constituent members, being in one part the Ukerewe sea, then the Nianja, and also, by corruption, the Niassa, the whole being designated the Uniamesi sea.

Now, when we published Mr. Erhardt's map, which had previously appeared in the "Calwer-blatt," and also in a Number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London," we presented it simply as a compilation from native sources, and as shadowing out the existence of phenomena in this portion of the African interior which would repay investigation. This was the object we had in view. We extract one paragraph from our Number for August 1856—"The statements of our Missionaries, and the objections urged against them, are before our readers. Without pledging ourselves to the accuracy of all their views, and making due allowance for the uncertainty connected with native reports, enough remains to arrest the attention of scientific men. Is it impossible to ascertain what is the fact? Have not geographical problems of much less interest and importance elicited repeated expeditions and persevering efforts at discovery?" The investigation which we thus pleaded for has been carried out, through the energy and perseverance of the Royal Geographical Society, and the results are before us in the deeply-interesting discoveries of Captains Burton and Speke.

"Many," writes Captain Speke, "may remember the excitement produced by an extraordinary map, and a more extraordinary lake figuring upon it, of a rather slug-like shape, which drew forth risible observations from all who entered the Royal Geographical Society's rooms in the year 1856. In order to ascertain the truthfulness of the said map, the Royal Geographical Society appointed Captain Burton to investigate this monster piece of water, represented as extending from the equator to 14° south latitude, as having a breadth of two to three hundred miles, and as lying at a distance of seven hundred miles inland west from Zanzibar.

"As Captain Burton and myself had been engaged on a former occasion exploring the Somali country in Eastern Africa together, he invited me to join him in these investigations."*

Kaolé, a village on the mainland, a little south of the Kingani river, was the coast starting-point of the expedition. The "caravan consisted of an Arab called Shayk Said, the Ras-cafila (head of the caravan), some porters of the Wanyamuézi tribe, and a host of donkeys for riding" and the transport of goods. Besides these, there were some negroes hired through the medium of an Hindi merchant, who carried muskets, and were in other ways useful. The lowland between the coast-range and the sea was first passed. It is described as diversified with flats and terraces, well-peopled and cultivated, and rich in forests and large tropical vegetation. At about one hundred miles distant from the seashore, the east coast range of mountains was reached, which extends from 9° north latitude down nearly to the Cape of Good Hope. These hills, nowhere exceeding 6000 feet in elevation, are in lines and masses, intersected by valleys, through which the rivers of the east coast find their way. Descending westward, our travellers reached an elevated plateau, chiefly wild forest, and with comparatively few inhabitants. It extends westward two hundred

* "Blackwood," September 1859.

and twenty miles, its average altitude being from 2500 to 4000 feet. Here were found the Wagogo and Wanyamuézi tribes, "who live in huts of a very civilized appearance, and far more comfortable than those possessed by any other interior clan." In the centre of the Wanyamuézi tribe lies Kazeh, an Arab dépôt, in south latitude 5° and east longitude 33°, "the immediate district of which is called Unyanyembe." From this point the caravans diverge to the different points, west, north, and south, where they are accustomed to meet and traffic with the tribes of the interior. There our travellers remained a month. Proceeding "westwards in the height of the monsoon, they passed through a country highly cultivated, producing rice, sugar-cane, and all Indian productions, the people weaving their cotton into loin cloths." One remarkable feature of this region was its gradual decline westwards, amounting to 1800 feet in one hundred and forty-five miles. After travelling along this decline about one hundred and fifty miles, our travellers ascended a mountain-spur, and, from the summit of the ridge, beheld the magnificent lake they were in search of. There it lay, overshadowed, as to its northern half, by a large crescent-shaped mass of mountains, which our travellers did not hesitate to recognise as the true Mountains of the Moon. Their disposition around the lake at once showed the appropriateness of the name, and the reason why they were so designated. At the north end of the lake the mountain mass is large and deep, but it throws out horns on either flank in a crescent shape, so as to stretch southward down the east and west side of the lake. The lake itself "lying between 3° and 8° south latitude, and 29° east longitude, has a length of three hundred miles, and is from thirty to forty broad in its centre, but tapers towards each end. The surface-level, as I ascertained by the temperature of boiling water, is only eighteen hundred feet, and it appears quite sunk into the lap of these mountains. It lies in a trough-like or synclinal depression, draining the waters of all the surrounding districts into its own bosom. Its waters are very sweet, and abound with delicious fish in great variety. Its shores are thickly inhabited by numerous tribes of the true Negro breed, amongst which the most conspicuous are the Wabembe cannibals, into whose territory no Arabs durst ever venture."*

Ujiji was the first place which they sought to reach, being the hamlet on the eastern shore which the Arabs chiefly frequent. It had been known to our Missionaries on the coast as the starting-point for row-boats, to cross the lake to the opposite shore, and our travellers found it to be the only district where canoes were obtainable. These were, however, nothing save little cockle-shell things, made out of the hollowed trunks of trees, liable to be driven ashore by a heavy gust, an event which might prove to be very serious, as the tribes around the coast were all in a state of hostility with each other. The native boatmen were therefore afraid to commit themselves to them, except for short distances and on a friendly beat. At length a boat was obtained at an exorbitant price—a long, "narrow canoe, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree These vessels are mostly built from large timbers, growing in the district of Uguhha, on the western side of the lake. The savages fell them, lop off the branches and ends to the length required, and then, after covering the upper surface with wet mud, as the tree lies upon the ground, they set fire to and smoulder out its interior, until nothing but a case remains, which they finish up by paring out with roughly-constructed hatchets. The seats of these canoes are bars of wood tied transversely to the length."†

On examination, it was found to require considerable repairs before it could be considered seaworthy; and while these were going forward, Captain Speke occupied himself in recruiting his health, which, as well as Captain Burton's, had suffered severely since they had left the elevated plateau, and descended into the richly-productive regions which bordered the lake. He visited frequently the market at Ujiji. "The market is held between the hours of ten A.M. and four P.M. near the port, and consists of a few temporary huts, composed of grass and branches hastily tied together. Most of these are thrown up day by day. The commodities brought for sale are fish, flesh, tobacco, palm-oil, and spirits, different kinds of potatoes, artichokes, several sorts of beans, plantains, melons, cotton, sugar-cane, a variety of pulse and vegetables, and ivories, and sometimes slaves."‡

The party in the boat consisted of six of Captain Speke's people and twenty naked savage sailors. They pulled southward along the eastern shore, now along a low shelving beach, now hugging a bold bluff, the foreground being backed by small well-wooded hills, and densely wooded to the water's edge.

* "Blackwood," September 1859.

† "Blackwood," September 1859.

‡ Ibid.

"Could but a little civilized art, as white-washed houses, well-trained gardens, and the like, vary these ever-green hills and trees, and diversify the unceasing monotony of hill and dale, and dale and hill—of green trees, green grass—green grass, green trees—so wearisome in their luxuriance, what a paradise of beauty would this place present! The deep blue waters of the lake in contrast with the vegetation and large brown rocks form everywhere an object of intense attraction; but the appetite soon wearies of such profusion, without the contrast of more sober tints, or the variety incidental to a populous and inhabited country. There are said to be some few scattered villages concealed in these dense jungles extending away in the background, but how the shores should be so desolate strikes one with much surprise. The naturally excessive growth of all vegetable life is sufficient proof of the soil's capabilities. Unless in former times this beautiful country has been harrassed by neighbouring tribes, and despoiled of its men and cattle to satisfy the spoilers and sell to distant markets, its present state appears quite incomprehensible. In hazarding this conjecture, it might be thought that I am taking an extreme view of the case; but when we see everywhere in Africa what one slave-hunt or cattle-lifting party can effect, it is not unreasonable to imagine that this was most probably the cause of such utter desolation here. These war-parties lay waste the tracts they visit for endless time. Indeed, until the effects of slavery and the so-called *free labour* are suppressed in Africa, we may expect to find such places in a similarly melancholy state."*

Animal life was most abundant. Crocodiles frequented the lake; hippopotami were also numerous. On the shores might be seen herds of wild buffaloes, horned like the Cape ones. The trail of elephants was also occasionally visible, and antelopes were sprung. At length they neared that part of the lake which, as being the narrowest, is selected as the crossing-place for canoes, the starting-points being Kabogo on the west shore, and Kasengé on the east. Kivira, an island near the western shore, with the Uguhha mountains in the background, was reached after fourteen hours occupied in crossing. From the summit of this island a good view of the lake was obtained.

"Kivira Island is a massive hill, about five miles long by two or three broad, and is irregularly shaped. In places there are high flats, formed in terraces, but generally the steeps are abrupt and thickly wooded. The mainland immediately west is a promontory, at the southern extremity of the Uguhha mountains, on the western coast of the Tanganyika; and the island is detached from it by so narrow a strip of water, that unless you obtained a profile view, it might easily be mistaken for a headland. The population is considerable, and they live in mushroom huts, situated on the high flats and easier slopes, where they cultivate the manioc, sweet potato, maize, millet, various kinds of pulse, and all the common vegetables in general use about the country. Poultry abounds in the villages. The dress of the people is simple, consisting of small black monkey-skins, cat-skins, and the furs of any vermin they can get. These are tucked under a waist-strap, and, according to the number they possess, go completely or only half-way round the body, the animals' heads hanging in front and the tails always depending gracefully below. These monkeys are easily captured when the maize is ripe, by a number of people stealthily staking small square nets in contiguous lines all round the fields which these animals may be occupied in robbing, and then with screams and yells, flinging sticks and stones, the hunters rush upon the affrighted thieves, till, in their hurry and confusion to escape, they become irretrievably entangled in the meshes."*

At Kasenge Captain Speke was the guest of an Arab, Shaykh Hamed bin Sulayyim, by whom a tempting offer was made to him to prosecute his researches westward of the lake. The Shaykh was about to march in a few days about a hundred miles to the south-west, to a country called Urawa, a territory belonging to Sultan Keyombo. Uruwwa is about half-way across the continent, and thus the line of exploration from the east would be brought near to those which have been traced by Livingstone. The roads were described "as easy to travel over, for the track lay across an undulating country, intersected by many small insignificant streams, which only contribute to fertilize the land, and present no obstacles whatever. The line is cheap, and affords provisions in abundance."

The proceedings of this Shaykh may serve to show how research is going forward from the east coast, and the Arabs induced to penetrate further and further into the central area. "It may appear odd that men should go so far into the interior of Africa to procure ivory, when undoubtedly much is to be found at places not half so distant from Zanzibar; but the reason of it is simple. The nearer coun-

* "Blackwood," September 1859.

* "Blackwood," September 1859.

tries have become so overstocked with beads and cloth, that ivory there has risen to so great a price, it does not pay its transport Hence every succeeding year finds the Arabs penetrating farther inland."*

On Captain Speke's return to Ujiji, Kannina, the chief of that district, having some ivory business to transact with the Sultan of Uvira, a district on the northern and western shore of the lake, agreed to take the exploratory party thither in two canoes, and show them a large river, the Rusizi, which Shaykh Hamed had described as running out of the lake, but which Captain Speke felt assured must flow into it.

"I feel convinced that he was romancing when talking of the northern rivers' flow, not only because the northern end of the lake is encircled by high hills—the concave of the Mountains of the Moon—but because the lake's altitude is so much less than that of the adjacent plateaus. Indeed, the waters of the lake are so low as to convey the impression that the trough they lie in has been formed by volcanic agency."†

On arriving, however, at Uvira, Kannina could not be persuaded to go any further, although "the remaining distance to the river could have been accomplished in about six hours' paddling." But the Sultan's son, who visited them soon after their arrival, assured them that the river drained the high mountains to the north, and discharged its waters into the lake.

"I should not have been satisfied with this counter-statement alone (knowing, as everybody must who travels amongst unenlightened men, that they have a proverbial habit of describing a river's flow to be the opposite of what it is), had I not ascended some neighbouring heights, and observed the mountains increasing in size as they extended away to the northward, and effectually closing in this low lake, which is not quite half the altitude of the surface-level of the general interior plateau, and cannot, therefore, under any circumstances, have an overflow of water."‡

The districts around the lake appear to contain a considerable population, although diminished by slave-hunts, which depress the people, and discourage them from any effort to improve their condition.

"In consequence of these slave-hunts the country is kept in such a state of commotion that no one thinks it worth his while to make accumulations of property, and consequently the negroes now only live for the day, and keep no granaries, never thinking of exerting themselves to better their condition. Without doubt it is mainly owing to this unfortunate influence of slavery on African society that we have been kept so long ignorant of the vast resources of Eastern and Central Africa—a vast field, full of resources, which would be of so much value to Zanzibar and neighbouring India, were it only properly developed."*

Of the demoralizing influence of slave-trading transactions, and the fearful way in which they dry up natural affection, and harden each man's heart against his fellow, some painful evidences will be found in the following description of the people of Kasengé—

"The population is very considerable. They are extremely filthy in their habits, and are incessantly inquisitive, as far at least as gratifying their idle curiosity is concerned. From having no industrial occupations, they will stand for hours and hours together, watching any strange object, and are, in consequence, an infinite pest to any stranger coming near them. In appearance they are not much unlike the Kaffir, resembling that tribe both in size, height, and general bearing, having enlarged lips, flattish noses, and frizzly woolly hair. They are very easily amused, and generally wear smiling faces. The women are better dressed than the men, having a cloth round the body, fastened under the arms, and reaching below the knees, and generally beads, brass necklaces, or other ornaments, while the latter only wear a single goat-skin slung game-bag fashion over the shoulder, or, when they possess it, a short cloth tied kilt fashion round the waist. They lie about their huts like swine, with little more animation on a warm day than the pig has when basking in a summer's sun. The mothers of these savage people have infinitely less affection than many savage beasts of my acquaintance. I have seen a mother bear, galled by constant fire, obstinately meet her death, by repeatedly returning under a shower of bullets, endeavouring to rescue her young from the grasp of intruding men. But here, for a simple loin-cloth or two, human mothers eagerly exchanged their little offspring, delivering them into perpetual bondage to my Belooch soldiers."†

Capt. Speke disallows the possibility of natives of Africa being procurable as free labourers. The state of society is not such as to "induce the negroes to leave their easy homes and

* "Blackwood," September 1859.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. Oct. 1859.

* "Blackwood," September 1859.
† Ibid.

seek for hard service abroad. Nothing is more foreign to their inclinations. Nor can men be found willing to exile themselves as free labourers in any part of these African regions. In the first place, the negro has as great an antipathy to work as a mad dog has to water: he will avoid it by every stratagem within his power."*

"When a market for free labourers is once opened—when the draining poultice is once applied to Africa's exterior—then the interior will assuredly be drained of all its working men, and become more a waste than ever. To supply the markets with those free cattle becomes so lucrative a means of gain, that merchants would stick at no expedient in endeavouring to secure them. The country, so full as we have seen it of all the useful necessaries of life, able to supply our markets and relieve our people by cheapening all commodities, would, if slavery were only permitted to increase, soon be devastated for the very minor consideration of improving a few small islands in the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, slavery has only to be suppressed entirely, and the country would soon yield one hundredfold more than ever it has done before. The merchants themselves are aware of this, for every Hindí on the coast with whom I ever spoke on the subject of slavery, seemed confident that the true prosperity of Africa would only commence with the cessation of slavery."†

Our travellers returned to Kazeh by the end of June, and there Capt. Speke occupied himself in preparations for a still more arduous undertaking. His Arab host at Kazeh, on his first arrival there, had told him of another great body of interior water, which he called the Ukerewe Sea, and had urged that he should journey there instead of to the smaller waters of Ujiji.

This man very distinctly described the particulars of his journey to Kibuga, supposed to be in 2° north latitude, and 31° east long., where he had remained with king Sunna for three years. "Starting from Unyanyembé, he approached the lake, and entered the Karagwah district, the only difficulty which he experienced on the march arising from the Wasoe tribe, who are situated at the beginning of the Karagwah district." This district, "a mountainous tract of land, containing several high spurs of hills, the eastern buttresses of those *Lunæ montes*, and washed on the flanks by the Ukerewe Sea, is bounded on the north by the Kitangura river, beyond which the Wanyoros territory, crescent shape, lies, with the horns directed eastward. Amidst them, situate in the concave or lake side, are the Wagandas," whose capital is Kibuga. The Kitangura river constitutes the northern boundary of the Karagwah district. It was described by the native informant as very "great, with much water flowing from Urundi, a district in the Mountains of the Moon, and pursuing a north-easterly course towards the lake. Besides lesser streams, one other large river was passed, the Katonga, like the rest coming from the west, and flowing towards the lake. It has a span of 2000 yards, and is very deep when full; but sinks and is very sluggish in the dry season." From a Hindu merchant called Musa, Captain Speke obtained still further information. He spoke of "a third large river to the northward of the line, lying north beyond Uganda: it is much larger than the Katonga, and is generally called the Usoga river, because it waters that district." "He produced a negro slave of the Wanyoro tribe who had been to Usoga, and had seen the river in question This man called the river Kivira, and described it as being much broader, deeper, and stronger in its current than either the Katonga or Kitangura river; that it came from the generally acknowledged direction of the lake, and that it intersected stony, hilly ground on its passage to the north-west. This river Kivira I now believe (although I must confess at first I did not) is the Nile itself; for on a subsequent occasion, when talking to a very respectable Suaheli merchant, by name Shaykh Abdullah bin Nasib, about the Nyanza, he corroborated the story about the mariners, who are said to keep logs and use sextants, and mentioned that he had heard of a tribe called Bari, living on the Kivira river. Now the Bari people mentioned by him are evidently those which have long since been known to us as a tribe living on the Nile in latitude 4° north, and longitude 32° east, and described by the different Egyptian expeditions sent up the Nile to discover its source. M. Ferdinand Werne (says Dr. Beke) has published an account of the second expedition's proceedings, in which he took part; and which, it appears, succeeded in getting further up the river than either of the others. 'The author states that, according to Lacono, king of Bari, the course of the river continues thence southwards a distance of thirty days' journey.' This, by Dr. Beke's computation, places the source of the Nile just where I have since discovered the Nyanza's southern extremity to be, in the second degree south longitude, lying in the Uniamesi country. Here we see how sin-

* "Blackwood," Sept. 1859. † Ibid.

gularly all the different informers' statements blend together, in substantiating my opinion that the Nyanza is the great reservoir or fountain-head of that mighty stream that floated father Moses on his first adventurous sail—the Nile. Even Ptolemy, we see, is right in stating that the Nile is fed by the waters coming from the Mountains of the Moon: and though he has not placed those mountains exactly where they should be on his map—from not understanding the true disposition of the various physical geographical features which occupy that part of Africa—still it is wonderfully near the truth for an hypothetical production."*

In following out the native accounts which Captain Speke collected, we have unavoidably anticipated much of the subsequent narrative. We cannot be surprised, if, with such information before him, he decided to undertake a second expedition in search of the great lake, which the Arabs declared to be "both broader and longer than the Tanganyika, and which they call Ukarewe, after the island where their caravans go for ivory." The details of this expedition, which are deeply interesting, will be found in Blackwood's Magazine for October and November of last year. To that publication we must refer our readers, as our digest of the various incidents must be very brief.

The caravan, which, from severe illness, Captain Burton was unable to accompany, left Kazeh on July 9th, 1858. They first passed through the cultivated plain of Unyanyembé, where the comfortable structure of the villages arrested attention. "As is the case in all central Uniamesi, they form a large hollow square, the walls of which are their huts, ranged on all sides of it in a sort of street, consisting of two walls, the breadth of an ordinary room, which is partitioned off to a convenient size by interior walls of the same earth-construction as the exterior ones, or as our Sepoys' lines are made in India. The roof is flat, and serves as a store-place for keeping sticks to burn, drying grain, pumpkins, mushrooms, or any vegetables they may have. Most of these compartments contain the families of the villagers, together with their poultry, brewing utensils, cooking apparatus, stores of grain, and any thing they possess. The remainder contain their flocks and herds, principally goats and cows, for sheep do not breed well in the country, and their flesh is not much approved of by the people. What few sheep there are appear to be an offshoot from the Persian stock. They have a very scraggy appearance, and show but the slightest signs of the fat-rumped proportions of their ancestors. The cows, unlike the noble Tanganyika ones, are small and short-horned, and are of a variety of colours. They carry a hump like the Brahminy bull, but give very little milk. In front of nearly every house you see large slabs of granite, the stones on which the jowari is ground by women, who, kneeling before them, rub the grain down to flour with a smaller stone, which they hold with both hands at once. Thus rubbing and grinding away, their bodies sway monotonously to and fro, while they cheer the time by singing and droning in cadence to the motion of their bodies." *

Beyond the limits of Uniamesi proper the dwellings of the population deteriorate. "They consist of a number of mushroom-shaped grass huts, surrounded by a tall slender palisading, and having streets or passages of the same wooden construction, some winding, some straight, and others crosswise, with outlets at certain distances leading into the different courts, each court usually containing five or six huts, partitioned off with poles as the streets are. These courts serve for dividing the different families, uncles and cousins occupying some, whilst slaves and their relatives live in others. Besides this, they have their cattle-yards. If the site of the village be on moist or soft ground, it is usual, in addition to the palisading, to have it further fortified by a moat or evergreen fence."†

As they advanced the scenery varied: sometimes there were extensively-cultivated plains, where flesh, milk, eggs, and every variety of vegetable abounded; at other times the country lay "in long waves, crested with cropping little hills, thickly clad with small trees and brushwood. In the hollows of these waves the cultivation is very abundant." The population was occasionally so dense as to astonish the coast people by whom Captain Speke was attended. In the Msalala district the road is described as tolerably thronged with them: they had heard that Msungu was passing by, and came, many of them, a long way to see him.

On his return journey the same fact is adverted to. "This country being full of sweet springs, accounts for the denseness of the population and numberless herds of cattle. To look upon its resources, one is struck with amazement at the waste of the world: if, instead of this district being in the hands of its present owners, it were ruled by a few scores of Eu-

* "Blackwood," October 1859.

* "Blackwood," October 1859.

† Ibid.

ropears, what an entire revolution a few years would bring forth! An extensive market would be opened to the world, the present nakedness of the land would have a covering, and industry and commerce would clear the way for civilization and enlightenment. At present the natural inert laziness and ignorance of the people is their own and their country's bane. They are all totally unaware of the treasures at their feet. This dreadful sloth is in part engendered by the excessive bounty of the land in its natural state; by the little want of clothes or other luxuries, in consequence of the congenial temperature; and from the people having no higher object in view than the first-coming meal, and no other stimulus to exertion by example or any thing else."*

Captain Speke eulogizes the climate. On the 27th of July he says—

"To walk till breakfast, nine A.M., every morning, I find a luxury, and thence till noon I ride with pleasure; but the next three hours, though pleasant in a hut, are too warm to be agreeable under hard exertion. The evenings and the mornings, again, are particularly serene, and the night, after ten P.M., so cold as to render a blanket necessary. But then you must remember that all the country about these latitudes, on this meridian, 33° east, is at an altitude of 3500 to 4000 feet."†

Yet it must be remembered, that during the first eight months of their residence in East Africa our travellers suffered much from sickness. "The climate is a paradox quite beyond my solving, unless the numerous and severe maladies that we all suffered from, during the first eight months of our explorations, may be attributed to too much exposure; and even that does not solve the problem. To all appearance the whole of the country to the westward of the east-coast range is high, dry, and healthy. No unpleasant exhalations pollute the atmosphere; there are no extremes of temperature; the air is neither too hot nor too cold; and a little care in hutting, dressing, and diet, should obviate any evil effects of exposure. Springs of good water, and wholesome food, are everywhere obtainable. Flies and musquitos, the great Indian pests, are scarcely known, and the tsetse of the south nowhere exists."‡

On the 26th, after passing some village cultivations, they "entered a waterless wilderness of thorn and tree forest, with some long and broad plains of tall grass intersecting the line of march. These flats very much resemble some we crossed when travelling close to and parallel with the Malagarazi river; for by the cracked and flawy nature of the ground, now parched up by a constant drought, it shows that this part gets inundated in the wet season. Indeed, this peculiar grassy flat formation suggests the proximity of a river everywhere in Africa; and I felt sure, as afterwards proved true, that a river was not far from us. The existence of animal life is another warranty of water being near: elephants and buffaloes cannot live a day without it."*

On the 30th a sheet of water was discernible, which "proved to be a creek, the southern point of the Great Nyanza." Along this creek they advanced, the country having "a mixed and large population of smiths, agriculturists, and herdsmen, residing in the flats and depressions which lie between the scattered little hills. During the rainy season, when the lake swells, and the country becomes super-saturated, the inundations are so great that all travelling becomes suspended."†

The creek continued to increase in breadth as it extended northward, until it had attained very considerable dimensions, with "many little islands, well-wooded elevations, standing boldly out of its waters, which, together with the hill-dotted country around, afforded a most agreeable prospect." The route was sometimes "close by the creek, at other times winding between small hills, the valleys of which were thickly inhabited by both agricultural and pastoral people. Here some small perennial streams, exuding from springs by the base of these hills, meander through the valleys, and keep all vegetable life in a constant state of verdant freshness."‡

At length, on August 3d, from an elevated point, "the vast expanse of the pale-blue waters of the Nyanza" burst suddenly on the view. "It was early morning. The distant sea-line of the north horizon was defined in the calm atmosphere between the north and west points of the compass; but even this did not afford me any idea of the breadth of the lake, as an archipelago of islands, each consisting of a single hill, rising to a height of 200 or 300 feet above the water, intersected the line of vision to the left; while on the right the western horn of the Ukerewé Island cut off any further view of its distant waters to the eastward of north."

"This view was one which, even in a well-known and explored country, would have

* "Blackwood," November 1859.
† Ibid. Oct. 1859. ‡ Ibid. Nov. 1859.

* "Blackwood," Oct. 1859. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

arrested the traveller by its peaceful beauty. The islands, each swelling in a gentle slope to a rounded summit, clothed with wood between the rugged angular closely-cropping rocks of granite, seemed mirrored in the calm surface of the lake; on which I here and there detected a small black speck, the tiny canoe of some Muanza fisherman. On the gently shelving plain below me, blue smoke curled above the trees, which here and there partially concealed villages and hamlets, their brown thatched roofs contrasting with the emerald green of the beautiful milk-bush, the coral branches of which cluster in such profusion round the cottages, and form alleys and hedegrows about the villages as ornamental as any garden shrub in England. But the pleasure of the mere view vanished in the presence of those more intense and exciting emotions which are called up by the consideration of the commercial and geographical importance of the prospect before me. I no longer felt any doubt that the lake at my feet gave birth to that interesting river, the source of which has been the subject of so many explorers."*

Captain Speke stayed his advance northward at a point 226 miles distant from Kazeh. There, from the summit of a small hill, which he called Observatory Hill, he was enabled to take compass-bearings of all the principal features of the lake.

"On facing to the W.N.W., I could only see a sea horizon; and, on inquiring how far back the land lay, was assured that, beyond the island of Ukerewé, there was an equal expanse of it east and west, and that it would be more than double the distance of the little hill before alluded to, or from eighty to one hundred miles in breadth. On my inquiring about the lake's length, the man faced to the north, and began nodding his head to it; at the same time he kept throwing forward his right hand, and, making repeated snaps of his fingers, endeavoured to indicate something immeasurable; and added, that nobody knew, but he thought it probably extended to the end of the world."†

Such, then, is the great inland sea of Equatorial Africa, so long bruited in native reports and Missionary journals, and now at length proved to be a reality.

"The Nyanza, as we now see, is a large expansive sheet of water, flush with the basial surface of the country, and lies between the Mountains of the Moon (on its western side), having, according to Dr. Krapf, snowy Kenia on its eastern flank. Dr. Krapf tells us of a large river flowing down from the western side of this snowy peak, and trending away to the north-west, in a direction, as will be seen by the map, leading right into my lake. Now, returning again to the western side, we find that the Nyanza is plentifully supplied by those streams coming from the *Lunæ Montes*, of which the Arabs, one and all, give such consistent and concise accounts; and the flowings of which, being north-easterly, must, in course of time and distance, commingle with those north-westerly off-flowings, before mentioned, of Mons Kenia. My impression is, after hearing everybody's story on the matter, that these streams enter at opposite sides of the lake, on the northern side of the Equator, and are consequently very considerable feeders to it."*

On the return journey the general features of the country were carefully observed. Its capabilities and resources are highly spoken of.

"The flats and hollows are well peopled, and cattle and cultivation are everywhere abundant. The stone, soil, and aspect of this tract is uniform throughout. The stone is chiefly granite, the rugged rocks of which lie like knobs of sugar over the surface of the little hills, intermingled with sandstone in a highly ferruginous state; whilst the soil is an accumulation of sand the same colour as the stone, a light brownish grey, and appears as if it were formed of disintegrated particles of the rocks worn off by time and weathering. Small trees and brushwood cover all the outcropping hills; and palms on the plains, though few and widely spread, prove that water is very near the surface. Springs, too, are numerous, and generally distributed. The mean level of the country between Unyanyembé and the lake is 3767 feet; that of the lake itself, 3750. The tribes, as a rule, are well disposed towards all strangers, and wish to extend their commerce. Their social state rather represents a conservative than a radical disposition; and their government is a sort of semi-patriarchal-feudal arrangement, and, like a band of robbers, all hold together from feeling the necessity of mutual support. Bordering the south of the lake, there are vast fields of iron; cotton is also abundant; and every tropical plant or tree could grow: those that do exist, even rice, vegetate in the utmost luxuriance. Cattle are very abundant, and hides fill every house. On the east of the lake ivory is said to be very abundant and cheap; and on the west we hear of many advantages which are especially worthy of

* "Blackwood", October 1859.

† Ibid.

* "Blackwood," October 1859.

our notice. The Karagwa hills overlooking the lake are high, cold, and healthy, and have enormous droves of cattle bearing horns of stupendous size; and ivory, fine timber, and all the necessaries of life, are to be found in great profusion there. Again, beyond the equator, of the kingdom of Uganda we hear from everybody a rapturous account. That country evidently swarms with people who cultivate coffee and all the common grains, and have large flocks and herds, even greater than what I have lately seen. Now if the Nyanza be really the Nile's fount, which I sincerely believe to be the case, what an advantage this will be to the English merchant on the Nile, and what a field is open to the world, if, as I hope will be the case, England does not neglect this discovery!"*

In the above paragraph, Captain Speke connects the discoveries which have been made from the south with those which have approached the Equator from the north. How near have the latter approximated, and what may be the amount of territory which intervenes between the recognised points of discovery?

There have been several expeditions sent forth by the Egyptian Government. The first originated with Mohammed Ali. When nearly eighty years of age, actuated by a desire to see the auriferous country of Fazokl, which, although insignificant in its yield, had been depicted as a new El Dorado, he had not hesitated to undertake a journey of 700 leagues. While resting awhile at Khartoum, his thoughts were carried towards the mysterious sources of the river, lying hid in the profound depths of the African continent. The Europeans by whom he was surrounded urged him to such an enterprise, and the exploration of the White River was resolved upon. But the first expedition was exclusively Egyptian, only one European, without assigned duties or authority, accompanying it. Destitute of every thing of a scientific character, no dependence could be placed on the observations which were made, and which were so incorrect, that Selim, the commandant, supposed he had reached 3½° latitude, N., when, in reality, he had not attained the sixth parallel.

This was followed by a second expedition, in which more attention was paid to scientific matters. Two French engineers in the Egyptian service, Messrs. D'Arnaud and Sabatier, were charged with the astronomical observations; another European was adjoined as naturalist; and a German physician was permitted to accompany the expedition as a passenger. To this person, Mr. Werne, we are indebted for the only detailed record of its proceedings. This expedition took place in 1840 and 1841; and scarcely had the vessels returned to Khartoum, in April 1841, when they set sail on a third expedition, of which M. D'Arnaud had again the scientific direction. This effort does not appear to have reached so far south as its predecessor.

Ever since 1843, when D'Arnaud's expedition returned to Cairo, the Egyptian Government has been intending a new effort in search of the sources of the White Nile, but although always contemplated, it has never been realized.

From other sources, however, new information has been obtained respecting the countries of the White River. Some has been furnished by Europeans, whom the gum and ivory traffic have brought, for fifteen years, to the uttermost limits of the discoveries made by the Egyptian expedition. M. Brun Rollet, a Sardinian subject of Savoyard origin, belongs to the first category. Without being a man of science, Mr. Brun Rollet was far from illiterate; the detached observations that have been received from him, and, finally, the volume which he has published on the higher region of the river, alike contain most interesting information. The greater part relates to the tribes with whom the traveller was brought into direct communication, or with whom he became acquainted through the report of natives. Information has also been acquired by the Romish Missionaries, who, with the usual activity of their system, have been pushed up the Nile. The Romish Mission to Central Africa was begun ten years ago by the Pontifical Government of Pius IX. An Austrian monk, the Rev. Ignatius Knoblecher, had the direction of it. He arrived at Balenia, the extreme point of the Egyptian discoveries, towards the middle of January 1850, and there he founded an establishment from whence Romish teaching was to radiate into the surrounding countries. A short notice of Mr. Knoblecher's journey has been printed from his letters, which contains remarks and statements as to the course of the river, and the population on its banks. The most considerable part, however, of the materials collected by him have not been published, and his astronomical observations have been withheld, which were the more necessary, as his notations are very different from those given by the Egyptian expedition of 1840. One of the priests of the Mission at Balenia, Angelo Vinco, has collected, during a residence of many years, much valuable

* "Blackwood," November 1859.

information on the countries and populations situated farther south, towards the Equator. Angelo, as well as Knoblecher, and M. Brun Rollet, have all, at short intervals, paid the fatal tribute from which so few Europeans escape in a tropical climate.

Let us now glance at some of the phenomena of these regions. When we take in, at one look, the Nile basin in its enormous extent, we see that the territory of this king of the African rivers divides itself into two large regions, perfectly distinct and separate, and of about equal lengths—southward from the Equator to the 17° N. latitude, the region of periodical rains; northwards, from the seventeenth parallel to the Mediterranean below the thirty-second, the region deprived of rain. This is a striking demarcation, because this great climatogical division produced by the annual path of the sun from one tropic to the other, corresponds exactly with the physical division of the basin of the Nile. The zone of rains is also the region of the highest tributaries of the river; for in the rainless zone, during a course of more than 500 leagues, the Nile receives not a single river, not a single brook even. In the upper part of the basin, over an extent of from 400 to 500 miles, there spreads out, as an immense fan, the vast network of confluent rivers, some descending from unknown heights near the Equator, others rolling through deep cuttings of the Abyssinian plateau, all of them watering countries where animal and vegetable life are most abundant. In the lower half, on the contrary, the waters of the Nile, shut up into one solitary channel, flow on silently through the arid waters of Egypt and Nubia, where, within the narrow space just bordering on the river, there alone is fertility. The last confluent of the Upper Nile, the Atbaza or Astabazas, joins itself to the river between the 17° and 18° N. latitude, at about the limit of the region of tropical rains. There the aridity of the sandy plains meets and mingles with the verdant vegetation of the first pasture lands. But if we ascend 2° or 3° farther south, to the plains where the white and blue rivers meet, the two great upper arms of the Nile, there the splendid vegetation of the tropics, at once displays itself.

M. Rüsseger, ascending from Khartoum to Elais, thus depicts the magnificent vigour of nature in this latitude—"The aspect that the river presents on approaching Elais is the very type of tropical beauty: an immense extent of water, all covered with islands thickly planted with trees, and wooded on both banks. You can see nothing but water and the sombre green of the forests of mimosas that the axe has never touched. Climbing plants, with brilliant flowers, meet and intertwine in such a way as to render the woods impenetrable: the trees, that stretch their branches far over the river, completely cover the shore. Crocodiles and hippopotami appear in great numbers."

It is much to be regretted that the extreme point of discoveries on the White River, among the Baris, is far from being satisfactorily determined, although at many different times astronomical observations have been made upon it. This is because these observations—a little in the latitude, and a great deal in the longitude—differ almost incredibly. This may be judged of by the following statements—

	N. Lat.	E. Long. from Paris.
The little island of Tshanker, the extreme boundary of the expedition of 1846, is, according to M. D'Arnaud .	4 · 42	29 · 18
Or, according to a previous estimate by the same traveller	— · —	29 · 42
According to Selim Bimbachi, the Egyptian Commander of the same expedition (Werne, p. 311)	4 · 35	30 · 05
According to M. Werne's Map	4 · 04	30 · 05
But according to Rev. Mr. Knoblecher (Periodical of the Paris Geographical Society, 1852, p. 27) the same spot is fixed at . .	4 · 37	26 · 20

In the latitude assigned to the island the greatest differences amount to scarcely 40 minutes—two-thirds of a degree; but it is very different with regard to the longitude. Between the statement of M. D'Arnaud (whether it was formed from direct observation, or from an estimate, we know not) and the observation of Mr. Knoblecher, the difference is one of three degrees and more. This difference increases by 45 minutes, or three-fourths of a degree, if we compare them with M. Werne's chart, whose statement M. Kiepert, the learned geographer of Berlin, followed. It is clear that the actual state of practical astronomy does not admit of such anomalies. One of the two figures, at least, is stained by a grave error.

The difference of opinon is of so much the more importance, inasmuch as it completely changes the aspect and course of the White River. According to the calculations of M. D'Arnaud and Selim, the river, from the marshy lake of Bahr-el-Ghazal, pursues a course to the south-east, as far as the island of Tshanker. According to Knoblecher, the

valley, notwithstanding slight variations, ascends direct south.

From the island of Tshanker, hills and ranges of hills appeared as a panorama dispersed about from east to west by north, with an elevation of from 600 to 3000 feet. The highest range, called Kugelu, appeared to the south-west, at a distance of about twenty hours, and beyond this Werne thought that other peaks were discernible. The Bari people all pointed south as the quarter from whence the Nile came, and as having its course amongst those granite ranges. "This," Captain Speke observes, is "equivalent to saying it comes from the Nyanza, as it lies exactly on the place thus specified." The conclusion, then, seems to be, that the Kivira is the Nile, which has its source in these interior waters. It may be observed that Dr. Krapf speaks of three rivers, which, according to native report, had their sources in the Kenia—the Dana, the Tumbiri, and Nsaradda, of which the two former were supposed to find their way to the Indian Ocean, and the latter to enter a large lake to the north-east. Now it is singular that at the isle of Tshanker the Nile is called the Tubirih, and we incline with Dr. Beke in thinking that in Dr. Krapf's account the Tumbiri and Nsaradda ought to have changed places.

On leaving the Uganda district, which is a high interior plateau, the Kivira is said to become rapid and boisterous, and such it appeared to be when emerging, at the island of Tshanker, from the rock and interrupted channel, through which, by rapids and cataracts, it had forced its way. "The river bed," says Werne, "beginning from hence, appears to be generally of a more rocky nature, for we perceive, even from the rocks on the island of Tshanker, breakers in the stream up the river;" and again, "the river here formerly broke violently through its projecting base, isolated Mount Lugi, which is like a half-demolished pyramid, and rushed down like a powerful waterfall." The sudden drop of the country to the northward from the lake region would at once account for this rush of water.

A difficulty has been suggested in assuming an identity between the Kivira, or river of Uganda, and Tubiri, or the river of the Bari, or, as it becomes in its further progress, the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White Nile; namely that the Nile in Lower Egypt begins to rise in June, and continues rising until September, and that this is irreconcileable with the monsoon in those lake regions of Central Africa, which are represented by Captains Burton and Speke "to have commenced in the autumn — a monsoon that could not produce a rise of the Nile in June."*

A reference to Captain Speke's journal as published in Blackwood's Magazine, at once removes this difficulty. On their return from the Tanganyika lake, they reached, early in June, the ferry on the river Malagazazi, the largest river on the eastern shore. "We found its appearance very different from what it was on our former visit, at the beginning of the monsoon. Then its waters were contained within its banks, of no considerable width; but now, although the rains had ceased here long ago, the river had not only overflowed its banks, but had submerged nearly all the valley in which it lies to the extent at least of a mile or more." A reference to the previous portion of the journal shows that the time of his first visit was on March 5th: that then was the beginning of the monsoon. Now it is remarkable that Werne, writing from the Bari country, says, under date of January 28th, "Rain begins here in two months' time."† As, therefore, Sir Roderick Murchison observed on the occasion of the meeting of June 13th, "the tropical rains cause these upland lakes and rivers to swell and burst their banks at a period which tallies very well with the rise of the Nile at Cairo."

In tracing the progress of discovery up the Nile, we have extracted largely from the "Bulletin de la Société de Geographie" for 1859, and we agree with the writer of that periodical in the conviction expressed by him, that in the region of the Upper Nile many researches as to detail, many verifications of statements and discoveries of importance, remain to be made; but that henceforth the field for investigation is clearly defined, and of limited extent. Captain Speke has reached nearly to the second parallel of south latitude, and the Egyptian discoveries to the 4½° north latitude. The native reports collected by Captain Speke shadow forth the physical features which will meet the eye of the first European explorer. A sailing boat, so constructed as to be capable of being taken to pieces, thus to be carried on asses to Unyanyembe, and thence to the southern shore of the Nyanza, and there put together, would with ease solve this interesting problem, and open to our view the mysteries of inner Africa. Compared with the explorations of Park, Denham, Clapperton, Barth, Krapf, and Livingstone, what remains to be

* "Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society." June 13th, 1859.

† Werne. Sources of Nile, Vol. II. p. 81.

done is of small extent; yet is it the keystone of the arch, and gives completion to all that has been already done.

The *resumé* of a paper read before a crowded meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday January 8th of the present year, may here with propriety be added. It is entitled—"Journey up the White Nile to the Equator, and Travels in the interior of Africa, in the years 1857-58, by Mr. J. Petherick, Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum." On the author's first expedition, in 1853, he reached the extreme limits of the Bahr el Ghazal, where he met opposition, which, on account of the cowardice of his men, he was unable to overcome; but in the next year he effected a landing, and, by establishing stations in that and the following year on his route, he believes that he actually penetrated as far as the Equator. Starting from Khartoum in December 1857, the author passed, on the 30th, Eleis, the last Egyptian settlement on the White Nile, leaving which they proceeded for two days through an uninhabited and unfertile country, when they reached, on the eastern bank, the Shillook, a fishing and commercial tribe; and on the western the Dinker, a nomadic tribe, its deadly enemy. The large island of Daenab was next passed, whence, proceeding through a level, well-wooded, and thickly-inhabited country, they arrived off the mouth of the Sobat, at its mouth about 100 yards wide, and which is supposed to have its source in the Galla and Berri countries. The Giraffe river, scarcely half the size of the Sobat, flowing from the S. E., was next passed: continuing to steer W. by a little N., they came to a large basin, into which the White Nile flows from the south. This lake is an accumulation of numberless rivulets and streams, overgrown with strong reeds, abounding in hippopotami in such profusion as to make a passage between them appear impossible. From here they continued their navigation to the Island of Kyt, whence they proceeded further into the interior by land, passing through the country of the Djour tribe. The natives hitherto met with are strictly pastoral, but they now entered a latitude where the tsetse fly abounds, and consequently cattle cannot exist: therefore the Djour tribe, as well as all the more southerly ones, are agricultural in their habits. Pursuing their journey amid numerous obstacles and perils, the author calculates that, having marched twenty-five days from the shore of the lake, in a direct line, the latitude of the Equator was reached. The general character of the country through which he passed is eminently fertile. In some places maize or millet, cotton of good staple, yarns, &c., are grown, and iron ore exists and is extensively worked by the Djour tribe.

"The President (Earl de Grey and Ripon), in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Petherick, stated that Her Majesty's Government had granted 2500*l.*, to be paid to the Society's bankers, and to be expended by the Council on behalf of the Eastern African Expedition, under the command of Captain Speke, and the President expressed a hope that these two explorers, one proceeding from the south and the other from the north, would, at some not far distant day, again meet, after having completed their respective undertakings, and satisfactorily traced the course of the Nile."

One extract more will conclude our *resumé* of these most interesting and important discoveries. It contains a special reference to the labours of our own Missionaries in East Africa, and indicates what may prove to be a suitable field for the prosecution of future efforts.

"I must now (after expressing a fervent hope that England especially, and the civilized world generally, will not neglect this land of promise) call attention to the marked fact, that the Church Missionaries, residing for many years at Zanzibar, are the prime and first promoters of this discovery. They have been, for years past, doing their utmost, with simple sincerity, to Christianize this negro land, and promote a civilized and happy state of existence for these benighted beings. During their sojourn among these blackamoors, they heard from Arabs and others of many of the facts I have now stated, but only in a confused way, such as might be expected in information derived from an uneducated people. Amongst the more important disclosures made by the Arabs was the constant reference to a large lake or inland sea, which their caravans were in the habit of visiting. It was a singular thing that, at whatever part of the coast the Missionaries arrived, on inquiring from the travelling merchants where they went to, they one and all started to an inland sea, the dimensions of which were such that nobody could give any estimate of its length or width. The directions they travelled in pointed north-west, west, and south-west, and their accounts seemed to indicate a single sheet of water extending from the Line down to 14° south latitude—a sea of about 840 miles in length, with an assumed breadth of two hundred to three hundred miles. In fact, from

this great combination of testimony that water lay generally in a continuous line from the Equator up to 14° south latitude, and from not being able to gain information of there being any territorial separations to the said water, they very naturally, and, I may add, fortunately, created that monster slug of an inland sea which so much attracted the attention of the geographical world in 1855-56, and caused our being sent out to Africa. The good that may result from this little, yet happy incident, will, I trust, prove proportionately as large and fruitful as the produce from the symbolical grain of mustard-seed; and nobody knows or believes in this more fully than one of the chief promoters of this exciting investigation, Dr. Rebmann. From these late explorations, he feels convinced, as he has oftentimes told me, that the first step has been taken in the right direction for the development of the commercial resources of the country, the spread of civilization, and the extension of our geographical knowledge.

"As many churchmen, Missionaries and others, have begged me to publish what facilities are open to the better prosecution of their noble ends in this wild country, I would certainly direct their attention to the Karagwah district, in preference to any other. There they will find, I feel convinced, a fine healthy country; a choice of ground from the mountain-top to the level of the lake, capable of affording them every comfort of life which an isolated place can produce; and, being the most remote region from the coast, they would have less interference from the Mohammedan communities that reside by the sea . . . . . As that country must be cold in consequence of its great altitude, the people would, much sooner than in the hotter and more enervating lowlands, learn any lessons of industry they might be taught."*

* "Blackwood," November 1859.

LIVINGSTONE'S DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA.

As our map embraces a portion of Livingstone's discoveries, we have thought that a digest of his extraordinary explorations might with advantage be appended to the previous article.

Dr. Livingstone's first Missionary station was at Kuruman, in the Bechuana country, about 700 miles from Cape Town, and there, and at two other stations—Chonuane and Kolobeng—he continued engaged in Missionary labours amongst the Bakwanis or Bechuanas, until the year 1849. Northward extended the vast flat called the Kalahari Desert, a region destitute of running water, although intersected by the beds of ancient rivers. Over these tracts roam prodigious herds of antelopes, in whose tracks follow the Bushmen, or Bakalahari, preying upon them as they move from place to place, and thus checking their inordinate increase. Lake Ngami had been heard of through native reports, and its exact position pointed out. In June 1849, Dr. Livingstone, accompanied by Messrs. Oswell and Murray, set out on an exploratory journey across the desert, striking, on the 4th of July, the Zouga, and reaching, on the 1st of August, the Lake Ngami. Its elevation was found to be not more than 2000 feet above sea-level, so that, in reaching it, the travellers had descended 2000 feet from Kolobeng. This shallow sheet of water spreads over an area of from seventy-five to one hundred geographical miles in circumference, and may be regarded as "the southern and lowest part of the great river system beyond, in which large tracts of country are inundated annually by tropical rains. A little of that water which, in the countries farther north, produces inundation, comes as far south as 20° 20′, the latitude of the upper end of the lake, and, instead of flooding the country, falls into the lake as into a reservoir."

Penetrating still further, Dr. Livingstone, in the year 1850, reached the Makololo country, and was kindly and hospitably received by their great chief, Sebituane. Into this district, and amongst these people, the slave-dealer had just entered, and Dr. Livingstone conceived the idea of arresting the spread of that deadly pestilence which has inflicted such evils on Africa, by introducing civilized commerce, and using, for this purpose, the waters of the great Zambesi, which this expedition had discovered to him. But the hope of using Kolobeng as a *point d'appui* was soon ended. In 1852 the Boers invaded the Bechuana country, ruining that Christian settlement, and breaking up the entire Missionary organization which had cost him years of labour.

The resolution to which Dr. Livingstone

came was prompt and decisive. Proceeding to Cape Town, he embarked his family in a homeward ship for England, and started on that long and arduous exploration, which occupied him from 1852 to 1856. After a journey of eleven months in the ponderous bullock-waggon of South Africa, he reached Linyanti, the capital of the Makololo, in May 1853, and was kindly received by Sekeletu, the son and successor of the deceased Sebituane. His great object was to induce the co-operation of this chief, and from his tribe to procure the volunteers and helps, without which further exploration was impossible. It is remarkable that Dr. Livingstone met in this region a party of Arabs from Zanzibar, a fact confirmatory of the statements made in our previous article, as to the great extent of country over which these men extend their journeys in prosecution of traffic, which never fails eventually to assume a slave-trading character. Dr. Livingstone had an interview with these men, who professed their dislike of the Portuguese, because they eat pigs, and of the English, because of their forcible interference with the slave-trade.

Dr. Livingstone now avowed his intention of endeavouring to reach Loanda, on the west coast, and a "picho," or assembly, was held, to determine the action of the Makololo. Some of the old divines croaked, and endeavoured to persuade their people from uniting in an expedition which they predicted would prove disastrous. "Where is he taking you to?" they exclaimed: "the white man is throwing you away: your garments already smell of blood." But the popular voice was in his favour, and a band of twenty-seven men were appointed to accompany him.

The party now prepared themselves for their start, and certainly never did a body of men voluntarily set forth on so serious an undertaking, with so spare an outfit: "a few biscuits, a few pounds of tea and sugar, and about twenty of coffee," constituted the provision stock. That of clothes was equally scanty, consisting of one small tin canister, about fifteen inches square, filled with spare shirting, trousers, and shoes, to be used when they reached civilized life, with some others in a bag, which were expected to wear out on the way. Three other boxes of the same size contained—one, some medicines; a second, some books; and the third, a magic lantern, which proved to be very useful. Three muskets for his people, a rifle and double-barrelled smooth bore for himself, were all the fire-arms which our traveller took with him, although on these and their ammunition depended, under God, the supplies of food. The money-chest, with its store, was 20 lbs. of beads, worth about forty shillings. "I had a secret conviction," observes Dr. Livingstone, "that if I did not succeed it would not be for lack of the 'nick-nacks' advertized as indispensable for travellers, but from want of 'pluck,' or because a large array of baggage excited the cupidity of the tribes through whose country we wished to pass."

Leaving Linyanti on November 11th, 1853, they embarked on the tortuous Chobe, and paddled along its windings until they reached its confluence with the Leeambye, when they commenced the ascent of the latter river. The generous order of Sekeletu secured for them kind treatment, and their progress was delayed by the supplies of food from the different villages. The banks of the river appeared to great advantage. Many trees were putting on their fresh green leaves, their lighter green contrasting beautifully with the motsouri or moyela, now covered with pink plums as large as cherries. New birds fluttered among the forest trees, and the musical notes of some of them sounded pleasantly beside the harsh voice of the little green, yellow-shouldered parrots of the country. Numbers of iguanos sat sunning themselves on overhanging branches; large alligators, with a heavy plunge, glided away as the canoes came suddenly round a bend of the stream; while in the deep reaches of the river were seen large herds of hippopotami. Thus they advanced along the Barotse valley, the people of every village treating them most liberally, and presenting oxen, butter, milk, and meal, more than could be stowed away in the canoes.

In speaking of the human inhabitants of these interesting regions, Dr. Livingstone observes—

"I shall not often advert to their depravity. My practice has always been to apply the remedy with all possible earnestness, but never allow my own mind to dwell on the dark shades of men's characters. I have never been able to draw pictures of guilt, as if that could awaken Christian sympathy. The evil is there. But all around in this fair creation are scenes of beauty, and to turn from these to ponder on deeds of sin, cannot promote a healthy state of the faculties. I attribute much of the bodily health I enjoy to following the plan adopted by most physicians, who, while engaged in active, laborious efforts to assist the needy, at the same time follow the delightful studies of some department of natural history. The human misery and sin we endeavour to alleviate and cure, may be likened to the sickness and impurity of some

of the back slums of great cities. One contents himself by ministering to the sick, and trying to remove causes without remaining longer in the filth than is necessary for his work; another, equally anxious for the public good, stirs up every cesspool, that he may describe its reeking vapours, and, by long contact with impurities, becomes himself infected, sickens, and dies."*

On December 27th the party reached the confluence of the Leeba and Leeambye, latitude 14° 10′ 52″ S., longitude 23° 35′ 40″ E.

They now began to ascend in a N. W. direction the placid Leeba, winding its way slowly through the most charming meadows. The trees were covered with a profusion of the freshest foliage, and were planted in groups of such a pleasant, graceful culture, that nothing could be done to improve them. Trees in flower brought to remembrance the pleasant fragrance of hawthorn hedges, and the flowers, unlike the scentless or nauseously-smelling tribes of the south, emitted sweet odours.

"On January the 1st, 1854, when crossing the confluence of the Leeba and Makondo, one of my men picked up a bit of steel watch-chain of English manufacture, and we were informed that this was the spot where the Mambari cross in coming to Masiko. . . . .

"These Mambari are very enterprising merchants: when they mean to trade with a town, they deliberately begin the affair by building huts, as if they knew that little business could be transacted without a liberal allowance of time for palaver. They bring Manchester goods into the heart of Africa: these cotton prints look so wonderful that the Makololo could not believe them to be the work of mortal hands. On questioning the Mambari they were answered that English manufactures came out of the sea, and beads were gathered on its shore. To Africans our cotton-mills are fairy dreams. 'How can the irons spin, weave, and print so beautifully?' Our country is like what Taprobane was to our ancestors — a strange realm of light, whence came the diamond, muslin, and peacocks: an attempt at explanation of our manufactures usually elicits the expression, 'Truly, ye are gods!'"†

On January 10th, at the solicitation of the chiefs of the Balonda, they left their canoes, and prosecuted their route on foot.

As they advanced north, the forests became more dense, so that the sunlight was veiled by the deep gloom. Large climbing plants, like boa-constrictors, entwined themselves around the trunks and branches of gigantic trees. It was now the rainy season, and this sufficed to complete the marked contrast which existed between this region and the arid and treeless flats of the Kalahari desert.

In this Balonda territory, every village had its idols near it for protection, so that when they came to an idol in the woods, they knew themselves to be within a quarter of an hour of human habitations. "One very ugly idol we passed rested on a horizontal beam, placed on two upright posts. This beam was furnished with two loops of cord, as of a chain, to suspend offerings before it."

On January 16th they encountered two Portuguese traders, having with them a gang of young female slaves in chains. It was the first time the Makololo had seen slaves in chains. "They are not men," they exclaimed, "who treat their children so."

Such was the prevalence of rain and the cloudiness of the atmosphere, that Dr. Livingstone only obtained one observation during his journey through the Balonda territory, and that gave longitude 22° 57′ east, and latitude 12° 6′ 6″ south. Again and again did he take out his instruments, and, when all was prepared, the stars became suddenly obscured. Heavy night and early morning rains kept pouring down, until his tent became so thin as to admit the rain in a thin mist.

They had now reached the water-shed which divides the southern and northern rivers, consisting, not of a mountain-range, but of vast plains, or table-land, covered with swamps, and shallow lakes, its height at the swampy Lake Dilolo, which lies on one part of the summit-level, being not more than 4000 feet.

Proceeding in a N. N. W. direction, they entered a district in which the rivers flowed northerly into the Kasai, or Loké, and descended into the first deep valley which they had seen since leaving Kolobeng. The country generally assumed this furrowed character, the slopes of the valleys being full of bogs or oozing fountains, which slowly discharged their moisture into the streams below. On the 27th of February they struck a part of the Kasai, "a beautiful river, and very much like the Clyde in Scotland," winding slowly amidst sylvan vegetation, or rich meadows, covered with tall grass. "The men pointed out its course, and said, 'Though you sail along it for months, you will turn without seeing an end of it.'"

The tribes which they met with after pass-

* "Livingstone's Travels," p. 259.

† "Ibid. p. 271.

ing the great water-shed were very different from their friends the Makololo, or the people of the Barotse valley. They were unfriendly and suspicious, each chief demanding payment for permission to pass through his country, and, rather than forego his claim, prepared to resort to acts of violence. Dr. Livingstone was suffering under an attack of fever of great severity. Yet at such time wise and intrepid action was most needful. The little party moved in a compact body, for defence, none being allowed to straggle, passing thus through miles of gloomy forest in gloomier silence. At length, on March 30th, they came to a sudden descent from the high valley-indented land over which they had been travelling.

"Before us lay the valley of the Quángo. If you sit on the spot where Mary Queen of Scots viewed the battle of Langside, and look down on the vale of Clyde, you may see, in miniature, the glorious sight which a much greater and richer valley presented to our view. It is about a hundred miles broad, clothed with dark forest, except where the light-green grass covers meadow-lands on the Quángo, which here and there glances out in the sun as it wends its way to the north. The opposite side of this great valley appears like a range of lofty mountains, and the descent into it about a mile, which, measured perpendicularly, may be from a thousand to twelve hundred feet. Emerging from the gloomy forests of Loanda, this magnificent prospect made us all feel as if a weight had been lifted off our eyelids. A cloud was passing across the middle of the valley, from which rolling thunder pealed, while above all was glorious sunlight; and when we went down to the part where we saw it passing, we found that a very heavy thunder-shower had fallen under the path of the cloud; and the bottom of the valley, which, from above, seemed quite smooth, we discovered to be intersected and furrowed by great numbers of deep-cut streams. Looking back from below, the descent appears as the edge of a table-land, with numerous indented dells and spurs jutting out all along, giving it a serrated appearance. Both the top and sides of the sierra are covered with trees, but large patches of the more perpendicular parts are bare, and exhibit the red soil, which is general over the region we have now entered."*

Entering the Portuguese territory, they pursued their way, until at length the boundless ocean lay before them. The Makololo were filled with awe as they beheld it. "We marched along with our father," they said, "believing that what the ancients had told us was true, that the world has no end; but all at once the world said to us, 'I am finished; there is no more of me.'"

After a rest of four months at Loanda, they started on September 20th, 1854, on their return journey. We shall not attempt to trace the intermediate marches, which at length brought them to the Leeba and its tributaries in the month of July. Their progress down the Barotse valley was quite an ovation. The women came forth to meet them, making their curious dancing gestures and loud lullilloos.

"Some carried a mat and stick, in imitation of a spear and shield. Others rushed forward and kissed the hands and cheeks of the different persons of their acquaintance among us, raising such a dust that it was quite a relief to get to the men assembled, and sitting, with proper African decorum, in the kotla. We were looked upon as men risen from the dead, for the most skilful of their diviners had pronounced us to have perished long ago. After many expressions of joy at meeting, I arose, and, thanking them, explained the causes of our long delay, but left the report to be made by their own countrymen. . . . The following day we observed as our thanksgiving to God for his goodness in bringing us all back in safety to our friends. My men decked themselves out in their best, and I found, that although their goods were finished, they had managed to save suits of European clothing, which, being white, with their red caps, gave them rather a dashing appearance. They tried to walk like the soldiers they had seen in Loanda, and called themselves my 'braves' (batlabani). During the service they all sat with their guns over their shoulders, and excited the unbounded admiration of the women and children. I addressed them all on the goodness of God in preserving us from all the dangers of strange tribes and disease. We had a similar service in the afternoon. The men gave us two fine oxen for slaughter, and the women supplied us abundantly with milk, meal, and butter. It was all quite gratuitous, and I felt ashamed that I could make no return. My men explained the total expenditure of our means, and the Libontese answered gracefully, 'It does not matter: you have opened a path for us, and we shall have sleep.' Strangers came flocking from a distance, and seldom empty-handed. Their presents I distributed amongst my men.

* "Livingstone's Travels," p. 360.

"Our progress down the Barotse valley was just like this. Every village gave us an ox, and sometimes two. The people were wonderfully kind. I felt, and still feel, most deeply grateful, and tried to benefit them in the only way I could, by imparting the knowledge of that Saviour who can comfort and supply them in the time of need, and my prayer is, that He may send his good Spirit to instruct them and lead them into his kingdom. Even now, I earnestly long to return, and make some recompense to them for their kindness. In passing them on our way to the north, their liberality might have been supposed to be influenced by the hope of repayment on our return, for the white man's land is imagined to be the source of every ornament they prize most. But though we set out from Loanda with a considerable quantity of goods, hoping both to pay our way through the stingy Chiboque, and to make presents to the kind Balonda, and still more generous Makololo, the many delays caused by sickness made us expend all my stock, and all the goods my men procured by their own labour at Loanda, and we returned to the Makololo as poor as when we set out. Yet no distrust was shown, and my poverty did not lessen my influence. They saw that I had been exerting myself for their benefit alone, and even my men remarked, 'Though we return as poor as we went, we have not gone in vain.' They began immediately to collect tusks of hippopotami and other ivory for a second journey."*

Thus safely brought back, after incredible hardships, Dr. Livingstone still felt that his undertaking was incomplete. He wished to open out the interior to salutary influences from the Christian world, and for this purpose it was necessary that he should prove its accessibility from the east coast, as well as demonstrate the probability of communicating with Loanda on the west. The great question was, to which part of the eastern coast should he direct his steps.

The Arabs from Zanzibar reported the character of the country over which they had travelled as consisting of swampy steppes. They spoke also of a shallow lake, called Tanganyénka, which required three days to pass it in canoes; and this was said to be connected with another further north, named Kalagwe (Karagwah), and which Dr. Livingstone supposed might be the Nyanja of the Maravi. They assured him also of the peaceable state of the country, and that the powerful chiefs to the N.E. of the Cazembe would not object to his passing through their country. They mentioned also that the path which they followed, at the end of ten days beyond Cazembe wound around the extremity of Lake Tanganyénka.

Livingstone's object, however, was a water route to the sea, and he resolved to move along the course of the Zambesi. Accordingly, on November the 3d, 1855, he bade adieu to Linyanti, accompanied by Sekeletu and about 200 followers. On their way the Victoria Falls were visited, a scene of overwhelming wonders. At a distance of five or six miles, columns of vapour appeared, rising high into the air, exactly as when tracts of grass are burned in Africa. In a light canoe Dr. Livingstone was paddled to an island in the midst of the river, and on the edge of the lip over which the water rolls. Looking from thence, the vast body of water seemed to lose itself in the earth, the opposite lip of the fissure, into which it disappeared, being only eighty feet distant. This fissure is a rent or crack made in the hard basaltic rock of the Zambesi, from the right to the left bank, and thence prolonged from the left bank, through thirty or forty miles of hill. A stream of a thousand yards broad, leaping down a hundred feet, becomes suddenly compressed into this rocky trench, and, indignant at the snare into which it has fallen, rushes, boiling and foaming, through the hills. "If one imagines the Thames filled with low tree-covered hills immediately beyond the tunnel, extending as far as Gravesend; the bed of black basaltic rock instead of London mud; and a fissure made therein from one end of the tunnel to the other, down through the keystones of the arch, and prolonged from the left end of the tunnel through thirty miles of hills; the pathway being 100 feet down from the bed of the river instead of what it is, with the lips of the fissure from 80 to 100 feet apart; then fancy the Thames leaping bodily into the gulf; and forced there to change its direction, and flow from the right to the left bank; and then rush boiling and roaring through the hills,—he may have some idea of what takes place at this, the most wonderful sight I had seen in Africa. In looking down into the fissure on the right of the island, one sees nothing but a dense white cloud, which, at the time we visited the spot, had two bright rainbows on it. (The sun was on the meridian, and the declination about equal to the latitude of the place.) From the cloud rushed up a great jet of vapour exactly like steam, and it mounted 200 or 300 feet high: there condensing, it changed its hue to that of dark smoke, and

* "Livingstone's Travels," p. 493.

came back in a constant shower, which soon wetted us to the skin. This shower falls chiefly on the opposite side of the fissure, and a few yards back from the lip there stands a straight hedge of evergreen trees, whose leaves are always wet. From their roots a number of little rills run back into the gulf; but as they flow down the steep wall there, the column of vapour, in its ascent, licks them up clean off the rock, and away they mount again. They are constantly running down, but never reach the bottom.

"On the left of the island we see the water at the bottom, a white, rolling mass, moving away to the prolongation of the fissure, which branches off near the left bank of the river. A piece of the rock has fallen off a spot on the left of the island, and juts out from the water below, and from it I judged the distance which the water falls to be about 100 feet. The walls of this gigantic crack are perpendicular, and composed of one homogeneous mass of rock. The edge of that side over which the water falls is worn off two or three feet, and pieces have fallen away, so as to give it somewhat of a serrated appearance. That over which the water does not fall is quite straight, except at the left corner, where a rent appears, and a piece seems inclined to fall off. Upon the whole, it is nearly in the state in which it was left at the period of its formation. The rock is dark brown in colour, except about ten feet from the bottom, which is discoloured by the annual rise of the water to that or a greater height. On the left side of the island we have a good view of the mass of water which causes one of the columns of vapour to ascend, as it leaps quite clear of the rock, and forms a thick unbroken fleece all the way to the bottom. Its whiteness gave the idea of snow, a sight I had not seen for many a day. As it broke into (if I may use the term) pieces of water, all rushing on in the same direction, each gave off several rays of foam, exactly as bits of steel, when burnt in oxygen gas, give off rays of sparks. The snow-white sheet seemed like myriads of small comets rushing on in one direction, each of which left behind its nucleus rays of foam. I never saw the appearance referred to noticed elsewhere. It seemed to be the effect of the mass of water leaping at once clear of the rock, and but slowly breaking up into spray."*

As they advanced eastward, they found themselves ascending. Dr. Livingstone, from this and other phenomena, concludes that the central area, from the Victoria Falls, westward as far as the ridge beyond Lebebe, and southwards as far as Lake Ngami and the Zouga, was one large fresh-water lake. "There is abundant evidence of the existence and extent of this vast lake on the longitude indicated, and stretching from 17° to 20° south latitude." "The whole of these lakes was let out by means of cracks or fissures made in the subtending sides by the upheaval of the country. The fissure made at Victoria Falls let out the water of this great valley, and left a patch in what was, probably, a deepish portion, and is now called Lake Ngami."

Leaving the Zambesi, Dr. Livingstone and his party struck northward into the hilly country of the Batoka. On Jan. 5th, 1856, their eyes were again gladdened by the sight of the waters of the Zambesi, presenting a breadth greater than above the falls. They journeyed along the left bank of the river; but now their experience became unhappily similar to that which they had met on the western side of the continent. As they approached the coast the natives, in consequence of hostilities between them and the Portuguese, became unfriendly, and distrust and danger supervened. About a mile from the confluence of the Loanga and the Zambesi, they crossed the river, expecting every instant to be attacked by the natives: but from this they were happily preserved; and although on more than one occasion danger was imminent, they were enabled to avoid any collision with the tribes, and reached Tete in safety, Dr. Livingstone embarking on board H.M. "Frolic" on July 12th, 1856.

As the practical results of these explorations, Dr. Livingstone contemplated the formation of stations on the Zambesi, beyond the Portuguese territory. The highlands on the borders of the central basin are comparatively healthy, and afford a favourable position on which a chain of Missionary stations might be so formed as to strengthen and sustain each other.

Since his return to the Zambesi, we have received from Dr. Livingstone the following letter, in which he refers to new discoveries, and invites the co-operation of the Church Missionary Society—

"*Senna, May* 15, 1859.

"We have just returned from the discovery of a magificent lake, called Shirwa, separated by a partition of only a few miles from Nyinyesi (Nyassa, Uniamesi, or Nyanja), and not more than thirty from one part of the navigable Shire; and one of the first thoughts that entered my mind after gazing on the broad blue waters, and admiring the lofty cloud-covered mountains that surround it, was,

* "Livingstone's Travels," pp. 520—522.

'Now this is what the Church Missionary Society has been thinking of for many years—a field in Eastern Africa for planting the Gospel beyond the unfriendly coast tribes. I shall write to Mr. Venn about it by the first opportunity.'

"Our first visit up the Shire created great alarm, for the people had never been visited by Portuguese, and a steamer was a more formidable sight to the Mang-anja than a comet would be to the hysteric among ourselves. We allowed that alarm to subside, and, on our second visit, found the people all so friendly, that we left the vessel with a chief, called Chibisa (16° 2′ latitude S., and longitude 35° 2′). Dr. Kirk, and fifteen Makololo, proceeded with me on foot through a high mountainous region of the Shire. After a fortnight of very zigzag tramping, for we had to go from one little-great man's village to another, we at last got near to Zomba, or Dzomba, a mountain (inhabited) quite 6000 feet high, but not standing on the lake. On crossing its southern talus on the 14th of April, we got a distant view of Lake Shirwa eastwards, and, on the 18th, stood on its shores. A goodly sight it is, surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, and is itself 2000 feet above the level of the sea. On looking away northwards from a point up a hill, we have 26° of watery horizon. There is a mountain island in it, and two points, like little islands, rise fifty or sixty miles away above the horizon there. To a person there, Zomba will appear in the lake. It is of a pear shape, some thirty miles broad, and has a prolongation south of our point of view (15° 23′ S. latitude, 35° 25′ E. longitude), which, by ascending a branch of the Shire, called Ruo, we can approach within thirty miles. It has no known outlet, and its waters are slightly bitter. There is a small partition between it and Nyinyesi, 'stars' (a prettier name than Nyanja, 'a river or great water' only, is it not?) of only five or six miles. We saw the waves dashing on the rocks on one part of the shore, exactly as on the sea-shore. It contains plenty of fish, alligators, hippopotami, and, as we found in wading into it, leeches.

"The people have no fire-arms, and pointed out a pass in the mountain range Milanje, eastward, through which a tribe with guns came to attack them. They were all friendly, except a party of Bajana, or Ajana, who are in the habit of taking slaves down to Quilimane. They thought us Portuguese, but changed their conduct instantly on learning that we were English. The others were alarmed, but we got abundance of provisions at a cheap rate. I have never seen so much land under cotton as here, and every one spins it; but we want the agents that Sierra Leone has supplied to Western Africa to guide the people to lawful commerce. The first time we came up the Shire we bought specimens of their cotton, and this time they brought it in bags; and, were there an agency, I have no doubt a trade, which would render the visits of Bajana slave-traders unfruitful, would spring up. We were accompanied by one of Chibisa's people as a guide, but he was useful only as making it known that we came from a man of influence. He is a sensible man, and would treat any white man well, and he has influence with all the people in the north, with whom his family is traditionally connected.

"We returned to the vessel after twenty-two days' march. Dr. Kirk and I slept on the ground: our beds were usually wet with the dew, and we were soaked in dew from the tall grass which overhangs the paths every morning; yet we returned in perfect health. The country being high, it is much colder than we found it in descending between 2000 and 3000 feet into the valley of the Shire. We have had several cases of fever, but none fatal. The severity of the disease is to us, who are well provided for, nothing compared with what I experienced before: the cases seemed more like common colds than fever at first: they have become more severe lately, during the unhealthy period of the year, but are quite amenable to proper treatment.

"DAVID LIVINGSTONE."

OUDE—ITS HISTORY.

On the re-establishment of British authority in Oude, and the suppression of the insurrection there, that province was entered by Christian Missionaries, and constitutes now a new and important field of our Society's operations: and assuredly, in no part of the wide-spread earth did there ever exist a more urgent need for the tranquillizing influences of the Gospel of peace.

It becomes our duty to introduce more especially to our readers this new scene of labour, where difficulties await us, and glorious victories remain to be achieved, and to commend it to their interest and prayers.

Oude is a strip of territory extending from the base of the sub-Himalaya, in a direction from north-west to south-east, until it reaches the Ganges. Its greatest length is about 270, and its breadth 160 miles. Its general character is that of a plain, marked by a slight declination as it extends from the mountain to the river. It is intersected by numerous streams, the direction of whose course coincides with the slope of the country, the principal of which, inclusive of the frontier stream of the Ganges, are the Surjoo, Gogra, Chowka, Goomtee, and Saee. These, with numerous lesser streams and tributaries, entering the country from the Himalayan chain and Tarae forest, and "flowing gently through the country towards the Ganges, without cutting very deeply into the soil, always keep the water near the surface, and available in all quarters, and in any quantity, for purposes of irrigation. Never was there a country more favoured by nature, or more susceptible of improvement under judicious management. There is hardly an acre of ground that is not capable of good culture." It is generally well timbered, studded with groves and fine solitary trees in great perfection. The bandha, or misletoe, upon the mhowa and mango trees, when in full blossom, adds much to their beauty. "The soil is good, and the surface everywhere capable of tillage, with little labour or outlay; for the jungle, where it prevails the most, is of grass and the small palas trees, which may be easily uprooted. The whole surface of Oude is indeed like a gentleman's park of the most beautiful description, as far as the surface of the ground and the foliage, &c." The Hindu, in planting, uses a great variety of trees, and when, in consequence of limited space, a selection requires to be made, he chooses the most sacred, which are, at the same time, the most useful and ornamental. "Nothing can be more beautiful than one of those groves, surrounded by fields teeming with rich spring crops, and studded here and there with fine single banyan, peepul, tamarind, mhowa, and cotton trees, which, in such positions, attain their highest perfection, as if anxious to display their greatest beauties where they can be seen to the most advantage. Each tree has there free space for its roots, which have the advantage of water supplied to the fields around in irrigation, and a free current of air, whose moisture is condensed upon its leaves and stems by their cooler temperature, while its carbonic acid and ammonia are absorbed and appropriated to their exclusive use. Its branches, unincommoded by the proximity of other trees, spread out freely, and attain their utmost size and beauty."

Yet with all these natural advantages, never was there a country where anarchy and confusion so generally prevailed. An unusual blight seemed to rest upon it, and neither life nor property were secure. A glance at its history will explain the causes of this.

When, in 1720, the Emperor Mohammed Shah determined to free himself from the thraldom of the Syuds, he was powerfully aided by Saadut Khan. This man, originally a merchant of Khorassan, had risen to a military command, and, on the successful issue of the conspiracy against the Syuds, became a person of importance, and was appointed to be the Governor of Oude, a position which he retained until his death in 1739. He was the progenitor of the kings of Oude. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sufder Jung; and on his death, in 1754, Shuja-ood-Dowlah became Nawab-Vizier of Oude.

In 1763, the English having quarrelled with their own *élève*, Meer Cossim, Governor of Bengal, the Viceroy of Oude took the field in his favour. Defeated in successive battles at Patna, Buxar, and Calpy, he repaired to the English camp, and threw himself on the mercy of the conquerors. It had been intended to deprive him of his territories, but Clive, on a personal interview, reversed the decision, and reinstated him on the condition of his paying the expenses of the war, and restoring to the Mogul Emperor the districts of Allahabad and Corah, of which he had possessed himself. Five years subsequently, intelligence having reached the Government that the Nawab was preparing to repossess himself

by force of the surrendered districts, he was compelled to sign a treaty which limited his army to 35,000 men,* the Company guaranteeing the defence of his territory against foreign invasion. Stipulations of this nature virtually rendered him a vassal of the East-India Company, as the paramount authority, and in this light the Sovereigns of Oude must be regarded; nor are the subsequent treaties entered into with them intelligible except on this basis. Subsequently to this treaty, the districts of Allahabad, with the consent of the English, were annexed to Oude, which was still further aggrandized by the addition of Rohilcund, the Rohilla forces having been defeated by British troops sent by Mr. Warren Hastings to the assistance of the Nawab-Vizier.†

Shuja-ood-Dowlah dying in 1775, was succeeded by his son, Asuf-ood-Dowlah, with whom fresh treaties were formed. A brigade of British troops, for defensive purposes, was to be at his disposal, in return for which he ceded to the East-India Company, Benares, Juanpore, and some contiguous districts, stipulating also a yearly payment of 312,000*l.* in maintenance of the auxiliary force. From this impost, in 1799, he prayed to be exonerated, on the plea of the failure of revenue. Lord Cornwallis, in his reply, declared, "that the disorder of his State, and the dissipation of his revenues, were the effect of his own conduct, which had failed, not so much from incapacity as from the detestable choice which he had made of the Ministers of his power and the participators of his confidence." The Governor-General availed himself of this opportunity to remind the Nawab that the treaties into which he had entered were of a nature to render him eventually, and necessarily, a vassal of the Company.

The following rebuke, addressed by Lord Cornwallis to this Viceroy in 1793, proves how grievously the province was suffering under his mal-administration.

"On my return from the war in the Dekhan, I had the mortification to find that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased; that your finances had fallen into a worse state by an enormous accumulated debt; that the same oppressions continue to be exercised by rapacious and overgrown Amils towards the ryots; and that not only the subjects and merchants of your own dominions, but those residing under the Company's protection, suffered many exactions, contrary to the commercial treaty, from the custom-house officers, from Zemindars, Amils, and others.

"As in a state the evils that are practised by the lower classes of men are to be attributed to the example held out to them by their superiors, and to their connivance or their weak government; so am I obliged to represent, that all the oppressions and extortions caused by the Amils on the peasantry take their source in the connivance and irregularities of the administration of Lucknow."*

On the death of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, in 1797, a pretended son was raised to the musnud, whose brief term of power was ended by the accession of Saadut Ali, brother of the preceding Viceroy.

This Nawab, persisting in the same course of oppression and reckless expenditure, was urged by the Governor-General to retrenchment and reform. His reply was, the expression of a desire on his part to resign, a proposal to which the Marquis of Wellesley hastened to accede as an arrangement the most desirable for Oude and for the British Government. "The proposition of the Vizier is pregnant with such benefit, not only to the Company, but to the inhabitants of Oude, that his Lordship thinks it cannot be too much encouraged, and that there are no circumstances which should be allowed to impede the accomplishment of the grand object which leads to it. This object his Lordship considers to be the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude."†

But the Nawab had no intention of abdicating; and the province continuing to suffer, the Governor-General again remonstrated in 1801.

"The causes of increasing defalcation of the revenue are manifest, and daily acquire new strength. Had the territories of Oude been subject to the frequent or occasional devastations of any enemy or by other calamities which impair the public prosperity, the rapid decline of the Vizier's revenue might be imputed to other causes than a defective administration; but no such calamitous visitations have afflicted the province of Oude; which, in consequence of the protection which it derives from the presence of the British forces, has been maintained, together with all the Company's possessions on this side of India, in the uninterrupted enjoyment of peace. . . . . While the territories of the Company have been advancing progressively, during the last ten years, in prosperity, population, and opulence, the dominions of the Vizier, although enjoying equal advan-

* Blue Book, p. 201. † Ibid. p. 76.

* Blue Book, p. 78. † Ibid, p. 79.

tages of tranquillity and security, have rapidly and progressively declined. None of the evils have been diminished under His Excellency's government: on the contrary, their daily increase and aggravation are notorious, and must be progressive, to the utter ruin of the resources of Oude, unless the vicious system of native administration be immediately abandoned. The Vizier must now be prepared for the active and decided interference of the British Government in the affairs of this country."*

In 1801 Saadut Ali, being unable to pay the augmented subsidy, and other sums chargeable to him on account of the defensive arrangements with the Company, the pecuniary subsidy was commuted for a territorial cession, and the Southern Doab, together with the districts of Allahabad, Azimgurh, Western Gorrackpore, &c., were ceded to the East-India Company. It is rather amusing to observe the gloss put upon this transaction in a paper published at Calcutta, and purporting to be a reply from the ex-king to various charges brought against the Oude administration.

Nawab Saadut Ali showed himself more favourably disposed to the British Government, inasmuch as he, at first, added to the sum of 56,77,668 rupees, which was the amount given to the British Government every year on account of the subsidiary force during his predecessor's reign, the sum of 19,22,362 rupees; and afterwards, for the greater satisfaction of the British Government, made over to the Hon. East-India Company certain districts of his dominions which yielded the sum of 135,23,474 rupees, in order that thereby the aforesaid expenses, as well as the wages of other people and collection expenses might be defrayed.

The true cause of this liberality, which was not required of him by former treaties, was merely this: in those times the East-India Company possessed but a few districts, and those yielding a very small revenue; besides, the southern and eastern districts of India were then under their native rulers: "hence the expenditure of the Company so exceeded their income, that the British Government always found it difficult to pay their forces."†

In the new treaty of 1801 there were clear and definite engagements entered into by the contracting parties. By the 6th article "the Nawab-Vizier engaged that he would establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and prosperity of the inhabitants; and His Excellency," it was added, "will always advise and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the East-India Company.

"The British Government, upon its part, bound itself, by the 3d article of the treaty, to defend the territories which will remain to His Excellency the Vizier against all foreign and domestic enemies, provided always that it be in the power of the Company's Government to station the British troops in such part of His Excellency's dominions as shall appear to the said Government most expedient."*

Ghazee-ood-Deen succeeded his father in 1814, and, with the consent of the British Government, assumed the title of king. But the increase of dignity thus conferred upon him was more than counterbalanced by the degradation which he experienced at the hands of his chief wife, the Padshah Begum, an imperious and furious character, "whose frequent ebullitions often disfigured the king's robes and vests, and left even the hair of his head and chin unsafe." In these domestic broils the king's son, Nuseer-ood Deen Hyder, always took the part of his adopted mother, the Padshah Begum. "His natural mother had died soon after his birth; and people suspected that the Padshah Begum had her put to death, that she might have no rival in his affections, and she had an entire ascendancy over him, acquired by every species of enervating indulgencies."

Under such rulers no administrative improvement could be expected. Such was the anarchy that prevailed in Oude during the years 1815—1822, "that the British troops were constantly employed against the refractory Zemindars, and, in the beginning of 1822, more than seventy of their forts were occupied and dismantled by the British troops. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress gangs of armed robbers, who haunted the jungles, and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territory: their lurking-places were occasionally penetrated and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police, and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars, sheltered them from any pursuit or punishment.

"Between 1815 and 1820 there had been forty gang robberies on the frontiers adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded, and

* Blue Book, p. 79.

† "Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude," p. 1.

* Blue Book, p. 246.

property carried off to the amount of 1,14,000 rupees. In 1820, 400 of these marauders traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and, near Monghyr, plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta, carrying bullion to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees."*

The British Government now found itself inconvenienced by engagements having reference to the employment of the subsidiary force. The Sovereign was exacting and unjust; and when his subjects, irritated by his arbitrary conduct, ventured on resistance, they were coerced by the strong arm of British power. A limitation as to the services on which the troops of the Company were to be employed becoming necessary, it was decided, in November 1824, "that our troops were to be actively and energetically employed in the Oude territory in cases of real commotion and disorder; but that when their aid was required by the King of Oude, the British Government was clearly entitled, as well as morally obliged, to satisfy itself, by whatever means it might deem necessary, that its assistance was about to be yielded in support of right and justice, and not to effectuate injustice and extortion."

In 1826 the Governor-General had an interview with the King of Oude, in the hope of inducing him to amend the administration of the country. In the October of the following year Ghazee-ood Deen died.

His son, Nuseer-ood Deen succeeded him. This prince, impaired in his constitution by drinking and other vicious indulgences, in which he had been encouraged in early life by the Padshah Begum, was incapable of taking any useful part in the management of public affairs.

He had for his consort a grand-daughter of the Emperor of Delhi, a very beautiful young woman of exemplary character; but other wives were soon associated with her, amongst others, Dojaree, a woman of low origin and disreputable antecedents. She was introduced into the palace as wet-nurse to the new-born prince Moonna Jan, whose mother's name was Afzul Mahal. The king elevated her to be his chief consort, under the title of Mulika Zamanee, Queen of the Age; and such was her influence over him, that she persuaded him to declare her son, Kywan Jan, who was three years old when she entered the palace, to be his eldest son and heir apparent to the throne. It was this youth who, in this assumed rank, was sent to meet Lord Combermere at Lucknow in 1827. A lively description of this scene, drawn up by a military officer in attendance on the Commander-in-Chief, may serve to lighten the prosaic character of this historical sketch.

"The two cavalcades approached, met and blended themselves in one; an impenetrable cloud of dust, the never-failing accompaniment of an Indian suwarree, hiding the rencontre of the British and Mussulman chiefs from the gaze of the spectators. The young prince having quitted his own howdah for that of the commander-in-chief, the whole procession rushed on together in one compact mass of about forty elephants. The two escorts led the way, followed by a pedestrian crowd of chobdars or mace-bearers, standards, heralds calling the high-sounding titles of the boy-prince, and led horses richly caparisoned. On front, flanks, and rear we were surrounded by a cloud of picturesque-looking cavaliers, who were constantly employed in displaying their horsemanship and dexterity in the use of the spear and sword, by curvetting and careering at each other in mimic jousts, with the most noble disregard of banks, ditches, and uneven ground.

"The whole scene was highly interesting and striking. The dark and close-serried column of elephants, caparisoned with flowing jhools and coloured cloth, and brocade deeply fringed; the splendid howdahs of the Mussulmans, many of them panelled with plates of silver and gilt; the complete contrast of the splendid shawls and ample-flowing drapery of the natives with the stiff, angular, scarlet coats of the English, as the wearers, riding side by side, conversed courteously from their lofty seats; add to this the wild, fierce, and disorderly array of the Lucknow cavalry, compared with the disciplined regularity of our own escort, the discordant clashing of the British and native bands of music, which seemed vying with each other for the mastery in sound, and the continual glitter of hundreds of banneroles of gold and silver tissues; and we were in possession of materials for amusement and interest, which were scarcely exhausted ere we arrived at camp."

A special day having been indicated by the soothsayers as auspicious for the purpose, the Commander-in-Chief made his *entrée* into Lucknow. "About two miles from the town we encountered His Majesty of Oude, accompanied by a numerous and splendid retinue. The king and the Commander-in-Chief, after a fraternal embrace, continued their march in the same howdah. Our cavalcade was most formidably augmented by this last reinforcement, and must have presented an imposing spectacle to the myriads of lookers-on as we entered the city. The king, Nuseer-

* Blue Book, pp. 80, 81.

ood Deen Hyder, is a plain, vulgar-looking man, of about twenty-six years of age, his stature about five feet nine inches, and his complexion rather unusually dark. His Majesty's mental endowments, pursuits, and amusements are by no means of an elevated or dignified order, although his deficiences are, in some measure, supplied by the abilities and shrewdness of his minister,* who is, however, an unexampled rogue, displaying it in his countenance with such perspicuity of development as would satisfy the most sceptical unbeliever in Lavater. He is detested by all ranks, with the exception of his royal master, who reposes the most perfect confidence in him.

"On arriving at the palace, we sat down to breakfast with the king and his courtiers. The king was splendidly attired in a tunic of green velvet, and girded with a costly shawl. He wore a diamond turban, and his person was profusely ornamented with necklaces, earrings, and armlets, of the most brilliant diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. After breakfast we adjourned to the state-chamber, an ill-proportioned, indifferent room. The throne is, however, beautifully decorated with embroidery in seed-pearl. Here his majesty presented the Commander-in-Chief with his portrait set in diamonds, and suspended to a string of pearls and emeralds."†

The barbaric magnificence of this monarch's court may be conceived on reading the following sketch of one of his wives, the Taj Mahal. "Her dress was of gold and scarlet brocade, and her hair was literally strewed with pearls, which hung down upon her neck in long single strings, terminating in large pearls, which mixed with and hung as low as her hair, which was curled on each side of her head in long ringlets, like Charles the Second's beauties. On her forehead she wore a small gold circlet, from which depended and hung, half-way down, large pearls interspersed with emeralds. Above this was a paradise-plume, from which strings of pearls were carried over the head. Her earrings were immense gold rings, with pearls and emeralds suspended all round in large strings, the pearls increasing in size. She had a nose-ring also with large round pearls and emeralds; and her necklaces, &c., were too numerous to be described. She wore long sleeves open at the elbow, and her dress was a full petticoat with a tight body attached, and open only at the throat. She had several persons to bear her train when she walked; and her women stood behind her couch to arrange her headdress, when, in moving, her pearls got entangled in the immense robe of scarlet and gold she had thrown around her."*

Such, then, was Nuseer-ood Deen Hyder, his character, court, and administration. He had become estranged from the imperious Padshah Begum, his adopted mother, and, to annoy her, had declared the young prince, Moonna Jan, to whom she was much attached, not to be his son. Banished from the palace, she and the boy had apartments assigned them in the Residency; and there she pursued the same course as with his father, developing to the utmost all the unhappy tendencies of his character.

Amidst the intrigues and selfish interests which kept the palace in continued agitation, the unhappy monarch felt his life to be insecure, and often declared that he should die of poison. "For some time before his death he had a small well in the palace, over which he kept his own lock and key; and he kept the same over the jar in which he drew the water from it for his own drinking. The keys were suspended by a gold chain around his neck." Vain precautions! The king was taken suddenly ill, and on hastening to the palace, the Resident found him lying dead upon his bed, but his body was still warm, and Dr. Stevenson opened a vein in one arm. Blood flowed freely from it, but no other sign of life could be discovered. His features were placid, and betrayed no sign of his having suffered any pain; and the servants in attendance declared that the only sign of suffering they had heard was a slight shriek to which the king gave utterance before he expired; that after that shriek he neither moved, spoke, nor showed any sign whatever of life. His majesty had been unwell for three weeks, but no one had any apprehension of danger from the symptoms. Two females, sisters of the king's prime-favourite Duljeet, from whose hands alone the king would receive any drink, are generally supposed to have poisoned him, at the instigation of the minister, Nuseer having called for some sherbet a short time before his death, which was given to him by the eldest of them.

The miserable king being thus put out of the way, there followed a fierce struggle for the throne. The British Government accrediting the late king's repeated disavowal of Moonna Jan, had directed the Resident, in case of his dying without an heir, to proclaim his uncle, Nuseer-ood Dowlah, an aged man and in feeble health, who, as quickly as possible, was conducted to the palace, accompa-

* Fuzl Alkee, nephew of the Padshah Begum.

† Mundy's "Sketches in India."

* Sleeman's "Oude," vol. ii. p. 147, 150

nied by his eldest surviving son, Amjud Allee Shah, and his two grandsons, one of them, Wajid Allee Shah, the present ex-king.

But the Padshah Begum was on the alert. Knowing that Moonna Jan was the late king's son, and rightful heir to the throne, and ambitious of the power which her influence over him would enable her to wield, could his succession be secured, she resolved to strike boldly for the prize, and before the Resident could take decisive measures to arrest her advance, at the head of a large mass of armed followers, rushed towards the palace. In vain were the gates closed: a furious elephant, urged on by his driver, burst them in, and the courts and rooms of the palace were soon filled by her retainers. Moonna Jan was placed on the throne; the band struck up "God save the king," being answered from without by salvos of artillery, the crowd within and without shouting their congratulations at the top of their voices, and every man who had a sword, spear, musket, or matchlock, flourishing it in the air amidst a thousand torches. In vain the Resident remonstrated: he was dragged to the foot of the throne, and commanded, on pain of death, to offer his congratulations. It was with difficulty that some, fearful of the consequences if his life were lost amidst the tumult, extricated him from his dangerous position, and led him from without the palace.

At length British troops were moved up to the scene of action. Artillery was brought to bear upon the throne-room and the other halls of the bara-duree, and, after six or seven rounds of grape, the halls were stormed, the soldiers, on entering the throne-room, firing at their own figures, which they saw reflected in a large mirror behind the throne. Several of the insurgents were killed or wounded. Moonna Jan was found concealed in a small room under the throne, and the Begum in an adjoining apartment, and Nuseer-ood Dowlah, who, with his family, had been in extreme danger, was crowned so soon as the slain had been removed out of the throne-room.

But the crisis was not over. The old man was not popular. The ministry, aware of the peculations of which they had been guilty, were afraid of his business-habits, and their being compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten gain. Others disliked, some his prudence, some his parsimony: a sudden insurrection seemed not improbable; and the Resident, feeling the necessity of prompt action, at a moment's notice sent off the Begum and the young prince, under a strong escort, to the fort of Chunar.

On the subsiding of the agitation, and the establishment of the new king in power, under the title of Mohammed Ali Shah, a new treaty was executed between him and the British Government, the seventh article of which provided, that if the king failed to rectify the disorders of his dominions, the British Government reserved to itself the "right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatever portions of the kingdom of Oude as were suffering from misrule, and for so long a period as it might deem necessary, the surplus receipts being paid into the king's treasury, and a faithful account of receipts and expenditure rendered to his majesty."* With this provision were coupled certain military regulations which the Home Government disallowed. Of this the Oude authorities were made aware. But they were left in ignorance of the fact that the entire treaty had been disannulled. Lord Dalhousie, in his despatch to Sir James Outram, January 23, 1856, admits that this very necessary communication "had been inadvertently neglected."†

In 1842 the old king died, and was succeeded by his son, Umjid Allee Shah. These reigns were as barren of remedial measures as their predecessors. In February 1847 Umjid Allee Shah died, and the last king of Oude, Wajid Allee Shah, was placed upon the throne. In October of the same year Lord Hardinge, in a personal interview with the king, solemnly assured him "that the British had, as a paramount power, a duty to perform towards the cultivators of the soil, and that unless the king adopted a proper arrangement in the revenue and judicial departments of his Government, so as to correct abuses now existing, it would be imperative on the British Government to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors." A period of two years was specified as affording sufficient opportunity for checking and eradicating the worst abuses. In a memorandum carefully drawn up and explained to the king, reference was made to the treaty of 1837, as confirming that of 1801, and not only giving the British Government the *right* to interfere, but declaring it to be the intention of the Government to interfere, if necessary, for the purpose of securing good government in Oude." The particular nature of the interference intended was also specified. It consisted "in placing the Oude territories under the direct management of officers of the British Government."‡ Lord Hardinge also stated his indisposedness to act immediately on the power vested in him, and expressed his earnest hope that the king would preclude the necessity of so ex-

* Blue Book, p. 81. † Ibid. p. 248.

‡ Sleeman's "Journey through Oude," vol. ii. p. 203.

treme a measure by the speedy correction of existing abuses.

His majesty's character and habits were not, however, such as to encourage the prospect of improvement. Nothing could be more low or dissolute. Singers and females provided for his amusement occupied all his time. These singers were all Domes, the lowest of the low-castes of India. These men, with the eunuchs, became the virtual sovereigns of the country, and on them the minister was entirely dependent. They meddled in all affairs, and influenced the king's decisions in every reference made to him. Colonel Sleeman, in a letter dated August 1853, reproaches the king with the misrule which prevailed—"Your minister has dismissed all the news-writers, who formerly were attached to Amils of districts to report their proceedings, on the ground that such officers are unnecessary in districts under the *amanee*, or trust-management system, so that you can never learn the sufferings of the people, much less afford redress. . . . . In regard to affairs in the city of Lucknow, your eunuchs, your fiddlers, your poets, and your majesty's creatures, plunder the people here, as much as your Amils plunder them in the distant districts."*

It may here be suitable to break off for a time from these historical dottings, to a consideration of the revenue system which prevailed under the kings of Oude, and the sufferings which, in consequence, were inflicted upon the people. This will throw open to us the whole interior of the country; and when we have made ourselves sufficiently acquainted with it, the annexation and its consequences will with propriety close the subject.

The territorial revenues of Oude were derived from four sources—the Khalsa, or crown estates; Huzoor Tehseel, wherein the landholders paid direct to Government; districts comprising the estates of Talookdars and Zemindars the revenues of which were held in *izarah*, or under contract; and districts, similarly composed, held under *amanee*, or trust-management.

Of these, the Khalsa estates, through mismanagement and misrule, became gradually lost to the crown. One district alone is instanced, in which the state had been deprived of its proprietary rights, or direct control over some 625 out of 650 villages. The Chuckladars, in consideration of large bribes, were in the habit of making over the Khalsa villages to the Talookdars.

Under the Huzoor Tehseel system, the Zemindars paid their revenue to the king without the intervention of local agents, and this mode of management was more successful and popular in Oude than any other. Abuses, however, crept into it. The Dewan and his subordinates were in the habit of increasing the rents, and if this was not acquiesced in, the Dewan threatened to make over the estate to the Chuckladars, and to subject its proprietor to all the miseries and extortions of the wretched farming system.

The third—the contract or farming system—was alike disadvantageous to the Government and injurious to the people. The object of the contractor was to extort as much as possible during the term of his contract.

A sketch of one family will suffice to show what an amount of oppression these contractors were capable of. Mungul, a Brahmin, residing with his father-in-law at Pullea, 112 miles north-west from Lucknow, had four sons. The eldest of them, Bukhtawar Sing, was a trooper in the Honourable Company's 8th Regiment of Light Cavalry. While home on furlough, being a young man and very handsome, he attracted the notice of Saadut Ali, king of Oude, and having saved his life on one occasion, he became one of his favourite orderlies, and rose to the command of a squadron. His three brothers, through his influence, were introduced into the Oude service; and one of them, Dursun Sing, obtained, in 1814, the command of a regiment. The estate of a court favourite, who had fallen into disgrace, was let, under contract, to Dursun Sing; and before six years had expired, by rack-renting, lending on mortgage, and other fraudulent and violent means, he succeeded in dispossessing most of the proprietors of their lands. He pursued the same course in other districts which came under him as contractor. He imposed upon the lands he coveted rates which he knew they could never pay; took all the property of the proprietors for rent, or for the wages of the mounted and foot soldiers whom he placed over them, or quartered upon their villages to enforce his demands; seized any neighbouring banker or capitalist whom he could lay hold of, and, by confinement and harsh treatment, made him stand security for the suffering proprietors for sums they never owed; and when these proprietors were made to appear irretrievably involved in debt to the state and to individuals, and had no hope of release from prison by any other means, they consented to sign the *bynamahs*, or sale deeds, for lands which their families had possessed for centuries."* In this manner extensive estates were accumulated.

* Sleeman, vol. i. p. 152.

* Sleeman, vol. i. pp. 152.

Dursun Sing was the favourite agent of the Oude Government. When the court found the barons in any district refractory, they gave it in contract to him, and he, being strong in troops, plundered and kept down the great landholders, and protected the cultivators, and even the smaller landed proprietors, whose estates could be conveniently added to his own.

Amongst others thus aggressed upon was the young Rajah of Bulrampore. When a child, he had been obliged to fly into the British territories from the oppression of a previous collector; and now that he had reached manhood, he came under the iron rod of Dursun Sing. Taking advantage of the young Rajah's absence, Dursun attacked his castle, killing many of the people, and carrying away property to the amount of 200,000 rupees. The young Rajah fled into Nepaul, where he was pursued, and again attacked by the collector. Complaints from the court of Nepaul, for this infringement of territory, were addressed to the king of Oude and his ministers, and these being sustained by the British Resident, resulted in the banishment of Dursun. This took place in March 1844. In the following May he was recalled, and appointed Inspector-General of all the Oude dominions, with power to make a settlement of the land revenue at an increased rate, and generally to rectify the disorders which had so long prevailed. How he would have conducted himself in his new position may be judged of by his antecedents; but the judgments of God intervened, and death closed his history in August 1844.

His son, Rughbur Sing, succeeded to his government, of whom it might be said with truth, that, in the way of oppression and cruelty, his little finger was thicker than his father's loins. The atrocities perpetrated by this man are scarcely credible.

An old Rajpoot proprietor, Rajah Hurdut Sahae, venturing to resist him, was overwhelmed, his town of Bondee plundered, and 1000 captives, of all ages and sexes, were subjected to all manner of torture, until they paid the required ransom.

But this was only the prelude to worse atrocities. Overtures of reconciliation were made to the Rajah and his people, until all were thrown off their guard; when, at a given signal, bands of plunderers went forth. "All towns and villages on the estates were spoiled, and fifteen hundred men, and about five hundred women and children, were brought in prisoners, with no less than eighty thousand animals of all kinds. There were twenty-five thousand head of cattle; and horses, mares, goats, sheep, ponjes, &c., made up the rest. All, with the men, women, and children, were driven off pell mell a distance of twenty miles, to Busuntpore, in the Hurhurpore district. . . . . For three days heavy rain continued to fall. Pregnant women were beaten on by the troops with bludgeons and the butt-ends of muskets and matchlocks. Many of them gave premature birth to children, and died on the road, and many children were trodden to death by animals on the road, which was crowded for more than ten miles." At Busuntpore the force was divided into two parties, for the purpose or torturing the surviving prisoners, till they consented to sign bonds for the payment of such sums as might be demanded of them. Beharee Lal, Rughbur's principal agent, presided over the first party, in which they were tortured from daybreak until noon. They were tied up and flogged; had red-hot ramrods thrust into their flesh; their tongues were pulled out with hot pincers, and pierced through; and when all would not do, they were taken to the agent who presided over the other party, to be tortured again until evening. He sat with a savage delight to witness this brutal scene, and invent new kinds of torture. No less than seventy men, besides women and children, perished at Busuntpore from torture and starvation, "and their bodies were left to rot in the mud, as their friends were afraid to approach them."*

This is only one of numberless atrocities perpetrated under the contract system.

Remonstrances against the cruelty of this man continued to be urged by the Resident, until, at length, Rughbur Sing was banished, and retired into the British territories, to Zureedabad in the Juanpore district, where he had purchased property, and where he was residing in 1857.

Man Sing, his brother, then became the head of the family. His name figures in recent events. "In 1854 and 1855 serious disturbances broke out at Fyzabad, between the Hindus and Mohammedans, in consequence of some unauthorized aggression attempted by the latter sect on the sanctity of certain Hindu temples at Ajooddea, three miles distant from Fyzabad, on the banks of the Gogra." Man Sing placed himself at the head of the Hindu party, and, but for the interposition of the British Resident, a fierce collision would have ensued. The Mussulmans having been dispersed, Man Sing remained victorious, and he is said to have then declared, that, but for the support which the king would be sure to receive from the British, he would have marched to Lucknow,

* Sleeman, vol. i. pp. 76, 77.

destroyed the Mohammedan dynasty, and established a Hindu government in its place."

It may be well, as he is before us, to trace a little further the history of this man. The introduction of British authority into Oude found him in circumstances of great embarrassment. "The large number of followers which he had maintained had involved him in debt; the special immunities which he had received from the weakness of the Oude court, and the corruption of its minister, were questioned; the old proprietors of the villages comprised in his talookah all sued him to recover their lost rights, and the demand for payment of government revenue was instant. Under these circumstances Man Sing fled the province, and remained absent five months." *

No sooner, however, did the disturbances commence, than he appeared on the scene of action. In the beginning of the memorable month of May 1857, in consequence of information telegraphed from Calcutta, he was arrested by order of the Chief Commissioner, and placed in confinement at his fort of Shahgunge. Sending for the British authorities, he warned them that the troops would rise, and "offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter in his fort. Seeing the critical state of things, Colonel Goldney released him, and Man Sing at once commenced to put his fort of Shahgunge in order, and raise levies." Matters looking very ominous at Fyzabad, the civilians sent their families to Shahgunge, where they were sheltered for a few days, when Man Sing, "either from zeal or pretended fear of the mutineers, desired them to depart. He, however, provided boats for them on the Gogra, to which they were escorted by night, and a party of Man Sing's levies accompanied them some way on their journey. They all reached the station of Dinapore in safety." †

Man Sing remained at his post, "organizing and increasing his levies, which he maintained by forced contributions from the merchants of Fyzabad and others." Overtures had been made to him from both sides. The Fyzabad mutineers invited him to place himself at their head: the British Government offered him a "perpetual jagheer, secured on land, of 25,000*l.* per annum, if he remained stedfast and rendered active aid." ‡ His replies had been evasive. Nor, so long as General Havelock's forces remained on the Oude side of the Ganges, did he declare himself. But when, on August 13th, Havelock, falling back on Cawnpore, recrossed the Ganges, Man Sing, thinking the British cause hopeless, marched in from Fyzabad, and joined the mutineers at Lucknow. The attack of September 5th was especially heavy. Assaults were made on various points of the defences, and a storm of round shot and musket balls was kept up. Our men considered that the matchlock-men of the enemy had increased, and this was attributed to Man Sing's reinforcements.

In the middle of October, when the British prospects began to improve, a message was received at the Presidency from Man Sing, offering the troops an escort of 10,000 men, if they would evacuate the place and retire to Cawnpore.

It is pleasant to find another name in the history we have sketched which contrasts favourably with that of Man Sing: we mean the young Rajah of Bulrampore. When, in the beginning of June, the native troops at Secrora were ripe for mutiny, Mr. Campbell, Commissioner of the Baraitch division, was enabled to place confidence in the friendliness of this Rajah, Dirg Bijehsing, and to arrange that the European officers should seek refuge with him when the crisis came. This was done, and after a few days' stay at Bulrampore, the whole party, under an escort, reached the Gorruckpore district in safety.

But we must go back to Oude and its mismanagement. We have dealt with the *izarah*, or co tract system. Before we leave it, it may not be amiss to mention an extreme measure not unfrequently resorted to by the landholders, when they could in no other way free themselves from the iron grasp of the contractors. The proprietor retired into the jungles, compelling the cultivators to accompany him, and plundering their villages if they refused to do so. The whole estate was left untilled, and yielded nothing to the contractor, who, after a season or two, found it his policy to come to terms.

The *amanee*, or trust system, alone remains to be mentioned. Under this arrangement, instead of a fixed sum, the Amil was trusted to pay into the treasury what he could fairly and justly collect. It required, however, honest men to work it; and as these were scarce in Oude, and, when available, the least likely to be appointed under the Court *régime*, the system was found to be, to the ryot, equally oppressive with the *izarah* system, and more prejudicial to the Government.

In another Number we hope to pursue this subject.

* Gubbins' "Mutinies in Oude," p. 298.

† Ibid. pp. 135, 136.

‡ Ibid. p. 169.

INDIA—WHAT IS TO BE OUR POLICY?

QUESTIONS of primary importance in relation to India press for a solution. We shall specify one or two of them. First—are the officials of the Government in that country to continue in the enjoyment of that Christian liberty of action which they have enjoyed since the coercive despatch of 1847 was quietly put aside by the prudence and consideration of the local Government? Are they, so long as they discreetly use their liberty, and carefully abstain from interfering by force or bribery with the consciences of men, to be regarded as possessing the same freedom which belongs to every private Christian, of avowing their attachment to Christianity, and their sympathy with its persuasive progress? So long as they faithfully render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, are they to be uninterfered with while they reverentially render to God the things which are God's, and conscientiously fulfil the obligations which devolve on them as Christian men?

The Royal Proclamation was, in this respect, strongly and imperatively worded—"We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." This clause, designed to secure liberty of conscience, and leave every man free to pursue that course, in matters of religious inquiry and profession, which best accorded with his own convictions, is as binding on the highest functionary, as on the man whose sphere of responsibility was of the most limited kind. There was to be no coercion in matters of religion. The native was to be free to inquire and decide; the European was to be equally free to profess Christianity, and, as an essential part of that profession, to speak of its truths, and commend them to the acceptance of others. Authority was neither to compel the one to silence, nor preclude the other from inquiry. The European functionary, whether of high or low degree, was neither by force or fraud to dissever the native from his old religion, if he desired to retain it, nor to discourage and obstruct him, if he felt desirous to inquire into the truth of Christianity; and this is all which the friends of Missions ask of Government, never to interfere with the religion of any one, so long as it does not interfere with the equal rights of others. But if the authorities should conceive themselves bound, not only to abstain from every thing that wars against the religion of the natives, but to prevent anybody else from teaching or offering them any other religion, then, under the pretext of not interfering with the religion of the natives, are they guilty of an interference with the rights of conscience of the most direct and positive kind. While professing compliance with the Proclamation, they expressly violate it.

In our Number for October last we referred to the spirit of inquiry on the subject of Christianity which had manifested itself among the Muzabee Sikhs, who had been embodied in the 24th Punjabee Infantry. The following *résume* of the facts, as reprinted from the "Lahore Chronicle," will refresh the recollection of our readers.

"Amongst the plunder taken in Delhi, the men of that regiment found a number of Christian books, and became interested in reading them. This stock of books having been exhausted, leaving that interest unsatisfied, they applied to one of their officers for more books. He, to gratify his men, availed himself of the first opportunity that offered of obtaining books from the Missionaries, which happened to be those of Umritsur, on the return of the regiment to that place. The Missionaries, very properly, availed themselves of this opportunity of communicating oral instruction also to those to whom they gave books, and the officers of the regiment very properly refrained from all interference with the work of the Missionaries, or with the religion of the men, retrospective or prospective. The consequence was, that a number of books were distributed, some instructions given, several men offered themselves as candidates for baptism, and one was actually baptized. The men continued to read, and talk about what they read, and other Missionaries, as opportunity offered, went and instructed them; the interest increased, and others avowed themselves Christians. At this stage of the business we understand that one of the officers commenced reading the church service on Sundays to the native Christians and inquirers of the regiment, and any others who chose voluntarily to attend. If there has been any further interference with the religion of the men than what appears in the above simple summary, we are not informed of it."

The Viceroy of India in Council has deemed it his duty to express his disapprobation of the course pursued by these officers

and to prohibit further interference on their part with the religion of the men.

Let the facts of the case be clearly understood. The initiative was not taken by the officers. The men came of themselves. The Christian books did the mischief. Had the authorities been aware of it in time, perhaps they might have ordered the removal of the books. Awakened to inquiry, the men came to the only persons who could give them any information on the subject—their own officers. What were these gentlemen to do? To be silent, and thus discourage them from further inquiry? They did not dare to do so. This would have been to violate the essential principles of Christianity, which enjoins, "Be ready to give to every one that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." To have acted so might have pleased the Government, but it would have displeased God.

But some of the men openly professed Christianity, and were baptized, and to these their fellow-Christians, when a clergyman was not available, the officers read prayers. Other men of the regiment attended. They did so entirely of their own accord. The officers did not invite them, neither did they prevent them; that is, they did not interfere with their freedom of action in this matter. In so doing, the officers complied with the Proclamation, but, nevertheless, they have been reproved by the Viceroy in Council. The following letter from our Missionary, the Rev. R. Clark, dated Shumshabad, Nov. 2, 1859, will show the effects produced by this uncalled-for and unauthorized interference on the part of the Government—

"I have been staying here on my way, for the last two days, with the Christians of the 24th Punjab Native Infantry. I have often told you of them, and of the orders which have been issued by the Supreme Government in Calcutta, cautioning the officers against taking any part whatever in the spread of Christianity in the regiment. It was an unchristian order and an impolitic one; for the officers were doing nothing more than Christian men should do, and were in no ways unduly using any official influence to the prejudice of the native religions. The effects of the order have been, however, most unfavourable to Christianity. Before it came, the men were pressing forward, eagerly and earnestly inquiring into the subject of Christianity; but from the moment they heard that the Governor-General in Council had interfered, and had written through official channels to their officers about it, they naturally understood this to mean that the English Government directly discouraged the spirit of inquiry, and were averse to any further baptisms in the corps: from that time to the present not one soldier has come forward to ask for either instruction or baptism. The Christians stand dismayed at seeing the interest in their spiritual welfare suddenly lost, and the school has dwindled down to less than half its numbers. The officers may not converse with the native Christians about Christianity; they may not hold a service for them, or even worship God with them, although they are their fellow-Christians, much less speak to any who are not yet baptized. Every thing is in a state of doubt and uncertainty, even as regards what a Missionary may do in the corps; whether he may enter the lines at all, and, if so, whether he may hold a service in a native-Christian's house; and, above all, whether he may admit those to his service who are still heathen. I was certainly grieved to find that the orders were of such a nature as to leave every one in doubt whether a Missionary might or might not visit, as a pastor, a large native-Christian flock of thirty persons, including ten Sepoys, because they happened to live in the lines of a regiment; but it was thought better that our services should be held away from the lines, in one of the officers' quarters. I held one full service and two shorter ones with them, and administered the Lord's supper to five adults. I also married two native Christians belonging to the regimental band; but even there the officers could not be present, although they take much interest in the parties, and although none but Christians were present at the wedding. Our Government surely cannot know the consequences which such orders lead to, or they would be more careful in making them. No rule had been ever transgressed, and nothing had been done to call for such an order. The only apparent fact was, that some of the soldiers had been baptized; and no sooner does the Government hear of this, than it steps in with its veto, and checks the whole proceeding, as if the baptism of ten Sepoys was something dangerous or something out of order; and a summons is forthwith sent, not to this regiment alone, but to every Punjab regiment, for every officer to hold himself clear of such untoward events. If it had been another plot against their very existence they could hardly have done more. The little band of thirty Christians, however, still remains, and they have a catechist and schoolmaster. May they be upheld and strengthened, and, even though European Christians are obliged for a time to seem to forsake them, may they find that help which never fails in times of trial?"

Here, then, is an important question, which seems to be pending in the balance at this moment; and we are persuaded that it only requires a broad and manly expression of opinion, on the part of the Christian public of the United Kingdom, to decide it satisfactorily, and for ever.

The other question is not less momentous. Is the system of Government education in India to remain just the same as it was before the mutiny, and be subjected to no ameliorating process? Has it been found to work so satisfactorily? has it exercised such a tranquillizing influence on the native mind, caused them to be so well affected to the British rule, and, in other respects, carried with it such evident tokens of the divine blessing, as to forbid any interference with it?

A great alteration is required. The rule which interdicts the Bible must be withdrawn, and the Christian Scriptures be free to enter every Government College and Institution; so that, if the students wish it, they may read and be instructed therein, and voluntary Bible-classes be formed for this purpose. It is suggested by some that pupils are at liberty to study it, and obtain instruction from their masters as to its facts and doctrines out of school-hours, if they desire it, and that with this we ought to be contented. We must decline to accept this compromise, even although—which we doubt—this out-of-school instruction was permitted under the roof of the Government building. It is an authoritative permission of its use in school-hours that we require. On this point—its refusal or concession—depends the whole character of our educational system in India. This must give the key-note to the entire process. With an excluded Bible, Christianity is under a ban. It is pronounced to be an alien element which must be searched out and carefully banished from all books and studies. All traces of it, and all references to it, must be erased. And this adverse principle, thus ruling within the walls of our educational buildings, will from thence sway the whole governmental policy. The one-sided neutrality which has hitherto prevailed will continue to mar the hopes of India, and Christian men will be conscience-troubled in the service of a State which expects its officials to to be as cold-blooded and indifferent to Christianity as it is itself. We agree thoroughly with a remark in a recently-published paper —"The whole principle of Government conscience and Christianity is involved in the question of the authoritative admission of the Bible, during school-hours, as part and parcel of the Government system of education."

We repeat, then, that this is a point of primary importance, which must not be permitted to recede from a prominent position before the public mind, but which must be perseveringly kept there until it has received, by the blessing of God, a satisfactory solution. The defect which has vitiated our educational system is the same which has hitherto pervaded the whole of our national policy in India; and if there is to be amendment, and a national policy of a more candid character on the subject of Christianity is to be adopted, as the becoming expression of our gratitude to God for a great national deliverance, it must begin with this specific point, the admission of the Christian Scriptures into our schools; for in this, in fact, the whole question is included.

Let us ask ourselves solemnly, as in the presence of God, Has our national policy, as hitherto carried out in relation to India, been blessed or prospered?

Important legislative ameliorations have been introduced from time to time, in the hope that they would carry with them the mind and sympathy of the people for whose good they are intended. Demoralizing customs, and even crimes of deepest dye, in many remarkable instances have been repressed. Thuggee and Dacoity have been put down with a high hand; infanticide rendered penal; suttee prohibited. Witchcraft, Tragga, Meriah sacrifices, slavery, forced labour, have been summarily dealt with; the civil rights of religious converts secured; the re-marriage of widows legalized;—have these measures been so duly appreciated as to ensure contentment and tranquillity? We cannot say so. The solemn events of 1857 established too plainly the want of this necessary agreement between legislative action and national sympathy. Measures suggested by a real interest in the welfare of the vast population placed under our rule in India, and a sincere desire to promote their happiness, were misunderstood. Instead of exciting the gratitude, they aroused the hostility of the people. How far may this be attributed to our defective system of education? Instruction and enlightenment on the various points, in connexion with which alteration is required, ought always to precede and prepare the way for legislative acts; so that when they are promulgated they may not take people by surprise, but may carry with them such a measure of popular approval as may suffice to countenance and sustain them in their action.

Again, our native *employés* have been raised up, in a great measure, out of our govern-

mental institutions. This was one of the results which they were expected to yield—one confessedly important to the prosperous course of India's government, namely, that the state should be supplied with servants in whom perfect confidence might be reposed, to whom offices of trust might be committed, and who should be possessed, therefore, not only of intellectual fitness, but of moral character. Without such native *employés*, we do not see how the government of India can be successfully carried on. They constitute the medium through which the character and proceedings of the superior authorities are presented to the people.

How shall reliable natives, in whom we have confidence, be obtained? Some reply, By the advance of European knowledge in India. To that thesis we readily subscribe, if interpreted not narrowly, but generously, and in the fulness of its meaning, as not excluding the most important element of European knowledge, Christianity. Abstract this from European knowledge, reduce that knowledge to a mere secularity, and it is left destitute of renovating power. It cannot so raise the human character as to render it trustworthy and reliable, and prepared to participate in the great work of national progress. There exists no room for doubt on this subject. Secular European knowledge has been tried, and its fruits have been yielded in sufficient quantity to enable us to form a just estimate of their value. There is a large class of natives at Calcutta who have been educated on this principle at English schools and colleges, and who, while keeping on good terms with their families and priests, by observing the outward forms of Hindúism, are either Vedantists, *i.e.* professors of a cold Unitarianism, or have advanced to the rejection of all religious belief whatever. There are, perhaps, 5000 of these persons "speaking and writing English in perfection, whose minds have been trained to reason and reflect, and who have a general knowledge of the history and claims of Christianity, while all belief in the old idolatry and mythology has dropped away." Let us examine into the character of these men, who have had education in European knowledge apart from Christianity. We take the testimony of Mr. H. Pratt. He states this as a prominent characteristic of the Bengal Hindú, a want of earnestness. This appears, indeed, from the ambiguous and compromising position which he occupies on religious questions. He conforms outwardly to a system of idolatry, which, in his heart, he despises and rejects. He holds himself aloof from Christianity, not so much from the absence of intellectual belief, as because he is disinclined to put himself "under the restraint of the Christian life, and incur the sacrifices involved in the avowal of the Christian name." Where, then, is the probity of character to which it is so necessary the native should be raised? Surely it is a part of probity to be honest to our convictions, and not to compromise ourselves with that which, in our hearts, we disbelieve. Surely this disingenuousness is the opposite of probity, and there is a leaven of insincerity introduced which is likely to pervade all the actions of the man.

Let us look a little further into the sketches given us of this class, and thus ascertain whether the system under which they have been trained is the one which is fitted to ensure the regeneration of India.

"They would rather not believe Christianity. They seek eagerly for infidel works; have reprinted cheap editions of 'Tom Paine;' ask for Parker's Sermons, because they hear that he writes against Christianity; and will not read works on the Christian Evidences, or visit Christian Missionaries. In fact, these men speak even more contemptuously and bitterly of the converts than the Hindús of the old school. Prosunno Coomar Tagore (a near relative of Dwarkanath Tagore, who went to England), the principal pleader of Bengal, and a man of great wealth, disinherited his son for embracing Christianity, though calling himself a 'Liberal Freethinker," and supporting one of Rammohun Roy's congregations. If his son had called himself an atheist, and merely ridiculed Hindúism, drunk champagne, and eaten beef-steaks, as he himself does, he would have kept his inheritance! Of course, I am speaking generally."

Again, in refering to the Society of Reformed Hindús, or of Brahmas and Vedantists, the same writer observes—

"As regards the test of life and moral conduct, I see no difference between the members of these societies and those who repudiate all forms of religious belief whatever. Both classes are men of good education, who have carefully and intimately studied our highest literature at school and college, have clearer notions of right and wrong, a better appreciation of what is honourable, greater benevolence and patriotism; but neither have or can have that which a living belief in Christ's mission, and the divine source of his teachings alone can give, viz. those firmly fixed principles of conduct, in obedience to which

the true Christian will offer himself as a living sacrifice. For want of them, so little progress has been made in truthfulness; so little in respect to child-marriages, and exposure of the sick, &c.; so little in female education; so little in incorruptibility, honesty, fair dealing, and integrity."

These are not the men we need for India: they will not advantage their countrymen; they will not advantage us. There is in their knowledge no healthful reproductiveness. Yet they are the fruits of education without Christianity, and they are the best it can yield. Education, such as this can never raise a man out of his low selfishness. In fact, it is valued only because it panders to the selfish tendencies.

"'Education' is in the mouth of every Hindú in Calcutta. It means, preferment, high salaries, distinction, and honour; for by it all these are made accessible. Every year Government throws open to the natives fresh posts, of higher and higher emolument and honour, making their selection from the most distinguished students of the colleges; while the increase of European trade, railways, telegraphs, &c., creates a constantly growing demand for the services of men of tolerable education. It is true that even the best students read but little after they have obtained the great object of desire—'an appointment'—and that many never open an English book for the rest of their lives."

Yet it is on education of this kind that Government has hitherto relied. "We most emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe."* And is that great element to be studiously omitted to which Europe owes its intellectual development, and without which it never would have reached its existing attainments in arts and sciences? Do our statesmen really think that secular education is sufficient to raise the human character to that sterling principle and moral tone which will render it reliable and trustworthy? Will it suffice at home? Can it be sufficient amidst the still greater difficulties of India's moral degradation? And if Christianity be necessary for India, why should any state documents be so worded as though it might be dispensed with? Her Majesty's proclamation is far more truthful and becoming. She does not suppress all mention of Christianity, as though it were something to be ashamed of and kept out of sight. There is an honest avowal of her personal conviction, while at the same time she disclaims any design of imposing it on any of her subjects. No, undoubtedly. Forcible interference, the setting aside the convictions of any man, however erroneous they may be — this would be unchristian, short-sighted policy, one that would obstruct instead of facilitating the action of Christianity. But are we to do violence to our own convictions, and studiously ignore that great element of true religion to which we owe all our greatness and our glory, and which we know in our inmost souls to be that which the nations of India need? This we believe to be the great and serious defect under which our Government education has hitherto laboured, that it has dispensed as completely and decidedly with Christianity as though it was in no wise necessary for the amelioration of India. We gain nothing by this disloyal action. There is quite enough in our private acts to convince the native, that, as a nation, we are Christians, not only by profession, but by conviction, and our studied avoidance of all recognition of it in our public acts renders the native suspicious of our sincerity, and causes him to distrust us.

Instruction in Christianity is what India wants. Nothing less will suffice to raise her. If this be wanting, we may subvert Hinduism amongst the higher classes, set up Vedantism in its place, but India will be no happier, and England's dominion over India, instead of being consolidated, will become less secure. What then should Government do? Let it recognise Christianity; honestly avow its convictions of its truth and excellency, and afford opportunities of Christian instruction in its schools or colleges to such as may be willing to use them. As to his improvement or otherwise of such opportunities, let the native be left entirely to his own judgment and convictions. But that numbers of the native youth will esteem such opportunities a privilege, and hasten to improve them, may, we think, be concluded from certain interesting facts connected with the city of Benares, which we now place before our readers.

The following communication from H. Carre Tucker, Esq., recently Governor-General's Agent and Commissioner at that city, appropriately introduces this part of our subject.

"In the summer of 1856, the late lamented Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, John Colvin, sanctioned my establishing a normal college for village teachers in Benares. Upwards of one

* Educational Despatch, 1854.

hundred of the most promising indigenous teachers from the different districts of the Benares division were collected in a large two-storied building, together with a number of intelligent candidates. All of them resided in the building and its outhouses, as I was very anxious to prevent the young men becoming corrupted in such a licentious city as Benares. Two of the most earnest and pious Christian teachers I could find (one of whom has since become a Missionary) were located in the same building, with their families, and the whole instruction was carried on in the vernacular. The progress made in six months was so great as to excite the surprise and astonishment of all who visited the institution, including good Bishop Dealtry of Madras. Its most marked distinction, however, was, that although a purely Government school, the whole of the young men regularly studied the Holy Scriptures in Hindi and Hindustani, and to such good purpose, that some thirty-four of them ventured to compete with the Mission schools at a general Bible examination which I caused to be held for the whole Division. A few Mohammedans demurred at first to join the Bible class; but even these came round in three or four weeks, finding it easier to swim with the general stream of the school, than to go against it. So hard did they study the Bible at night, that the mother of one of the teachers declared that it made her quite ashamed of herself, as a Christian woman, to hear them poring over the Scriptures at midnight. Mr. Colvin himself presided at our examination, where great stress was laid upon Biblical knowledge, and the classes examined in his presence, not only by Missionaries, but by Timothy Luther, the energetic native-Christian schoolmaster of the Church Missionary Society at Azimgurh. So entirely did Mr. Colvin approve of all that had been done, that he presented Mr. Tresham, the head master, with a gold watch. I am glad of an opportunity of bearing this testimony to the Christian character and boldness of that fine fellow, John Colvin, as it has been somewhat overlooked in the eulogium written by Sir C. Trevelyan.

"While speaking of Timothy, I may mention that the parents of his most advanced pupils, including the Government treasurer and other leading men in Azimgurh, allowed their boys to come in to Benares, a distance of fifty-six miles, to compete in the Bible examination, under the sole care of their native-Christian master, in whom they had full confidence that he would not do any thing to cause them to break caste."

Mr. Tucker, in this extract, refers to a Bible examination held at Benares. We must now explain to our readers what this was. In the hope of inducing, on the part of the natives, the perusal of the Christian Scriptures, and thus increasing the amount of scriptural knowledge throughout his division, he decided, with Mr. Colvin's sanction and concurrence, to offer prizes for the best scriptural knowledge, to be competed for by all the students, native teachers, and monitors of the Educational Institutions of the Benares Division. Notices to this effect were issued in March 1856, the examination to be held in the beginning of 1857. The principals of the different Institutions—the Benares College, Jay Narayan's College, Central School of the London Missionary Society, &c., made known to the students under their care what was intended to be done, and invited them to compete for the prizes. The questions being in English, Urdu, and Hindi, and thus affording the candidate the opportunity of drawing up his replies in whichever of these languages was the most facile to him, enlarged considerably the area of competition, and enabled all who were under instruction, whether in English or the vernacular, to come forward, if disposed to do so. But the success of the movement depended entirely on the inclination of the natives themselves. No official influence was brought to bear upon them, nor was any displeasure from the principals of the different institutions at all likely to supervene, if so be they felt themselves indisposed to prepare themselves for an examination which necessitated an attentive perusal of the Christain Scriptures. It is true there was the stimulus of prizes; but, according to the scale originally proposed, they were neither numerous nor of high amount. Mr. Tucker's notice offered fourteen prizes, the highest of the amount of fifty rupees, the lowest of ten rupees—inducements not sufficient to overcome any bigoted antipathy to the subject of Christianity, or aversion to the Christian Scriptures, had such existed; and therefore the facts connected with this movement afford a very fair criterion by which to judge how far the youth of India would be disposed to avail themselves of opportunities of Christian instruction, if fairly presented to them, and left to their own option.

The notice was widely circulated, and a lively interest awakened, which, as weeks and months advanced, appeared rather to increase than to diminish. A large proportion of the pupils of the Missionary schools throughout the district addressed themselves energetically to the work of preparation. Native teachers, and others, engaged in schools, caught the

spirit of the movement, and applied themselves diligently to the same studies.

An examining Committee had been appointed, consisting of Professor Griffith, Head Master of Benares College, and Inspector of Government Schools in the Benares division, the Revs. M. A. Sherring of the London Mission, J. Gregson of the Baptist Mission, and C. B. Leupolt of the Church Mission, with Mr. Tucker as President. By these gentlemen a final notice was issued in November, announcing that the Prize Fund had risen to 1252 rupees, besides books; that the written examination had been arranged to take place on January 5th, 1857, in the Mint, a large and admirably-suited building belonging to the Rajah of Benares; to be followed by an oral examination, at which Mr. Colvin, the Lieut.-Governor, was expected to be present. This examination, it was hoped, would be attended by the Missionaries assembled about that time at Conference, as well as by a considerable number of gentlemen from the neighbouring stations. In such employments was it intended, at Benares, to commence the eventful year of 1857.

The results were of a character truly satisfactory. They are thus summed up by a Calcutta periodical—

"On Monday morning, January 5th, some time before 10 A.M., the aspirants assembled, in almost alarming numbers, in front of the appointed building, eagerly awaiting the hour of admission. Among them might be seen the almost tottering step of the aged, the grave and manly deportment of those in middle life, and the frolicsome playfulness of youth. Here, too, were assembled the picked boys of almost all the Missionary—certainly of all the best Missionary—schools throughout the district, and boys and young men collected from every point of the compass, and whose residences must have been scattered over a division of country not less than two or three hundred miles in diameter. From Gorruckpore, a distance of 120 miles, there were five candidates. From Chupra, a distance of 110, there was one. The Azimgurh Mission School, distant sixty miles, and entirely under the control of a native teacher, had nine representatives. Ghazepore, forty-five miles distant, nine also; while from Juanpore, thirty-five miles distant, there were eighteen. The majority, however, belonged to Benares. The Normal College alone, only opened about six months previously, sent no less than thirty-six candidates; the London Mission School thirty-two; the Church Mission twenty-eight; and the Baptist Mission School only seven. On first casting our eyes upon this large and motley throng, we were afraid that the accommodation, ample as it was, would be inadequate to meet the large demand upon it; but in this we were happily disappointed, and a few minutes after the opening of the doors all were suitably accommodated; those writing English sitting at tables, and the Urdú and Hindi writers sitting in the native fashion on the floor. As soon as quietness was restored, and care had been taken that all the boys were furnished with pens, ink, and paper, three sealed packets were produced by Mr. Tucker. These packets contained the written questions—printed in three languages, English, Urdu, and Hindi—which the candidates present had now to reply to in writing. These were at once distributed, but, being found insufficient in number, one set of questions had to answer for two candidates. The competitors were allowed six hours, or from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., to complete their replies, at which hour all replies were given in, each essay, as produced, being marked with a number corresponding to that affixed to the writer's name, in a list of all the candidates previously prepared; and to each writer was given a ticket, bearing the same number as that written upon his essay. During the course of the examination, besides H. C. Tucker, Esq., and the examining Committee, consisting of Professor Griffith and the Revs. Messrs. Leupolt, Kennedy—who took Mr. Sherring's place, he having removed to Mirzapore—and Gregson, a large number of visitors dropped in, many of them being Missionaries drawn from a distance by the approaching Missionary Conference, which was to commence its sittings on the following day, Tuesday, January 6th.

"The business of the Missionary Conference prevented the examining Committee from proceeding at once to an investigation and scrutiny of the essays; nor was it until after a fortnight had elapsed that their task was completed. We must therefore here just say one word in reference to the oral examination which took place in the Normal School, on Monday, the 12th of January, in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor, H. C. Tucker, Esq., and a large number of the residents of Benares and the neighbourhood, besides many Missionaries who had been attending the Conference. The answers given to a series of searching questions, historical, chronological, geographical, and doctrinal, &c., were, on the whole, remarkably satisfactory; and although, previous to this public examination, several hours had been spent in sifting the candidates, and not a few had been rejected, yet a very large number of

superior order remained, and it was found impossible satisfactorily to test their relative capabilities in so brief a space It was therefore resolved to attach no value to the oral examination, but to test the merits of the candidates solely by their written answers.

"On examining the essays that had been given in, it was found that they amounted to no fewer than one hundred and fifty-two. Of these, eighteen were in English; twelve in Urdu, written in the Roman character, and seventy-six in Urdu, written in the Persian character; while forty-six were in Hindi, written in the Nagri character."

Of the intrinsic merit of these writings, and the measure of knowledge on the subject of Christian truth, possessed by the candidates, we cannot enter now. It would lead us away from our direct subject. We shall revert to this point on another opportunity. But as an evidence, therefore, that, if opportunities were presented to them, there would be no unwillingness upon the part of the *alumni* of India to read and make themselves acquainted with the Christian Scriptures, the results of this effort at Benares are in the highest degree satisfactory. We feel fully persuaded that voluntary Scripture classes in the different collegiate institutions would be largely attended. No one can read the accounts which have reached us from Lucknow and elsewhere, without the conviction that the prestige of the old systems is gone; that the native mind, to a great extent, has pronounced them worthless, and is prepared to abandon them. The late great conflict in India was a struggle for supremacy. The expectation was strong that Christianity would succumb, and, driven forth in ignominy from the shores of India, would leave to Mohammedanism the sceptre of dominion, while, relieved of Missionary interference, Hinduism should proceed to wrap, in densest folds of unbroken darkness, the degraded masses of its population. Sudden was the outbreak of insurrection; terrific the effort. Human sympathies were cast by the insurgents to the winds. Acts of hideous cruelty marked their steps. Surprised, taken at a disadvantage, bewildered at the sudden change of those, whom they regarded as friends, into pitiless assailants, the Europeans stood at bay; and, while many fell, others, nerved with a supernatural courage, stood their ground, and outlived the storm. What a fiery deluge raged for months around the Residency at Lucknow! The angry natives felt assured of its destruction. How could they think otherwise, when, in their infatuation, they firmly believed that Mohammed, in person, would come to their assistance, and destroy every European in the Baillie guard? And now that the result has proved so different, we cannot be surprised that their minds have undergone a momentous change, and that the confession is wrung from them, "If God had not been for you, and against us, you must have perished."

British supremacy has been restored, and its restoration has been graced by an act of clemency. The native mind is softened, and presents itself under a more favourable aspect than at any previous period. Let there be, then, no more half-hearted policy. Let us not be ashamed of the Gospel of that God who preserved us in a moment of such extreme danger. If opportunities be afforded to the natives, they will use them. Let them have them. We will force no man's conscience; no, undoubtedly: but the waters of life must be permitted to come within reach of every man who wishes to drink of them. Our Government institutions for native education, our colleges and schools, can no longer remain dry places of secular education, where the torch is held up to show the hideousness of idolatry, and then dashed out, to leave the native youth in the gloom and outer darkness of having no religion at all.

On matters connected with religious duty, England has often been led astray. Her statesmen have given a wrong direction to her course. She has been taught that the faithful and unflinching discharge of the responsibilities which devolve upon her as a Christian nation would militate against her interests; and she has been counselled to compromise the one, that she might preserve intact the other. Fatal error! He who would thus steer, endangers the noble vessel of the state. Such a temporizing policy has never yet been adopted by this great nation without unhappy consequences. Ireland was so dealt with. Plain duty was thought to clash with political interest, and, in various ways, it was unhesitatingly sacrificed. Instruction in the vernacular was considered a dangerous perpetuation of national distinctiveness and corresponding jealousies, and the people, left uninstructed, became a disaffected people. And then again, to conciliate them, the Scriptures were withdrawn from the national schools in Ireland; and yet the great mass of the Irish people remains in spirit estranged from the Saxon. The faithless policy has not succeeded; and we are now to continue to be Gallios in the presence of the people of India, caring for nothing except our own selfish interests, having no preference for one religion above another; either regarding all religions as alike true, or as alike false, ac-

cording to the interpretation which the native chooses to put upon it; the contempt and scorn of a people, who, in their zeal for false religions, put to shame our lukewarmness in the profession and maintenance of truth? Truly, "*even in a political point of view, we err in ignoring so completely the agency of ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people.*" So testified Lord Dalhousie: so speak Sir John Lawrence, Edwardes, Montgomery, M'Leod, Colvin; every man of note and power, whose services have given weight to his opinion.

And we may ask, where an open Christian policy has been pursued, has our prestige suffered? have alarming results followed? What ensued at Benares? Let us hear Mr. Tucker's testimony.

"At the time of the Meerut mutiny we had three native regiments, and only thirty European gunners. Surely if any station was to go, Benares should have been the one. Yet, with the exception of the fight with the regiments on the 4th of June, the city, under God's blessing upon Mr. F. Gubbins' vigorous management, remained in perfect stillness, with less than the ordinary amount of crime; the Missionaries pursued their labours without hindrance: and not one single native voice was raised against the various schemes of Christian effort. On the contrary, when I left India, all the principal inhabitants of the division, Hindu and Mohammedan, united to raise upwards of 6000 rupees in testimony of my 'labours for their welfare here and hereafter.'"

In noticing this remarkable circumstance, the "Friend of India" observes—"This reputation has been acquired without the slightest concession to native religious prejudices. Mr. Tucker has never skulked from a profession of his faith. He has energetically supported Christian Missionaries, is known as a personal friend of almost every Missionary in the province, and for months past has devoted his resources to their aid in a manner even liberal men find incomprehensible. No temptation would induce him to attend a native festival, nor would he dream of refusing a valuable geography in the vernacular, because like all other geographies, it was opposed to the Shasters. Mr. Tucker did justice without trampling on the cross, and the people who have honoured his virtue do not respect him the less for avoiding a humiliation."

The men to whom, under God, England is indebted for the conservation of her rule in India, who stood forward unflinchingly in the time of danger, and, with combined courage and wisdom, stemmed the torrent of insurrection, ought to be heard on questions such as these. Their services entitle them to speak, and give weight to their opinion. Let us hear one of them, Col. Edwardes. We quote from a speech delivered at Shrewsbury, on the occasion of a crowded and influential meeting of the Shropshire Church Missionary Society, held about a month back, the Lord Bishop of Lichfield in the chair. It is of importance at the present moment, and we extract largely from it.

Referring to the objections usually urged against the admission of the Bible into Government schools, Colonel Edwardes observed—

"The first peculiar objection of the Government is, that the Bible is not necessary as a basis for the education of man. It is actually said that there may be morality without the Bible. Reference has, indeed, been made to eternal principles antecedent to revelation. I know not where they are to be found, or what nation set them forth. Did the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Buddhists, the Greeks, or the Romans? Has not the world long since agreed to reprobate the immoral religions of those people? What people in the new world have them? Have the savages of the Pacific, the Bushmen and negroes of Africa, the civilized Chinese, the Mohammedans and Hindus of Asia, or the savans of the first French revolution? The Bible gives a different account of the morality of man without revelation. Job, the oldest work in the world, in chapter xiv. verse 4, says, 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one.'

"I come next to a much stronger objection — the objection which is made that we stand pledged to be neutral in religious matters. The question whether neutrality in religion be a nation's duty is best answered by asking if it be the duty of an individual. No one will be bold enough to say that it is. We do not ourselves, nor do we see our neighbours, saying, 'This question of Christianity and infidelity is really nothing to me. It does not affect me in any way. It seems my duty to remain neutral!' We cannot use such language. There is that within us which, whether we will or no, takes cognizance of religious truth or error, which stands on tiptoe in the breast, and 'looks before and after,' peering into the sky with intense anxiety to find some certainty for eternity. We hear God himself declaring that 'he that is not with me is against me,' and the words find a loud echo in our hearts. We cannot—dare not—be neutral about our own soul. How, then, is the case changed when we join the

throng of our fellow-countrymen, and act together as a nation? Has one relieved another of his responsibilities? Have thirty millions of Christians conglomerated into one neutrality? Do two and two make nothing, or do they make four? Because each Englishman is brave, does the British army become cowardly and run away? or does it, in the mass, preserve the self-same virtues, and press on irresistibly to victory with the united valour of 10,000 soldiers? We are not atoms that we can be isolated thus. We have a national existence in every other sphere—in arts and arms, science and commerce, laws and civil government, and foreign polity, and as yet, thank God, we have a national religion, and a Queen whose title is 'Defender of the Faith.' To ask us, then, to be neutral in India, between the religions of Christianity, and the false prophet, and the gods of the Hindu, is to ask us to denationalize ourselves, to do abroad what we have not done at home, and cease to be Englishmen and Christians when we cross the line. But these things we cannot do. We cannot be neutral. We must desire that our native subjects were not Mohammedans and Hindus, but Christians like ourselves, or better; and it is our duty to avail ourselves of every lawful opportunity to promote the spread of Christianity among them. Another argument for neutrality is based upon some supposed pledge that we have given, no one knows when or where. The despatches of Lords Ellenborough and Stanley to the Governor-General speak of 'good faith' requiring us to be neutral. But I have never yet found any one who could produce the bond. It has, indeed, been the traditional policy in India, not merely to be neutral towards native creeds, but to be intolerant of Christianity. But if we have hitherto done wrong, good faith does not require us to go on doing it. It is well to be consistent; but it is better to be true. We once were partners with the priests of Juggernaut, and derived an annual revenue from the temple; but the indignant voice of England forced the Indian Government to break off the idolatrous connexion. Was that a breach of faith? No Government can be carried on upon such a principle. As we find out our past errors we must correct them. We cannot nail them to the mast and sink or swim with them. There is, indeed, a document of very recent date, of the very highest importance, pledging the Queen of England to a particular line of conduct towards her English subjects—I mean Her Majesty's Proclamation on assuming the direct government of Hindustan. In that Proclamation is the ambiguous term 'interference,' and it has been seized upon by the advocates of the traditional policy; and the passage has been quoted in India by the Governor-General himself as affirming that policy of 'neutrality,' and enjoining it upon every public servant. But the Proclamation has been submitted in England to a close and critical analysis by a great Christian lawyer, whose published judgment I now hold in my hand; and he pronounces that it is impossible, by any sound and constitutional principle of interpretation, to attach an unchristian meaning to any passage in the Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty—she having prefaced the expression of her sovereign will by acknowledging her own title to be derived from the Christian's God, and her own reliance on the truth of Christianity. We have, then, the Governor-General of India interpreting the Queen's Proclamation (as it has been interpreted by the Hindus of Madras) in favour of neutrality; while an eminent lawyer, accustomed to weigh words, interprets it in a totally opposite sense. It becomes necessary, therefore, that this question should be set at rest; and I hope that some one may be found to ask Her Majesty's Minister, in the coming session of Parliament, which is the official interpretation of the Proclamation—Lord Canning's or Mr. O'Malley's. The people of England will then know what action to take in the matter.

"Another argument for the 'neutrality' policy is, that the natives of India are taxpayers, and we cannot apply their money to teaching the Bible without a breach of trust. . . . The fallacy of this argument has been well exposed by Sir John Lawrence, who has in effect pointed out that we are not trustees for the people of India, but trustees for that Providence which gave India to us, and that we are not to rule India according to the light and conscience of the natives, but according to our own. . . . . While, therefore, we earnestly desire and strive to rule India well, and for its own benefit, we do not put our measures to the vote of the natives; and the acts and resolutions of our Government reflect the image of our mind, not theirs. On this ground, therefore, we say it is our bounden duty to place the Bible before the pupils of our Government schools; not, indeed, to compel them to read it, but to give all who will read it, and do not object to it, an opportunity of sharing with us in that knowledge which we deem the best and highest that we have—the knowledge which has 'the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come'—the only know-

ledge which can regenerate either an individual or a nation—which has lifted Europe out of paganism, and is able to lift Asia, if we will only apply the lever. . . . .

"The last argument for 'neutrality' that I know of is of a totally opposite character. We are no longer invited to treat the natives as if they were free, but we are asked to turn round and face the real fact, that they are a conquered and a slavish people—a people who have for ages been under despotic forms of government, and habitually bow to the will of their rulers. For the British Government to declare itself a Christian Government, by basing its education on the sanctions of God's word, would, we are told, carry too great an influence with such subjects, and would partake of the nature of bribery or force, and be akin to persecution. This sounds very well in England, but, to any one acquainted with the people of India, is perfectly ludicrous. They are, indeed, a slavish people, accustomed to despotic governments, but the British Indian Government is not exactly the personification of their idea of a despot. They know very well what religious persecution is, and don't require us to teach them. All classes and creeds in India have had their share of it in days gone by, and preserve lively traditions of it now. The mass of the Hindu people has been for many ages groaning under the heaviest religious persecution that the world ever saw—the system of caste—imposed by the Brahmins on four-fifths of their fellow-countrymen. A system like this, which denies the equality of men, and carries degradation and pollution into every house, could never have been submitted to had it not with infernal art appealed to the pride of each successive caste, by giving them a caste below them—an inferior being to look down on. In Upper India there are whole districts of Mohammedans whose ancestors were Hindus, but who were converted by Moslem emperors by that famous alternative, 'the Korán or the sword!' In the Punjab, where I have been for the last twelve years, the whole country is scarred with the religious persecutions of our predecessors. At Umritsur, which is the religious capital of the Sikhs, there is a sacred pool which the Mohammedan invaders invariably defiled by the slaughter of kine, which are objects of Sikh worship; and hard by are Mohammedan temples, which the Sikhs, whenever they were victorious, defiled with a hecatomb of swine. Under the rule of Runjeet Singh no Mohammedan could raise the cry for prayers; and the life of a man was taken by law for the life of a cow. I remember one day an old Mohammedan soldier of the Sikh service coming into my court to give evidence. He had no arms, and I said, 'I fear you have been a thief in days of yore, and the Sikhs cut off your hands for you.' 'Oh no,' he said; 'I am one of a guard of five. We were firing off our muskets one day, and wounded a cow. Goolab Singh, who was commanding in camp, sent for us, and asked who did it. We could not tell; so he chopped off all our arms!' This is religious persecution if you like; and this is what the slavish natives understand by that term. But if the British Government opens a school, and first of all leaves it quite optional with all the children of the country to come to school or stay away as they choose, and then begins the day with an hour's reading of the Bible, with full liberty to the scholars to attend during that hour or not, the people of India may like it, or may not like it, and they may doubtless wish that the Korán or the Vedas were read during that hour instead, but they would not regard it as a religious persecution.

"Having now shown that the policy of 'neutrality is unreasonable' I come, lastly, to show that it is an impossible policy—a policy which we go on violating year after year; and consequently an untruthful policy, which the natives can only view as a deliberate deceit. 'The Government,' says Lord Ellenborough, in his despatch of April 13th, 1858, to the Governor-General, 'will adhere with good faith to its ancient policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of the people of India.' But how stands the fact? It is notorious, not only to us in India, but to you all in England, that the British Government in India has made laws for the abolition of some of the most treasured rites and usages of the natives. 1. Suttee, or the burning of widows on their husband's funeral pile. 2. Human sacrifices to idols, and plunging men, women, and children to sharks at certain holy bathing places. 3. Domestic slavery. 4. The abolition of Brahminical jurisprudence, and assertion of equal justice in criminal cases. 5. The removal of all disability of inheritance incurred by Hindus on changing their religion. 6. The legalization of re-marriage by Hindu widows. 7. The slaughter of oxen by the English. All these are quoted by Mr. Kingsmill in a late work; but others could be mentioned. Why do we deprive Mohammedan husbands of the religious luxury of murdering their own wives? And why, if we are really neutral in matters of religion, do we open secular schools and teach sciences which give the lie to Hindu cosmogony and mythology, and make

infidels of the pupils? All these are instances in which neutrality in religious matters has been violated by Government in India. Every one of them was right to do, and not to do any one of them would have been an offence against humanity. But does not this show that the policy of neutrality as between us and India is an impossible policy? Why, then, profess it? It is a great evil for a Government to profess to be neutral and not to be so; and to tell the natives that it won't permit interference with their religions, and then proceed to crumble their religions down piecemeal by legislation. The result of such a course has been to fill the minds of the natives with distrust. I do not mean to attribute dishonesty to the Government. I am quite sure it meant to be neutral, and that it never would have abolished any of the native customs, unless driven to do so by the voice of European public opinion. But the result is the same. Government has professed one thing and done another; and in the eyes of the natives it has become an object of suspicion. It would have incurred far less odium *had it from* the first taken the manly and open course, declared itself a Christian Government, bound by its own Christian principles to tolerate all religions, but not indifferent—not neutral—between good and evil, truth and error.

"I have now done with those who plead *the* duty of neutrality as a reason for excluding the Bible from the schools; and I turn, lastly, to those who oppose it from motives of expediency. They fear that one or other of these two results must follow—1. Either that opening the Bible will close the schools: or else, 2. That the conversion *of the* pupils will alarm the people and create an insurrection. I boldly maintain that neither of these results will follow. The effect of putting the holy Bible into native schools is not an untried experiment of which men are free to conjecture and prognosticate according to their own opinions. It has been tried in every Presidency and every province in India, and the result is open to everybody who chooses to inquire. It is a *sine quâ non* in every Mission school that all the pupils must read the Bible. This, you see, is much more than we want done in Government schools. There we are content to leave it optional with the scholars; but the Missionaries have a right to make their own rules in *their own* schools, and this is one, that they won't educate any child who won't read the best book they know of. Does this strict rule empty the Mission schools? Far from it. I assert, from my own experience, and from the experience of all whom I have ever conversed with on this subject—and I even believe that it will be admitted by our opponents—that the Mission schools in which the Bible is taught are more popular than the Government schools, from which the Bible is excluded. Do not misapprehend me. I do not mean to say that the Mission schools are more popular because the Bible is taught there. I admit at once that the Mission schools would be still more popular if the Bible were not taught in them. But I s that, notwithstanding the Bible being taught most prominently in those schools, and in spite of all the Bible instruction, the Mission schools are freely resorted to by the people. And this is all that we want to ascertain; for this is a complete answer to the apprehensions of a timid Government. You will naturally ask why this is so, for it is a curious fact. The reasons are two: Firstly, because the standard of education in a Mission school is generally higher than in a Government school. The Government school is usually conducted by natives; the Mission school by a European gentleman; and not merely a European gentleman, but a Christian gentleman, free from the pride and sense of superiority, which are the prevailing faults of most of us in India: a gentleman who, day after day, undeterred by a burning climate, devotes many hours to the task of teaching some hundreds of native children, with unwearied patience, and humility, and kindness, and displays a real earnest interest in their welfare, watching their dawning intellect with delight, rejoicing over their good, and grieving with a personal grief over their evil; thus rearing them up into useful men, and exhibiting before the eyes of scholars and parents a bright example of a Christian, 'a living epistle known and read of all men.' Is it not wonderful, then, that parents prefer to send their children here? Their object is education, and they simply choose the school which gives the best. The other reason is, that the native does not believe in conversion by reading the Bible. The Hindu religion has long since had its heart overlaid by caste, and it is now a religion of external observances, of personal purifications and ablutions. The Hindu boasts that no one could become a Hindu by reading his holy books. How should reading the Bible make him a Christian? He knows but one way of lapsing from his religion, and that is defilement. The defilement may be forced upon him openly by a Mohammedan conqueror at the point of the sword, or it may be effected by deceit; in either case without his own will having

any part in it. It is a common trick for Mohammedan Missionaries to disguise themselves as Hindus, get into the society of the Hindus of the caste they have assumed, get them to join in a common meal together, and then, when it is over, inform the horror-stricken Hindus that they have eaten and drunk with a Mohammedan, and are Mohammedans from henceforth. The argument is considered quite conclusive, and Mohammedans they become. A great orator in the House of Commons was thought to have said a very good thing in the debates on the Sepoy mutiny of 1857, when he denied that its origin was the greased cartridge. 'Revolutions,' said he, 'are not made of grease.' But that only showed his entire misconception of the Hindu and Mohammedan mind. I say Hindu and Mohammedan, because the Mohammedans of India have come as nearly as much under the yoke of caste as the Hindus; and when told that the Enfield cartridge was made up of pigs' fat as well as beef fat, they considered that it would take away their religion as much as the Hindu did. A people such as this, sunk in superstition, is a prey to the most childish fears, and every thing new, no matter what it is, is suspected to be a trick to deprive them of their faith by surprising them into a defilement. Every now and then the rumour spreads like wildfire that Government has mixed a quantity of beef and ham-bone dust in wheat flour, and is selling it cheap in the bazaar to turn the consumers into Christians. The electric telegraph is a perfect puzzle to them. They think that when it has got thoroughly spread over the whole country, some day the wire will be pulled and the people converted in a moment. And what does all this teach us? that the people are afraid of the Bible? No. It teaches us that they are afraid of every thing else but the Bible; and that if we really want to calm their fears, we must give them the Bible, and explain our Christianity, and show them that Christianity is not made of grease, though revolutions are. Lastly, I have to reply to the opposite objection—that there will be so many conversions in the schools if the Bible be opened, that the people will be alarmed into insurrection. I have two replies to make to that: one in all sadness—that one need not be under any apprehension that the progress of Christianity will be too rapid. If it were a grease affair it would spread fast enough; but being a heart affair, it is slow indeed. It is a common taunt to the Missionaries by worldly people that they have spent so many years, and so many thousands of pounds, and made so small a number of converts. Both arguments cannot be true. The Bible may be efficacious or inefficacious, but it cannot be both. Look at home, at the schools in which English boys have the Bible daily. Does it make too many Christians? 'The wind bloweth where it listeth;' and the Bible is efficacious where God blesses it. What we have to do is to sow it in faith, and pray that we may reap in joy. But I have another reply to make to these alarmists. For one hundred years they and their party have had their own way in India. They have not merely been 'neutral,' but they have been intolerant to Christianity. They have entered into partnership with Juggernaut. They have sacrificed at shrines. They have pandered to Hinduism and Mohammedanism, endowed their temples, administered their funds, and been a nursing-father and nursing-mother to them. They kept Missionaries out of India as long as they possibly could. They would not let Judson land within their territories, and they gave the honour of tolerating him to the King of Burmah. And what was the end of their coward policy? The most hellish insurrection that the earth has ever seen, and the blood of our Englishmen and women spilt like water over India. Who made the insurrection? from what class did it raise its horrid head?—from some Mission school where the Bible was being read?—from some agricultural district or populous city where the incendiary Missionary was at work converting the poor natives? No, from none of these, but from the ranks of the native army—that army which had ever been made the stronghold of caste, and from whose proud and undefiled ranks was driven the polluting Christian convert. Yes; their sin has found them out. They have sown the wind, and reaped the whirlwind. They sought for an unhallowed peace, and they found a desolation. Let us do what is right, and nought but good will come of it."

We know not what the national course may be on these eventful questions: but whatever it may be, the duty of Missionary Societies and Missionary agents is clear.

India must be raised: her population must be improved. On all hands this is now admitted. Their ignorance and fanaticism have already caused us great calamities. The same causes, if permitted to prevail, will be productive in due time of like evils. They must be enlightened. Christianity alone can do it. This also has been tried, and has produced its results. Native converts in India have been a despised class—despised not merely by the religionists from whom they had separated, but by many of those who profess the

Christianity which they had embraced. They were regarded as the true pariahs of India, as the refuse of Hindú society, who, for the sake of contemptible worldly advantages, had done violence to their connexions, and sold their faith. They were shunned as men who were not trustworthy, and in whom no reliance could be placed. The experience of 1857-58 proved the contrary. They were the only natives who were thoroughly to be depended upon. Their change of religion was found to be the result, not of bribery or inconstancy, but of conviction; for, rather than apostatize, they preferred to suffer. Throughout the dread ordeal, their identification with the European was complete, and the genuine influence of pure Christianity was found to make the native conscientious, attached, and enduring. We repeat it—Christianity is what India needs, and to communicate the Gospel to India is the work of the Missionary—of the Christian evangelist. He can do more for India than the statesman. He can do more to secure for us a peaceful rule over India than disciplined armies. They may repress and overawe, but the Gospel which he preaches changes the character, removes disaffection, and implants kindly feeling in its stead.

"The great difficulty of our task lies in the moral, not in the geographical distance. The great problem is, how to diminish that distance, to create greater sympathy of feelings and aims between the rulers and the ruled. . . . . We neither can serve or rule with success a people who either hate us, or even regard us without attachment. All notions of holding India by fear, by mere physical force, are as mistaken as they are unchristian. We cannot rule by bayonets alone. If once the mass of the people become permanently disaffected towards us, no amount of military expenditure would enable us to hold the present Indian empire. If there had been any thing like active sympathy or complicity with the mutineers on the part of the civil population last year, not an Englishman would have been left in India, outside the three capital cities, by the end of June. But notwithstanding many serious blunders in our administration, the people acquiesced in our rule, because they believed that we really desired to do justice, and to protect the rights of all classes.

"But, on the other hand, there was little active sympathy and support on our behalf, and, consequently, the mutiny produced the instant disruption of civil government, anarchy, and confusion. And this was the consequence of that wide interval between us and the people which prevents them from understanding our character and the nature of our policy. Universal ignorance, the observances of caste, a different language, and race prejudices, have kept the rulers and the ruled wholly apart, in dangerous ignorance of each other. How, then, to bridge over this terrible chasm is the great problem for the British Government to solve. It is clear that this object can only be accomplished by bringing the people to our own stand-point; by bringing them, in fact, to our own highest standard of moral and religious life."

By what powerful medium shall results of such importance be secured? One suffices: Christianity, in its penetrative, renewing, and winning influences. Thank God we need, in this respect, no change of policy. Our mode of action has long since been determined: only let us increase our efforts, and where we have been contented to send one Missionary, let us plant first ten, and then one hundred; not Europeans merely, but what will be, after a time, more easily attainable, and more serviceable in detail, native evangelists.

THE POPULATION OF EASTERN BENGAL.

The forty-sixth Report of the Calcutta Bible Society contains copious passages by Missionaries and other persons engaged in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures. In those which have reference to Eastern Bengal there are to be found some very startling points of information, explanatory of the utter ignorance and social debasement in which the masses of the population are plunged.

"Among the rayats and residents in small villages, in rural districts, full nine-tenths are utterly illiterate." In the bazaars and larger villages where the greater number of intelligent and reading men are to be found, careful inquiries were instituted as to the religious state of the people, and their earnestness or carelessness in the observance of the forms and ceremonies which they considered to be binding on them, the particular errors which were most prevalent, and the ideas which they entertained as regards God and their relation to Him. Their moral and intellectual state was observed, the books read, the schools and other means of improvement, and, lastly, their social state—"life within the village and domestic circles; the subjects which generally turn up in the evening meetings of the village for conversation."

The results of these inquiries was far from satisfactory.

"A kind of inanity and listless fatalistic ignorance is very prevalent. The reason seems to be asleep. There is no desire to inquire into the origin, utility, or truth of any established notion or custom prevalent in the villages. The mind appears to be devoid of the powers necessary for such inquiries. The methods in vogue for eating, drinking, dressing, working, and worshipping seem to be the result, not of thought and judgment, but of passive unthinking humanity cast into a mould, invented and established by the ancients. This mental inability or inertia extends, not the action of the mind in petty intrigues and low cunning regarding the tangible, but only to the higher sphere of thoughts, and more rational and ennobling duties of man. In spite of reason, I frequentiy found it difficult to keep my thoughts from hovering between the rational and irrational creation whilst conversing with the villagers. The number of their ideas, and the circle of their thoughts, seemed to be so limited and confined, that it was difficult to decide whether reason was not wholly displaced by mere instinct. The darkness is certainly grosser than that of the feudal ages and the millennium of Popery in Europe.

"The people have no higher standard of moral actions than the custom of the village. It is true they say that right is right, and wrong is wrong; that truth-telling is good, and falsehood is bad. A Patagonian, a Flathead, or a Naga, does the same, and does it often on a higher principle than a Bengalee villager. The latter, as far as I could find, never thinks that his morality has any thing to do with his volitions and his judgment. It consists, as he thinks, in the conformity of his actions with the *lokâchar*, 'custom,' in his village. The villager semed surprised at our teaching that morality consisted in the conformity of man's thoughts, feelings, and actions with the will of his Maker; and that it had to do with the training of the nursery, with the habits and regulations of the domestic and social circles. The nobleness of sentiment and feeling connected with the purity, benevolence, simplicity, manliness, and delights of the higher walks of Christian morality, is unknown to him. Even the lower morality which emanates from a half-obliterated natural religion, he comprehends not. The spiritual, rational, and divine ethics of the Gospel he can neither know nor practise, without a long course of training. From birth to death he is doomed to inhale the noxious vapour of his gloomy atmosphere, and closes his existence without morality and hope.

"As regards mental culture and intellectual enlightenment, Hindus and Moslems are in the same state. The latter, perhaps, are a shade lower in social morality, and are more illiterate. Neither class seem to have any clear notion regarding the nature and requirements of a spiritual religion. With both, religion consists of a set round of ceremonies and outward forms. In reference to religion, these people seem to be like the compositors of Newton's Principia; each part must be attended to as prescribed, without the slightest idea of the work as a whole—of the adaptation of one part to another, or of the whole to its ultimate object. It is true, the spirituality, excellency, and glory of Christianity are far from being properly exhibited by the conduct of its professors. The Christianity of Christendom and that of the Bible are very different. But in these two religions, the book and their votaries agree in making religion a form instead of a principle. The religions of the books and of the professors are alike mechanical, formal, and immoral."

Various difficulties to the progress of Christian truth amongst these benighted masses are pointed out.

"The obstacles to the success of the Gospel in India are very great. The most formidable difficulty is the immobility and servility of Asiatic society. The native community in Eastern Bengal is made up of a large number of small circles. At the head of each circle stands the Zemindar as the liege lord, surrounded by a number of religious teachers, of his own faith. The views and opinions of these are paramount in all moral and religious matters. The rayats included within these circles are as much at the will of their liege lord and teacher as Abraham's trained servants were at his will. No feudal lord ever had greater influence over his serfs. . . . . In and around Missionary stations, light is slowly penetrating into the recesses of errors and evil customs. But the myriads in rural districts are still in utter darkness. The people are in 'the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.'"

It is our comfort to know that the Gospel has often made its way amidst difficulties as great as those which have been just enumerated. Only let the proportion of effort be in some degree commensurate with the greatness of the work. British Christians need to gird themselves for the momentous undertaking of India's regeneration.

OUDE AS IT WAS BEFORE THE ANNEXATION.

We proceed to introduce our readers a little further into the arcana of Oude mismanagement; and, taking Lucknow as our starting-point, shall commence with a description of that city. When Asuf-ood-Dowlah became Viceroy of Oude, Lucknow was but a village of little importance. The Sheikhs, who had risen in rebellion against his rule, built there a castle, the Muchee Bawn, from whence they infested the surrounding country. The Viceroy in person expelled them from their stronghold, and, being pleased with the locality, selected it as the site of his future capital, removing thither from Fyzabad.

In 1824 it was visited by Bishop Heber, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder being at that time king. Lucknow then possessed a considerable population, crowded together in mean houses of clay, traversed by lanes of the filthiest description, and so narrow, that even a single elephant did not pass easily. Swarms of beggars occupied every angle and the steps of every door. Of the remaining population, almost all were armed—a sure index of prevailing turbulence and general insecurity of life and property. "Grave men in palanquins, counting their beads, and looking like mollahs, had all two or three sword-and-buckler lacqueys attending on them. People of consequence, on their elephants, had each a suwarree of shield, spear, and gun; and even the lounging people of the lower ranks in the streets and shop-doors had their shields over their shoulders, and their swords sheathed in one hand." Gradually, on advancing further, the buildings improved, although the streets remained narrow and dirty. Pretty mosques appeared, large houses, built like the native houses in Calcutta, and bazaars well filled with people. At length the principal street was reached, of commanding appearance, "wider than the High Street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the colour of its buildings, and their general form and Gothic style."

Several of the localities, which, in connexion with the late disturbances, have been so often mentioned, were visited by the Bishop; the *Dilkoosha* (Heart's Delight), a small summer palace of the king's, about three miles from the city, situated in an extensive park, "sufficiently wild and jungly to offer a picturesque variety, and in parts sufficiently open for air and exercise, as well as to show off its deer and neelghaus to advantage;" Constantia, subsequently called the Martinière, "a very large and most whimsical house and grounds, in the worst possible taste . . . . built by the late General Martin, a Frenchman, and originally a common soldier," who entered the service of the King of Oude, and died a millionaire. This eccentric man, apprehending that, after his death, the king would seize the house, and appropriate it to his own purposes, directed his body to be buried in a vault made under the foundation of the building. The king being thus constrained to abandon his intention, inasmuch as no Mussulman will sleep in a house where any one lies buried, the building, according to the General's will, was devoted to the purposes of a college, under the name of the Martinière.

Many stately khans and handsome pagodas and mosques were found dispersed amidst narrow streets and alleys, far dirtier than those of Benares, the most striking being the tombs of Saadut Alee and his consort; the Gate of Constantinople ("Roumi Durwazu"); and the Imambara, or cathedral, consisting of two courts rising with a steep ascent one above the other, and containing, besides, a splendid mosque, "a college for instruction in Mussulman law, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut-glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder, Asuf-ood Dowlah."

Such was Lucknow in Heber's time. Upwards of thirty years have elapsed, during which brief period four Kings of Oude have passed away from this earthly scene, leaving the last occupant, Wajid Alee, on the throne. Let us endeavour to sketch Lucknow as it appeared in his reign, two or three years before the annexation.

We shall select as a central point the Residency, "a very extensive and beautiful brick building, with lofty rooms, fine verandahs, and splendid porticoes. Besides having a ground floor and two upper stories, it had a tykhana, or cellar of splendid apartments, as lofty and well-arranged as any in the house. These were built to shelter the residents during the summer from the extreme heat of the day. Sky-lights and cellar-windows gave an excellent light to them." Such was the commodiousness of the house, that,

during the time of trouble, it afforded accommodation to very numerous families, about eight hundred to a thousand souls, men, ladies, women, and children, all finding place in it."

The ground on which the Residency stood being of much higher elevation than that of the houses surrounding it, a spectator on its flat roof commanded a fine panoramic view of the city. Let us conceive ourselves placed on this eminence, at the date already indicated.

"Two-thirds of the city are as completely buried in foliage as the suburbs of Damascus." To the east stands the king's new palace, the Kaiser Bagh, presenting "a line of white walls and terraces, about half a mile in length, and topped with a mass of gilded towers and domes." Across the Goomtee, whose sinuosities may be traced from west to east, a champaign country extends itself, so embowered in foliage that only a few domes and towers are visible above the sea of sycamores, banyans, tamarind, acacia, neem, and palm-trees. Not far from where the Residency gardens abut on the river, it is crossed by an iron suspension-bridge, which, having been sent out in 1816, remained thirty years without being erected. Below this is seen a bridge of boats, over which passed the road to the Badshah Bagh, or King's Gardens, on the plain beyond. Higher up, the river, which flows with a gentle current between grassy and shaded banks, is spanned, near the Muchee Bawn, by a stone bridge with ancient arches. Viewed from the iron bridge, the left bank rises gradually from the water, "forming a long hill, crowned with palaces and mosques, stretching away into the distance, where a crowd of fainter minarets tells of splendours beyond."

An early morning excursion exhibits crowds of people passing to and fro, the gaudy dresses of many of the natives indicating the presence of a native court, "some borne on palanquins, some mounted on elephants, and a few on fine horses of Arabian blood." Emirs, cadis, writers, and the like, attired in silken raiment and splendidly turbaned, pass continually to and fro, with servants running before them, dividing the crowds for the passage of the elephants. "The country-people are pouring into the city by thousands, laden with their produce; and the bazaars of fruit and vegetables, which seem interminable, are consta tly thronged."

Let us visit the heart of the city. "A splendid gateway spans the street, over which a forest of tall minarets and gilded domes rises in the distance. Passing through the arch, an open space is entered, with a large mosque and hospital on the left side, and a magnificent gate of white marble beyond. This is the Roumi Durwazu, or Constantinople gate, which leads into a scene of unexpected splendour. The visitor finds himself in the midst of "a group of mosques, tombs, and pavilions, all of marble, or covered with white stucco, and surmounted with swelling oriental domes, shining like solid gold—fitting crowns to the slender arches, and the masses of Saracenic filagree and fretwork from which they spring." In the foreground of the picture is seen a huge stone tank, with flights of steps descending into it on all sides, "a boskage of roses in full bloom running around its banks and between the dazzling pavilions, while a few tall palms in the midst of them shoot up into the sunshine." On the left stands the gate of the Imambara, or tomb of Asuf-ood-Dowlah. Entering, the visitor finds himself in "a quadrangle surrounded by the same dazzling white architecture, with gilded domes blazing against the intense blue of the sky. The enclosed space was a garden, in which stood two beautiful mausoleums of marble." Ascending the marble steps at the bottom of the garden, leading to the edifice, the tabernacle of chandeliers, to which Bishop Heber has referred, presented itself. "Through the open marble arches nothing else was at first visible. The whole building was hung with them: immense pyramids of silver, gold, prismatic crystals, and coloured glass; and where they were too heavy to be hung, they rose in radiant piles from the floor. In the midst of them were temples of silver filagree, eight or ten feet high, and studded with cornelians, agates, and emeralds. . . . . There were ancient banners of the awabs of Oude, heavy with sentences from the Korán, embroidered on gold; gigantic bands of silver covered with talismanic words; sacred shields studded with the name of God; swords of Khorassan steel, lances, and halberds; the turbans of renowned commanders; the trappings of the white horse of Nuzeer-ood Deen, mounted on a wooden effigy; and several pulpits of peculiar sanctity."

With such a lavish expenditure on a tomb, we cannot be surprised that the treasury of Oude became rapidly exhausted, and that venality and extortion were brought into requisition to supply funds for new extravagance.

Saadut Ali established a reserved treasury in A.D. 1801. Up to that period he had been dissipated and unfit for the responsibilities of a throne. At that time his character underwent a change, and having vowed at the shrine of Huzzut Abbas, at Lucknow, to cease from all such indulgences, he applied him-

self so diligently to the affairs of state, as to leave, on his death in October 1814, fourteen crores of rupees, or fourteen millions sterling in the reserved treasury.

SaadutAllee's son and successor, Ghazee-ood Deen Hyder, spent four crores out of the reserved treasury over and above the whole income of the state; and when he died, on the 20th of October 1827, he left ten crores of rupees in that treasury. His son and successor, Nusseer-ood Deen Hyder, spent nine crores and thirty lacs; and when he died, on the 7th of July 1837, he left only seventy lacs in the reserved treasury. His successor, Mohammed Allee Shah, died on the 16th of May 1842, leaving in the reserved treasury thirty-five lacs of rupees, one hundred and twenty-four thousand gold mohurs, and twenty-four lacs in our government securities—total seventy-eight lacs and eighty-four thousand rupees. His son and successor, Umjid Allee Shah, died on the 13th of February 1847, leaving in the reserved treasury ninety-two lacs of rupees, one hundred and twenty-four thousand gold mohurs, and twenty-four lacs in our government securities—total, one crore and thirty-six lacs.

The present ex-king, when in possession of royalty, was accustomed to spend, out of the reserved treasury, over and above the whole income of the country, twenty lacs of rupees a year. The glass chandeliers in the Imambara were some of the costly luxuries in which he indulged, two of the principal ones costing him 50,000 dollars each; while generally, to the buildings and decorations of new palaces and gardens may be debited the one crore which his majesty found in the reserved treasury, and the twenty-two lacs of annual deficit of the first five years of his reign. The result was as might be expected. The stipendiaries, troops, and establishments, were all deeply in arrears, and more especially the various members of the royal family who were stipendiaries on the crown, one of the first petitions presented to Colonel Sleeman, on his becoming Resident, being from the surviving ladies of Asuf-ood Dowlah, and Shuja-ood Dowlah, to which the seals of 216 of those unfortunate persons were affixed, representing that their stipends had not been paid for three and four years, and that they were literally starving, and driven to the extremity of distress.

But recurring to the city, let us imagine ourselves one of a party accompanying the British Resident on an excursion to its more thronged part. The party is mounted on three of the king's largest elephants. These have gilded howdahs, long crimson housings, with drivers in resplendent dresses, and umbrella-holders sitting behind the Europeans on the elephants' backs. It is the fashionable hour for appearing in public, and the broad street leading to the Roumi Durwazu is filled with a long string of horses and elephants advancing slowly through the dense crowd of pedestrians. The Imambara is reached, and a new mosque, in course of erection by the king's mother, attracts attention. It is large and picturesque, but showing a decline in architecture. We then plunge into the heart of the city, and reach the "dark, narrow, crooked streets of the Lucknow of the last century. The houses are three stories high, projecting so that the eaves almost touch, and exhibiting the greatest variety in their design and ornament. The street is so narrow and crooked, that we run some risk of crushing our howdahs against the second story balconies." The windows are all latticed. Passing the place of execution, "a muddy bank overhanging a sewer, filled with the drainage of the city, and the gate, where the heads of malefactors were wont to be exposed, we return through "the Choke, the main street of the old city, and of tolerable breadth. Here, on the second story balconies, are to be seen unmistakeable evidences of the deep immorality and sensual degradation which characterized Lucknow under its kings." But see, we are descending "the slope towards the river. The sun is setting, and the noises of the great city are subdued for the moment. The deep green gardens lie in shadow; but all around us, far and near, the gilded domes are blazing in the yellow glow. The scene is lovely as the outer court of Paradise; yet what deception, what crime, what unutterable moral degradation fester beneath its surface!" Lucknow, as it used to be, was in truth a Sodom. The description given of old was applicable here: "it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt as thou comest into Zoar; but the men were wicked, and sinners before the Lord exceedingly." And what a tempest of iron hail descended on this city, what a storm of fire and brimstone! A season of dread calamity came upon it—"the new wine mourneth; the wine languisheth; all the merry-hearted do sigh. The mirth of tabrets ceaseth; the noise of them that rejoice endeth; the joy of the harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song: strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of confusion is broken down; every house is shut up, that no man may come in. There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened; the mirth of

the land is gone. In the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." Great indeed have been the calamities of Lucknow. But the earthquake has broken down obstructions, and the Christian Missionary has now free entrance. Let us hope that the Gospel will cleanse the city of those evils which Mohammedanism nurtured and developed.

Once more we shall endeavour to place before our readers a panoramic view of this remarkable city. It will be necessary to transfer them to the roof of the Chuttur Munzil palace.

On the relief of the pent-up garrison in the Residency and adjoining posts, by the force under General Havelock and Sir James Outram, the old position was extended, and a new line of defence taken up, on the north, as far as the Goomtee, and eastward, so as to include the Tehzee Kotee, Furhut Buksh, and Chuttur Munzil palaces. These are lofty and extensive ranges of palaces, built of solid masonry, and rising nearly from the water's edge. The following extract graphically depicts the view which is obtained from the top of the Chuttur Munzil palace.

"Standing on this elevated position, and facing eastward towards the Dilkoosha Park, you look perpendicularly down upon the Goomtee, which skirts the building on your left. Beyond this extends a level plain, covered with green sward, broken and bounded by various royal residences and gardens. The nearest of these is the 'Dilaram,' or 'Heart's Ease' house, which stands near the river bank, and is now unoccupied. Further on, but thrown back at the distance of a mile, is the Badsha Bagh, or king's garden, comprising buildings of some size and elegance, embosomed in a thicket of orange and other fruit-trees. Further on, and near the river, lies the Hazuree Bagh, or breakfast garden. The eye then glances down a long reach of the river, till it rests upon the Chukker Kotee. On the right bank of the Goomtee the country is thickly wooded, as far as we can see, with mango groves and fruit-gardens; the eye resting in the distance on the double-storied mansion of the Dilkoosha, which looks like an old French château. Nearer, and a little to the left, are seen the lofty and fantastic stories of the Martinière. Nearer still, but yet distant, we distinguish the walls and gateway of the Secundur Bagh, marked by its gilt-topped turrets. Still nearer, and to the left, stands that old renovated tomb, high on a mound overlooking the river—that is the Kuddum Kusool; and closely adjoining it, that flat white dome marks the site of the Shah Nujeef, which is the name given to the tomb of one of the former kings of Oude, Ghazee-ood Deen Hyder. It is a strong massive building, standing among a number of low mud huts, and surrounded by trees. As the eye withdraws to the nearer vicinity, it now catches a conspicuous and solid-looking building of two stories, distinguished by four towers at the corners. This, afterwards known as the mess-house of the 32d regiment, was named, under the native rule, Khoorsheyd Munzil, or happy Palace. Its structure is massive. All the windows on the ground-floor are furnished with strong iron gratings, and it is surrounded by a moat, passable only at the two entrances, of which the principal one immediately faces us. A garden of low trees and bushes surrounds it, which is itself enclosed by a mud-wall, separating it from the high road. Crossing the road to the nearer side, what is that extensive range of building abutting upon the river, and distinguished by a pavilion with four richly-gilded domes? This is the Motee Munzil, or Pearl Palace, and that pavilion is the Shah Munzil, or royal hall. It is the prettiest building of the kind at Lucknow, spacious and airy. Here European guests used to be invited to banquets, and to view the fights of animals on the opposite side of the stream. Close on the other side of the Motee Munzil stands a European-looking building in an extensive orange-garden. This is called Martin's house, but was the royal library in the king's time. To the right of the Khoorsheyd Munzil, and separated from it by a narrow lane, stands the Tara Kotee, or observatory, a handsome and classically-designed building, erected by the late astronomer, Colonel Wilcox. And now the eye falls upon the gilded domes, and cupolas, and archways of the Kaiser Bagh palace, which forms a picture of itself. Its numerous buildings and squares cover a very large area, and it is chiefly the creation of the present exking. Those two large mausoleums, however, belong to a former age. The larger is the tomb of Saadut Alee Khan, the most sagacious ruler that Oude has had, and the smaller one of his mother. Their substantial masonry contrasts strongly with the less modern edifices; and they are destined, unless they are destroyed by the hand of war, long to survive them. It is indeed a lovely view which is obtained from the top of the Chuttur Munzil. But the city of Lucknow is beyond doubt very beautiful, and surpasses every city in India that I have seen."*

* Gubbins' Mutinies in Oude.

We have endeavoured to make our readers conversant with Lucknow and its localities, because we may have again occasion to refer to it, in connexion with the great struggle between British power taken at a disadvantage, and Mohammedanism rising up suddenly, like a hooded snake, and committing the unwary passenger to a deadly conflict. But for the present we must leave behind us the city, with its marble palaces and gilded domes, and, in the anarchy which prevailed throughout the country districts, show how utterly its rulers, amidst their luxury and self-indulgence, were regardless of the sufferings of the people.

In our last Number we referred to the evils of the revenue and finance system, and the extortion, accompanied with ruthless barbarity, perpetrated by contractors and Amils. We were necessitated to confine ourselves to a few examples: they were incidental selections from amidst a mass. The contractors unduly burthened the talookdars; the talookdars, driven to extremity, laid waste their own estates, and, driving off the peasants, kept them unproductive until the Government officials came into their terms. The suffering entailed on the labouring classes may be conceived. So soon as harvest was finished they had to take to the jungles for shelter, until the season for sowing recommenced. Then, remaining in the fields, and houseless during the night, they worked during the day in fear of their lives, not knowing the instant they might have to flee into the jungles again.

The examples of injustice and oppression set by the king's *employés* was eagerly followed by the talookdars, each one of them, as he had opportunity, preying on those who were weaker than himself. Sleeman mentions a family of Kumpurrea Rajpoots, whose sole possessions, in 1814, consisted of nine villages. By degrees they drove out or murdered all the other proprietors, until they held not less than 150 villages, for which they paid little or no revenue to the Government. The rents they employed in keeping up large bands of armed followers, and building strongholds, from whence they infested the surrounding country. As the family increased, it divided itself into several branches, each branch having a fort or stronghold in the Nye jungle, and acting independently in its depredations on its weaker neighbours, but all uniting when threatened by the Government. Yet proceedings of this kind were not considered as any stain upon the character of the depredator; nor, so long as he complied with the requisition of the Government officials, did he lose credit, influence, or good repute in the estimation of the authorities. "Men who augmented their estates in this way purchased the acquiescence of temporary local officers, either by gratuities, or promises of aid in putting down other powerful and refractory landholders, or they purchased the patronage of court favourites, who got their estates transferred to the 'Huzoor Tehseel,' and their transgressions overlooked."* Thus robbery became the trade of every considerable landholder in the country, of all of them occasionally, and of a great many of them perpetually, the murder of men, women, and children generally attending their depredations. If, on the repeated remonstrances of the Residents, some especially-notorious offender was seized and sent as a prisoner to Lucknow, he soon contrived to bribe the courtiers, and orders were forthwith transmitted to the authorities on the spot that his son should be kept in possession of all the ill-gotten lands, and favoured and protected in every possible way.

In such a disorganized condition of society, where individuals were being continually dispossessed of house and home, gangs of robbers were soon formed. Ready materials were found in the Pausee bowmen, who, in the absence of any protection from Government, were paid by the towns and villages to serve as a guard. When the wages thus received did not suffice for their expenses, they thieved in the neighbouring or distant villages, robbed on the high-roads, or formed gangs of professional robbers. Officers or Sepoys, discharged, whether faulty or otherwise, from the king's service, also recruited the companies of freebooters; and so soon as a band became formidable, it found a patron in some talookdar, who wanted its aid in resisting the king's officers, or for some deed of spoliation. These lawless men spared nobody except such as were able to defend themselves. The plunder of villages, murder of travellers, and carrying away of brides and bridegrooms from marriage processions, were things of every-day occurrence. Sometimes towns were attacked, the principal inhabitants seized as hostages, and liberated only on payment of heavy ransoms. If they refused to pay, or pledge themselves to pay, the sum demanded, they were murdered. If they paid part, and pledged themselves to pay the rest within a certain time, they were released; and if they failed to fulfil their engagements, they and their families were murdered in a second attack. Sir W. Sleeman, in his journal, records numerous instances of such atro-

* Sleeman, vol. i. p. 245.

cities. One specimen may be given. Thakur Purshad, one of these daring freebooters, in 1886 attacked the village of Molookpore, two miles east of Dewa, plundered it, took possession of the land, seized and carried off the proprietor, and put him to death in his fort. Three years after, he attacked the house of Janoo, a shopkeeper, plundered it, and tortured him until he paid a ransom of two hundred and fifty rupees. Three months after, he seized and carried to his fort another shopkeeper, and confined and tortured him till he paid a ransom of three hundred rupees. In 1849 he seized and took off another man from Dewa, and extorted forty rupees from him. Next year he attacked a marriage procession in Dewa, plundered it, carried off the bridegroom, and confined and tortured him till he paid eleven hundred and fifteen rupees. This man, and some others of like character, "had created a jungle of nine miles long by four wide for their own evil purposes, preserving it with so much vigilance that no man dared to cut a stick, graze a bullock, or browse a camel on it, without their special sanction: indeed, so much were they dreaded, that no man or woman, beyond their own family or followers, dared to enter the jungle."

Such a state of social disorder would soon have laid waste and utterly desolated any part of India less naturally favoured. In the valley of the Nerbudda, an estate left of its cultivators, from the richness of the soil and humidity of the air is soon covered with rank grass, where deer and other animals find a covert, soon to be followed by beasts of prey—tigers, leopards, wolves, wild dogs, &c.; malaria follows, and it becomes alike dangerous and unwholesome. Thus extensive tracts of the richest soil, and most picturesque scenery along the banks of the Nerbudda have been rendered desolate for ages by the misrule of only a few years.* The same is true of the Tarae forest, which separates Oude from Nepaul. "But in the rest of Oude, from the Ganges to the belt of the forest, no such effects follow misrule, however great and prolonged." The grass does not grow too rankly, the deer are but few in number, and the beasts of prey are not attracted thither. The cultivators migrated from the locality where life and property had become insecure, but the cowherds and shepherds remained, feeding their flocks and herds over the rich and abundant pasture lands which grow rich from the respite they receive from grain production. After a time, things quieted down, the storm having drifted in some other direction, the cultivators returned, and, in two or three years, the lands became carpeted with a beautiful variety of spring and autumn crops.

Still, amidst all its fertility, the country exhibited the traces of misrule. Sir William Sleeman speaks of the beauty of various portions of it, the surface undulating and well cultivated, adorned with groves and fine solitary trees; but he adds, "Everywhere it is devoid of all architectural beauty in works of ornament or utility: not even a comfortable habitation is anywhere to be seen. The great landholders live at a distance from the road, and in forts or strongholds. These are generally surrounded by fences of living bamboos, which are carefully kept up as the best possible fence against attacks. The forts are all of mud, and, when the walls are exposed to view, they look ugly. The houses of the peasants in the villages are, for the most part, covered with mud, from which the water is carried off by tubes of wood or baked clay, about two feet long. There are parapets around the roof a foot or two high, so that it cannot be seen, and a village appears to be a mass of dead walls which have been robbed of their thatched or tiled roofs. Most of the tubes used for carrying off the water from the roofs are simply branches of the palm-tree without their leaves." In another place he adds, "No respectable dwelling-house is anywhere to be seen, and the most substantial landholders live in wretched mud-hovels with invisible covers. I asked the people why, and was told that they were always too insecure to lay out any thing in improving their dwelling-houses; and, besides, did not like to have such local ties, when they were so liable to be driven away by the Government officers, or by the landholders in arms against them, and their reckless followers. The local officers of Government, of the highest grade, occupy houses of the same wretched description, for none of them can be sure of occupying them for a year, or of ever returning to them again when once removed from their present offices, and they know that neither their successors, nor any one else, will ever purchase or pay rent for them. No mosques, mausoleums, temples, serais, colleges, courts of justice, or prisons, are to be seen in any of the towns or villages. There are a few Hindu shrines at the half-dozen places which popular legends have rendered places of pilgrimage, and a few small tanks and bridges made in olden times by public officers when they were more secure in their tenure of office than they are now. All the fine buildings raised by former rulers and

* Sleeman, vol. ii. p. 42.

their officers, at the old capital of Fyzabad, are going fast to ruin. The old city of Ajoodhea is a ruin, with the exception of a few buildings along the bank of the river, raised by wealthy Hindus in honour of Ram, who once lived and reigned there, and is believed by all Hindus to have been an incarnation of Vishnu."*

It may be observed here that no native gentlemen from Lucknow, save such as held office in districts, and were surrounded by troops, ventured, during the native rule, to reside in the country. They could not have done so with safety. They would have been either suspected and destroyed by the great landholders about them, or suspected and ruined by the court. There existed in Oude a class of native gentlemen which, had the Government been such as to secure tranquillity throughout the kingdom, would have been specially fitted to "build houses in distant districts, take lands, and reside in them with their families, wholly or occasionally," until Oude had been "covered with handsome gentlemen's seats, at once ornamental and useful." It consisted of those who enjoyed hereditary incomes under the guarantee of the British Government. The former monarchs of Oude, fearful of revolutions which might exclude their families from the succession, and anxious to make for them a more secure provision than the circumstances of their own kingdom rendered possible, were in the habit of lending large sums to the East-India Company, which, in fact, were thus vested in European securities, the interest on these sums being duly remitted to the appointed heirs. Thus, for instance, Ghazee-ood Deen Hyder lent to Lord Hastings, in October 1814, for the purposes of the Nepaul war, the sum of one crore, eight lacs, and 50,000 rupees. All the interest of this money, amounting to six lacs and fifty-one thousand, was distributed, in the manner described, amongst the members of his family, the principal being paid back as the incumbents died off.

This class of gentry might have been very useful in promoting a kindly feeling between the higher and lower classes, and between the capital and rural districts, had the circumstances of the country been such as to permit the prospect of their settling down in tolerable peace and tranquillity. But the disturbed state of things concentrated them at Lucknow, which thus became filled with an overgrown aristocracy, absorbed entirely in court pleasures and intrigues, and having no sympathy whatever with the surrounding population. In fact, this city aristocracy, instead of becoming an useful medium through which the king might communicate with the people, surrounded him with an exclusive circle which obstructed that reciprocal action which is so needful between a ruler and his subjects. Without any ennobling pursuits, they became absorbed in the dissipation of Lucknow, and wasted their means and energies on trifling or vicious pursuits. Hence the capital was in a perpetual turmoil of processions, illuminations, and festivities. On these the sovereign expended himself, without the slightest wish to "perpetuate his name by any useful or ornamental work beyond the suburbs. All the members of his family and of the city aristocracy followed his example, and spent their means in the same way. Indifferent to the feelings and opinions of the landed aristocracy and people of the country, with whom they had no sympathy, they spent all they could spare in gratifying the vitiated tastes of the overgrown metropolis."

Thus in the capital there reigned a showy sensuality, and, throughout the country districts, sanguinary broils and general insecurity. Amidst all, the peasantry—an industrious, brave, and robust people—were the great sufferers. Sir William Sleeman gives a pitiful detail of the numerous applicants who crowded to him for help and restitution. Every day, as he travelled throughout the country, scores of petitions were wont to be presented him, "with quivering lip and tearful eye, by persons who had been plundered of all they possessed, or who had their dearest relatives murdered or tortured to death, and their habitations burned to the ground, by gangs of ruffians, under landlords of high birth and pretentions, whom they had never wronged or offended;" some merely because they happened to have property, which the ruffians wished to take; others because they presumed to live on lands, which they coveted, or had deserted, and wished to have left waste. In these attacks neither age, nor sex, nor condition, were spared. The greater part of the leaders of these gangs of ruffians were Rajpoot landholders, boasting of descent from the sun or moon, or from the demi-gods who figure in the Hindu religious fictions of the Puranas. The peasantry of Oude, harassed as they were on all sides, might not inaptly be compared to the *exocetus volitans*, or flying fish, which, pursued by dorados and other fishes of prey, endeavours to escape by rising out of the water and skimming through the air, but which, so soon as it emerges from

* Sleeman, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

the water, is met by new enemies, gulls and and albatrosses, who pounce upon it from above. Their best position was when they became settled on the estate of some powerful talookdar, who having, by means however unscrupulous, acquired large properties, was enabled to set alike at defiance the Government and his unruly neighbours, and applied himself with diligence to the improvement of his spoils. Such was the family of Bukhtawar Sing, Dursun Sing, and Maun Sing, referred to in our last Number. Their estates, studded with trees, hamlets, and villages, were well cultivated and peopled. The landholders and peasants, protected from thieves and robbers, the attacks of refractory barons, and, above all, the ravages of the king's troops, pursued their occupations without being molested. As we have now guaranteed the talookdars in the possession of their estates,* this is so far satisfactory. We have not committed ourselves to the troubled sea of disputed titles, nor attempted to restore the old proprietors. This would have been to unsettle every thing, and involve the whole country in confusion. The policy adopted has been a wise one. The lands have been dealt with as escheated to the Crown, because of the insurrection and by virtue of conquest; they have then been restored to those whom we found in occupancy, unless the case, for special reasons, was an excepted one. We trust that the talookdars of Oude will now apply themselves honestly and industriously to the improvement of their estates: but at the same time we should have little hope for the future if they were not under the curb and rein of a strong-handed Government.

But even supposing that, under British rule, external tranquillity be secured, there are other evils, and other sorrows, which can only be reached by higher and more penetrative influences; evils which lie hid in the domestic life and relationship of the heathen, and which legislation cannot correct. Their sources lie in individual character, and divine truth, in its renewing influence, can alone change this fountain-head, and make it a source of sweet instead of bitter waters. Amongst the Rajpoot talookdars of Oude the crime of female infanticide has been fearfully prevalent. We have traced it amongst the Rajpoots on the other side of the Ganges, and wherever the same soil has spread itself, we cannot be surprised if the same noxious weed be produced. The king of Oude, in 1833, prohibited suttee and infanticide, yet, in defiance of the law, the latter continued to be practised. Nor has our own legislation, in this respect, been altogether as repressive as some have hoped. Between the Oude Rajpoots and their brethren on the southern side of the Ganges there is an understanding and complicity. They intermarry, and the female infants, born of daughters given in marriage to Oude families, have been destroyed in Oude without fear or concealment, while the daughters received in marriage from Oude families were sent over the border into Oude, when near their confinement, on the pretence of visiting their relatives. If they gave birth to boys, they brought them back with them into the British districts; but if they gave birth to girls, they were destroyed, and no questions were asked on their return home. Now that Oude has been annexed and that both sides of the Ganges have been placed under the same vigorous administration, this, with many other border irregularities, will be put an end to; but as to the crime itself, law may diminish it, but can never eradicate it. So occult is the domestic life of the Hindu, that if the father be disposed to take the life of his babe, the facilities for the perpetration of secret murder are innumerable. The domestic life of the Hindu is a dense and gloomy forest, where many an evil deed is committed, and the wail of human anguish, so far as human help is concerned, is uttered in vain, for there are none to hear who feel—none except God, who will not fail to help in

* The following is the sunnud which bestows their estates is perpetuity:—

"Know all men, that whereas by the proclamation of March 1858, by his Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, all proprietary rights in the soil of Oude, with a few special exceptions, were confiscated, and passed to the British Government, which became free to dispose of them as it pleased, I, Charles John Wingfield, Chief Commissioner of Oude, under the authority of his Excellency the Governor-General of India in Council, do hereby confer on you the full proprietary right, title, and possession of the estate or estates of , consisting of the villages as per list attached to the kuboolyut you have executed, of which the present Government revenue is . Therefore, this sunnud is given you, in order that it may be known to all whom it may concern that the above estate has been conferred upon you and your heirs for ever, subject to the payment of such annual revenue as may from time to time be imposed, and to the conditions of surrendering all arms, destroying all forts, preventing and reporting crime, rendering any service you may be called upon to perform, and of showing constant good faith, loyalty, zeal, and attachment to the British Government, according to the provisions of the engagement which you have executed; the breach of any one of which at any time shall be held to annul the right and title now conferred on you and your heirs. It is also a condition of this grant that you will, so far as is in your power, promote the agricultural prosperity of your estate, and that all holding under you shall be secured in the possession of all the subordinate rights they formerly enjoyed. As long as the above obligations are observed by you and your heirs in good faith, so long will the British Government maintain you and your heirs as proprietors of the abovementioned estate or estates, in confirmation of which I herewith attach my seal and signature."

his own time and way. When shall the daylight penetrate those dark recesses, and put such deeds to shame?

The motives to the crime are the same as among the Rajpoots in other parts of India—family pride of the most insufferable character, and the expenses connected with marriage ceremonies.

In the Byswara district there is a class of Rajpoots, the Byses, from whence the district has its name, sometimes called Talookchundee Byses, from Talookchund, the founder of the family in Oude. From his two sons descended two families, Nyhassas and Synbunzies—families ever at war with each other, except when resistance to the authorities rendered union necessary. They have a singular notion among them, that no snake has ever destroyed one of the family. They never condescend to hold the plough. The females of the family, if they cannot afford to wear silk or satin, never wear cotton cloth of any colour, but plain white, the one piece of white cotton cloth forming the waistband, petticoat, and mantle or robe (the dhootee and loongree), without any hemming or needlework whatever. On the ankles they wear nothing but silver, and, above the ankles, nothing but gold; and if not gold, nothing, not even silver, except on the feet and ankles. These people "take the daughters of other Rajpoots, who are a shade lower in caste, in marriage for their sons, but do not give their daughters in marriage to them in return. This is the case with the Ditchit Rajpoots, who live just beyond their boundaries. They give their daughters in marriage to the Bys Rajpoots, but cannot get any of their's in return. Both families practice infanticide, especially the Byses. The crime brings its punishment even in time." Old Bukhtawar Sing informed Sir William Sleeman, that "scarcely any of the heads of these landed aristocracy were the legitimate sons of their predecessors: they were all adopted, or born of women of inferior grade. They unite themselves to women of inferior castes for want of daughters in families of their own rank, and there is hardly a family among these proud Rajpoots unstained by such connexions."

Hence arose another crime. Great numbers of girls were purchased or stolen from the British territories, brought into Oude, and sold to Rajpoot families as wives for their sons. The assurance was invariably given by the kidnapper that they were of the same or higher caste, the parents being constrained to part with them from poverty, but the reverse was usually the truth. The great expenses consequent on marrying their sons to a high-caste female is another reason why the purchase of wives brought from a distance was resorted to. A singular instance of this occurred in the case of the Rewa Rajah: a family of Rajpoots, the Bhudarees, a shade lower in caste, gave one hundred thousand rupees with one daughter to his only son, as the only condition on which he would take her; and another high Rajpoot of Oude, Rajah Hunmunt Sing, of Dharoopore, by caste a Beseyn Rajpoot, with difficulty accomplished a union between his daughter and the same son, on the payment of one hundred thousand rupees. But it costs the Rewa Rajah still more to dispose of any daughter he may have on hands to some member of a higher-caste family, not less than ten or twelve lacs of rupees having been given by him to induce the Rajah of Oudepore, Joudpore, or Jypore, to take away, as a bride, a daughter of Rewa. This, as well as the prevalence of infanticide, induced the stealing of young girls from other districts.

It is remarkable that the Rajpoot family, in which a deed of infanticide has been perpetrated—the usual mode of which is burying alive as soon after birth as possible—considers itself to be, in consequence, an object of divine displeasure. On the twelfth day, therefore, the family priest is sent for, and, by suitable gratuities, absolution is obtained. The mulct varies in cost according to the means of the family. A rich man has to give food to many Brahmins to get rid of the stain; but, for a poor man, a little food, presented in due form to the village priest, suffices. Caste customs constitute, indeed, a burdensome ritual. To give their daughters to wealthy people of a lower clan is to lose caste for ever by so doing; while to give them to those who are above them entails such an expense as to reduce, in many instances, the father to beggary. Those who have property must give all they have with their daughters, while they can take nothing in return, as it is a great stain to take such from any one. They solve the difficulty by infanticide, the crime increasing in intensity according to the restrictions on marriage with which the family is burdened.

Sometimes natural affection is stronger than the tyranny of caste. A Rajpoot landholder of the Sombunzie tribe had a daughter born to him "when he was out in the fields, and the females of the family put her in an earthen pot, and buried her in the floor of an apartment where the mother lay, lighting a fire over the grave. Meanwhile a messenger reached him with the news of his

wife's confinement, which was sooner than he had expected. He had given no directions that the child should be put to death; but concluding such would be done unless he interposed, and feeling a wish to save the child, he hurried home, removed the fire and earth from the pot, and took her out. She was still living, but two of her fingers, which had not been sufficiently covered, were a good deal burnt. That child was reared. The mothers are said to weep and scream a good deal when their first female infants are torn from them, but become quiet and reconciled to the usage, and say, "Do as you like." "The infant is destroyed in the room where it is born, and then buried. The floor is then plastered over with cow-dung, and on the thirteenth day the village or family priest must cook and eat his food in that room. He is provided with wood, ghee, barley, rice, and tillee (sesamum). He boils the rice, barley, and sesamum in a brass vessel, throws ghee over them when they are dressed, and eats the whole. This is considered as a *hom*, or burnt-offering, and, by eating it in that place, the priest is supposed to take the whole *hutteea*, or sin, upon himself, and to cleanse the family from it." "After the expiation the parents again occupy the room, and there receive the visits of their family and friends, and gossip as usual."

It is said that the crime prevails among the Rajpoots only, and that other classes, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, are averse to it. "But the Rajpoots are the dominant class in Oude; and they can disregard the feelings and opinions of the people around them with impunity." The answer of a Brahmin to Sir William Sleeman, when he asked him, "Do you ever eat or drink with Rajpoot parents who destroy their female infants?" was, if he spoke truth, vigorous and decided—"Never! We are Brahmins; yet we can take water in a brass vessel from the hands of a Rajpoot, and we do so when the family is unstained by this crime; but nothing would ever tempt us to drink water from the hands of one who permitted his daughters to be murdered." They also declared their abhorrence of the village priest, who gave absolution to the parents, with whom nothing would induce any one of them to eat or to associate. They considered him to have taken all the sin upon his own head, and to have become, in consequence, an outcast from the tribe, and accursed. "Tigers and wolves," exclaimed the Brahmin speaker, "cherish their offspring, and are better than these Rajpoots, who, out of family or clan pride, destroy their's. As soon as their wives give birth to sons, they fire off guns, give largely in charity, make offerings to shrines, and rejoice in all manner of ways; but when they give birth to poor girls, they bury them alive without pity, and a dead silence prevails in their houses."

Such, then, was Oude before the annexation; the detached points, which we have put together from various authorities, sufficing to show the anarchy and suffering which prevailed. The time at length arrived when the British authorities determined on decisive action. Lord Hardinge, in his personal interview with the king in 1847, had urged upon him the necessity of a speedy reformation of manifold abuses, and a probationary period of two years was assigned, in which the much-called-for improvements might be made. They passed away; but the King amidst his favourites, and the minister amidst his peculations, were alike insensible to the necessities of the country. Meanwhile the talookdars were increasing in strength. Each refractory baron, who by fraud or violence had amassed an estate, provided himself forthwith with one or two mud-forts, and, as indispensable to his security, turned the country around him into a jungle. Each fort was surrounded by a ditch and a dense fence of living bamboos, through which cannon-shot could not penetrate, and men could not enter except by narrow and intricate pathways. These fences were too green to be set on fire, and so completely under the range of matchlocks from the fort, that they could not be cut down by a besieging force. Eighteen miles north-east from Lucknow one of these jungles had sprung up, occupying sixty-four square miles on the bank of the little river Reyt, in which several of these hereditary robbers had their forts. Thirty-four miles to the north-west stood a similar fastness, occupying thirty-six square miles; another on the east, forty miles' distant, a tract of sixty-four square miles. In this manner they were spread over the face of the country, the entire aggregate covering a space of not less than 886 square miles, beyond the Terae forest, and within the fine climate of Oude. In these jungles the landholders found shooting, fishing, and security for themselves and families, grazing-ground for their horses and cattle, and fuel and grass for their followers; "and to such an extent had this element of armed independence established itself, that in the year 1849 there were in Oude 246 forts or strongholds, mounted with 476 pieces of canon, all held by landholders of the first class, chiefly Rajpoots."

At the end of the year 1851, Oude, its existing

state and future prospects, were to have been brought under the special consideration of the home authorities; but the war with Burmah unexpectedly broke out, and, occupied with the prosecution of this, it was impossible for the Government of India to address itself to so large a question as the remodelling of the administration of Oude. At length, in June 1855, a minute of the Governor-General indicated that the time was come, and that the authorities were prepared to take action on this long-deferred difficulty, Sir James Outram at that time officiating as Resident at the court of Lucknow. He had unhesitatingly expressed his conviction that it was no longer possible to uphold the sovereign power of an effete and incapable dynasty at the cost of five millions of people, for whom the British Government was under obligation to secure a beneficent administration.

In his minute, Lord Dalhousie expressed his indisposition to the extreme measure of requiring from the King the abdication of his royal power, and his consent to the incorporation of Oude with the British territories. "In their adherence to the British power, no wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge. They have long acknowledged our power; have submitted, without a murmur, to our supremacy; and have aided us, as best they could, in the hour of our utmost need. Wherefore, although we are bound to dissolve our connexion with a Government whose oppression is sustained only by the countenance we lend it; and although we are entitled to seek, by all means in our power, to amend the lot of a people whom we have so long indirectly injured; justice and gratitude nevertheless require that, in so doing, we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereigns of Oude no further than is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of our righteous ends.

"The reform of the administration of the province may be wrought, and the prosperity of the people may be secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory, and the abolition of the throne.

"I, for my part, therefore, do not advise that the province of Oude should be declared to be British territory."*

Experience had shown the impracticability of attempting to govern Oude through native officers under British superintendence, and Lord Dalhousie, rejecting a renewal of the vain attempt to govern by a divided authority, proposed that the sovereign, retaining the rank and title of King, should be required to vest "the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of Oude and its dependencies in the hands of the Company, with such ample powers as shall enable the Company to act with vigour and promptitude in every branch and department of the state."

In recommending this course his lordship followed the opinions and suggestions of Sir William Sleeman—.

"If our Government interpose, it must not be by negotiation and treaty, but authoritatively on the ground of existing treaties and obligations to the people of Oude. The treaty of 1837 gives our Government ample authority to take the whole administration on ourselves, in order to secure what we have often pledged ourselves to secure to the people; but if we do this we must, in order to stand well with the rest of India, honestly and distinctly disclaim all interested motives, and appropriate the whole of the revenues for the benefit of the people and royal family of Oude. If we do this, all India will think us right, for the sufferings of the people of Oude, under the present system, have been long notorious throughout India; and so have our repeated pledges to relieve the people from these sufferings, unless the system should be altered. Fifty years of sad experience have shown to us and to all India that this system is incapable of improvement under the present dynasty; and that the only alternative is for the paramount power to take the administration upon itself. . . .

"We should derive substantial benefit from the measure, without in any degree violating our declaration of disinterestedness. . . .

"Oude would be covered with a network of fine macadamized roads, over which the produce of Oude and our own districts would pass freely, to the benefit of the people of both; and we should soon have the river Ghagra, from near Patna on the Ganges, to Fyzabad in Oude, navigable for steamers; with a railroad from Fyzabad through Lucknow to Cawnpore, to the great benefit of the North-West Provinces and those of Bengal.

"Were we to take advantage of the occasion to annex or confiscate Oude, or any part of it, our good name in India would inevitably suffer. . . . We are now looked up to throughout India as the only impartial arbitrators that the people generally have ever had. . . . We must show ourselves to be high-minded, and above taking advantage of its prostrate weakness, by appropriating its revenues exclusively to the benefit of the people and royal family of Oude. We should soon

* Blue Book on Oude, p. 184.

make it the finest garden in India, with the people happy, prosperous, and attached to our rule and character."

From this proposed solution of the affairs of Oude two members of the Council differed in judgment from the Governor-General, preferring that the King should be compelled to abdicate.

The Court of Directors abstaining in its reply from affirming in preference either of these propositions, it was eventually resolved that the king of Oude should be invited to enter into a new treaty with the Company. This treaty consisted of seven articles. The first embodied its main intention, namely that

"It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and military government of the territories of Oude shall be henceforth vested, for ever, in the Honourable East-India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof; the said Company hereby engaging to make ample provision for the maintenance of the royal dignity, as hereinafter mentioned, and for the due improvement of the said territories."

Of the remaining six articles there were five which secured to the King and his legitimate successors the royal title and other privileges and immunities. These were calculated to induce him, from personal considerations, quietly to sign the treaty. In this case a proclamation was to be issued, announcing that, with the King's consent, the sole and exclusive administration of the Government of Oude, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof, were henceforth vested for ever in the Honourable East-India Company. But should the King, after a period of three days permitted him for deliberation, refuse to sign the treaty, then the necessity for it, as a preliminary condition to the assumption of authority by the East-India Company, was to be dispensed with, and, without the King's consent, the following proclamation was to be issued announcing the transfer of administration.

"Proclamation is hereby made that the government of the territories of Oude is henceforth vested, exclusively and for ever, in the Honourable East-India Company.

"All Amils, Nazims, Chuckledars, and other servants of the Durbar; all officers, civil and military; the soldiers of the state; and all the inhabitants of Oude, are required to render, henceforth, implicit and exclusive obedience to the officers of the British Government.

"If any officer of the Durbar—Jageerdar, Zemindar, or other person—shall refuse to render such obedience; if he shall withhold the payment of revenue, or shall otherwise dispute or defy the authority of the British Government, he shall be declared a rebel, his person shall be seized, and his jageers or lands shall be confiscated to the state.

"To those who shall, immediately and quietly, submit themselves to the authority of the British Government—whether Amils or public officers, Jageerdars, Zemindars, or other inhabitants of Oude—full assurance is hereby given of protection, consideration, and favour.

"The revenue of the districts shall be determined on a fair and settled basis.

"The gradual improvement of the Oude territories shall be steadily pursued.

"Justice shall be measured out with an equal hand.

"Protection shall be given to life and property; and every man shall enjoy, henceforth, his just rights, without fear of molestation."

It will be observed that the course adopted by the British authorities was at variance with that recommended by Sir William Sleeman in this important particular, that the revenues of the country were not appropriated *exclusively* to the benefit of the people and Royal family of Oude. The whole proceeding must be regarded as an act of annexation, the name and shadow of royalty being permitted to remain.

The following documents, now matters of historical record, and deposited amongst the archives of our country, detail the circumstances of those memorable interviews with the King and his minister, in which the Resident announced the final and irrevocable determination of the British Government.

The first of these papers refers to the interview of the Resident with the prime minister of Oude, Alee Nukkee Khan Bahadoor, Jan. 30, 1856.

"On the arrival of the Resident at the suburbs of Lucknow, he was met by the Prime Minister, who was present to pay his respects, according to established usage. During a brief conversation, the Resident requested the Minister to accompany him to the Residency, in order to converse on matters of public importance. . . . .

"The Resident then proceeded to acquaint the Minister that the time had at length arrived when the British Government felt necessitated to adopt a policy towards the Government of Oude, which could no longer be averted. This policy had been dictated by the Honourable the Court of Directors, and had received the sanction of Her Majesty's Ministers. The king could not be ignorant

that, soon after the Resident's arrival at Lucknow, he was called upon to report on the state of the administration, and the general condition of Oude. After patient and searching inquiry, it was the Resident's painful duty to confirm, in all particulars, the deplorable and distressing details which his predecessor, Colonel Sleeman, had been obliged to submit to Government, of the anarchy and misrule existing in Oude. The Governor-General had likewise deemed it imperative to forward that report, with his lordship's sentiments, for the consideration and instructions of the Home Government, and, within the last few weeks, the orders had reached India, and would now be carried into effect.

"The Resident then, in general terms, informed the Minister of the contemplated changes, and of the explicit instructions with which he had been honoured by his lordship; and mentioned that, in order to prevent the chance of a disturbance on the part of evil-disposed persons, a strong brigade of troops was directed to cross the Ganges, and march on the capital.

"The Minister appeared much surprised and distressed at this intelligence, and declared that the presence of any British troops was altogether unnecessary; that his Majesty was in the hands of the Resident, who had simply to express his wishes to ensure their fulfilment.

"The Resident assured the Minister that his Majesty might implicitly rely on the favour and consideration of the British Government, which would guarantee that nothing should be done which could in any degree detract from the King's rank, position, or personal comforts, or in any way diminish his Majesty's dignity or honour. . . .

"The minister then attempted to contrast the reign of the present King with those of his predecessors, and to point out the manifest reforms which were to be seen on all sides; but the Resident replied that it was now useless to discuss that, or any other question, and that he was compelled by the tenor of his instructions to offer his Majesty either of the alternatives to which the Resident had already alluded.

"The Minister again declared that the march of the troops was entirely unnecessary, and begged that their presence might be dispensed with.

"The Resident declared that the advance of the troops was indispensable, and suggested that some confidential servant of the King should be deputed to meet the force, in order to arrange with the commanding officer for compensation for whatever damage to the fields the encampment of the troops might have occasioned. . . .

"As it was late in the afternoon, the Resident requested the Minister to be good enough to call at the Residency on the following morning, in order that he might peruse, in detail, the various documents which would be laid before the King, and thus have an opportunity of fully and fairly imparting to the king the object of the interview which the Resident would be obliged to seek with his Majesty in a few days. This would enable the Minister to give the fullest information on all points to the King, and prevent the possibility of his Majesty being kept in ignorance of the wishes and policy of the British Government, or of stating that the King had not received timely and adequate intimation of the determination of the Government, and of the changes which the Resident was charged to carry into execution."*

The second paper contains the notes of a conference with the Queen-mother.

"On the 1st of February 1856, at the request of the Jenab Aulea Begum, mother of his Majesty, the Resident, Major-General Outram, paid her a visit, at the Zurd Kothee Palace, at 4 P.M., when a conversation passed between the Resident and the Queen, of which the following is a summary.

"After the usual compliments, the Queen, who appeared deeply moved, entreated the Resident to inform her what his Majesty had done, and why he had incurred the wrath of the British Government, and implored the Resident to intercede for the King, and to avert the destruction of the King's authority, by the adoption of any measures which might afford his Majesty the opportunity of showing how anxious he was to administer the government of his country in a manner satisfactory to the British power, and advantageous to his Majesty's subjects. The Resident, in reply, deeply regretted that he was wholly incapable of opening the question, or of acting in any way save by the tenor of his instructions: he had, that very day, in reply to a communication of his Majesty, stated, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, that the resolution taken by the Government was irrevocable and final; that it was based on the orders of the Court of Directors, supported by the unanimous decision and approval of Her Majesty's Ministers, one of whom was the future Governor-General of India: moreover, that the present Governor-General of India had been directed to carry out the policy alluded to, prior to his departure from India; consequently his Lordship was unable

* Blue Book, pp. 279, 280.

to alter in any one tittle the orders received from the Home Government.

"The Queen implored the Resident to reflect on the utter ruin to the King; that he would be degraded in the eyes of the world, and be deprived of every thing which he had been accustomed to and brought up to; but the Resident assured the Queen that the British Government had been pleased to declare that his Majesty should be dealt with in the most liberal and honourable manner; that nothing should in any way detract from his Majesty's rank, honours, dignities, or high position; that he should have placed at his Majesty's disposal, solely for the King's personal expenses, 1,00,000 rupees per mensem, which sum would be guaranteed to his Majesty's heirs for ever and ever; moreover, that 3,00,000 rupees per annum would be assigned for his Majesty's guards, of whom he might retain as many as he pleased; that his Majesty's relatives of the blood-royal would be amply provided for, and those of his Majesty's principal and confidential servants would have no reason to regret the contemplated changes; that the Resident felt perfectly assured that, in a very short time, his Majesty, relieved of the care, anxieties, and responsibilities of the Government, would gratefully thank the British Government for relieving him of so responsible and harassing an anxiety; and would, surrounded by all that could afford comfort and happiness, and fully provided with all that could maintain himself and family in affluence, rank, and distinction, gladly acknowledge that the British Government had been his benefactor. .... The Resident was well aware that his Majesty was personally incapable of afflicting any of his subjects; but, as the King had devolved his duties and responsibilities on worthless and undeserving favourites and ministers, it was obvious that the British Government had no alternative but to look to his Majesty, and to hold him responsible for the enormous evils which had impoverished the country, and necessitated the policy which was now imperatively commanded, and about to be carried into effect.

"The Queen begged that a further period might be allowed, during which the King might be enabled to show to the world, by the adoption of vigorous reforms, how anxious and eager he was to obey and follow out the instructions and advice which the British Government might point out. The Resident again declared that it was useless to argue the matter: he had no authority whatever to act in any way but according to his commands; and he therefore must decline to enter on that subject. The Queen reiterated her entreaties that the impending measures might be delayed, and protested against their adoption; but the Resident assured the Queen that it was impossible the measure could be deferred; and that, by procrastination, or refusal to accept the treaty, the King would needlessly jeopardize the liberal maintenance now offered to him: in that case, it followed that the King could have no security for title or stipend, and would have to be content with whatever might be granted for his support by Government. The Resident was empowered to lessen the grant which had been determined on by the Government, should his Majesty not have the good sense to sign the treaty, and to cause his subjects to afford that aid and co-operation to the new administration which it was confidently hoped his Majesty would never hesitate to afford: on the other hand, the Government was prepared to treat his Majesty with all possible courtesy, liberality, and munificence, should his Majesty sign the treaty, and realize the expectations of the British Government.

"If the Queen-mother really felt interested in the welfare and prosperity of his Majesty, her son, she would not fail to urge, with all that good sense and intelligence for which she was so remarkable, the evil consequences which most assuredly would blight his Majesty's prospects, by the adoption of any measures which would be displeasing to the Government, but which could not avert the change of the policy about to be carried out. After some further conversation, and protestations on the part of the Queen-mother, the interview terminated, and the Resident took his leave, with all the usual honours and ceremonies."

The third paper contains the notes of an interview between the King and the Resident at the Zurd Kothee palace, on the morning of Feb. 4, 1856.

"General Outram, accompanied by Captains Hayes and Weston, proceeded, at 8 A.M., to visit his Majesty, by appointment. The approaches to, and the precincts of, the palace were unusually deserted; the detachments of artillery on duty at the palace, together with the detachments of his Majesty's foot-guards, were unarmed, and saluted without arms; the artillery was dismounted, and not a weapon was to be seen amongst the courtiers and officials present to receive the Resident on his entering the palace. The Resident was received at the usual spot, by his Majesty in person, with the customary honours.

"During the conference, in addition to the

Prime Minister, his Majesty's brother, Sekunder Hashmat, the Residency Vakeel Mushee-ood-Dowlah, his Deputy Sahib-ood-Dowlah, and the Minister of Finance, Rajah Balkishen, were present.

"The Resident, after assuring his Majesty, that, from kindly consideration to his feelings, he had been induced to forward, through the Minister, a copy of the most noble the Governor-General's letter, two days ago, to afford the King ample time to peruse and reflect on the contents of his lordship's letter, now felt it his duty, in pursuance of his instructions, to deliver to his Majesty in person, the Governor-General's letter, in the original. His Majesty, after attentively perusing the letter, observed that he had already been made acquainted with its purport and contents, not only by the Minister, but by the copy of the letter which the Resident had been good enough to transmit, and for which the King expressed his obligation. After a brief pause, his Majesty turned towards the Resident, and said, 'Why have I deserved this? What have I committed?'

"The Resident replied, that the reasons which had led to the new policy were explicitly, clearly, and abundantly detailed in his lordship's letter to his Majesty, and that he was unable to discuss the subject, or to deviate in any way from the tenor of the instructions with which he had been honoured; but the Resident had little doubt that, on mature reflection, the King would readily acquiesce in the proposals made by the British Government. His Majesty should consider how amply and liberally the Government had provided for his Majesty's maintenance. The King's titles, honours, rank, and dignity would be scrupulously preserved and transmitted to his Majesty's descendants, in the male line, in perpetuity. His Majesty's authority would be absolute in his palace and household, always excepting the power of life and death, over the King's servants and subjects thereunto appertaining. His Majesty's relatives and confidential servants would likewise be adequately provided for; and the Resident had every reason to hope that his Majesty's good sense would induce him to meet the wishes of Government. The Resident was bound, by the solemn discharge of his duties, to announce to his Majesty that the treaty of 1801 no longer existed. The systematic oppression and misrule which had existed in Oude ever since its ratification—the violation of all the solemn obligations which the rulers of Oude had faithfully bound themselves to perform, as one of the high contracting parties to that treaty—had necessarily caused its infraction, and rendered it imperative on the British Government to adopt a policy which should secure the lives and property of his Majesty's suffering subjects. That policy had been commanded by the Honourable the Court of Directors; it had been sanctioned and approved of by Her Majesty's Ministers unanimously; and the Most Noble the Governor-General of India had been directed to carry into effect the measures alluded to prior to his lordship's departure from India. Under these circumstances, the Resident was persuaded that his Majesty would readily acknowledge that the British Government had no authority whatever but to give effect to the commands of the Home Government, and, with this view, had directed that a treaty should be prepared for submission to his Majesty, which, embracing every suitable, adequate, and ample provision for his Majesty's maintenance, and omitting nothing which could in any degree redound to the King's honour, titles, and dignity, transferred the administration of the Government of Oude into the hands of the East-India Company. . . . .

"His Majesty received the treaty with the deepest emotion, and handed it to Sahib-ood-Dowlah, with directions that it should be read out aloud; but that confidential servant of the King, overcome by his feelings, was unable to read but a few lines; on which the King took the treaty from his hands, and carefully perused each article.

"His Majesty then gave vent to his feelings in a passionate burst of grief, and exclaimed—

"'Treaties are necessary between equals only: who am I now, that the British Government should enter into treaties with? For a hundred years this dynasty has flourished in Oude. It has ever received the favour, the support, and protection of the British Government. It had ever attempted faithfully and fully to perform its duties to the British Government. The kingdom is a creation of the British, who are able to make and to unmake, to promote and to degrade. It has merely to issue its commands to ensure their fulfilment: not the slightest attempt will be made to oppose the views and wishes of the British Government: myself and subjects are its servants.' . . . .

"His Majesty then again spoke of the inutility of a treaty: he was in no position to sign one. It was useless: his honour and country were gone. He would not trouble Government for any maintenance, but would

proceed to England, and throw himself at the foot of the throne to entreat a reconsideration of the orders, and to intercede for mercy. The Resident begged his Majesty to reflect that, unless the King signed the treaty, he would have no security whatever for his future maintenance, or for that of his family; that the very liberal provision devised by the British Government would inevitably be reconsidered, and reduced; that his Majesty would have no guarantee for his future provision, and would have no claim whatever on the generosity of the Government. The Resident's instructions were concise, clear, and definitive; the resolution of the Government irrevocable and final; and the Resident entreated the King to consider what evil consequences might alight upon his Majesty and family by the adoption of any ill-judged line of conduct. The Prime Minister warmly seconded and supported the Resident's advice, and protested that he had done every thing in his power to induce his Majesty to accede to the wishes of the British Government. Hereupon his Majesty's brother exclaimed that there was no occasion for a treaty. His Majesty was no longer independent, and in a position to be one of the contracting powers. His office was gone, and the British Government was all-powerful. His Majesty, who was moved to tears, recapitulated the favours which his ancestors had received at the hands of the British Government, and pathetically dwelt upon his helpless position. Uncovering himself, he placed his turban in the hands of the Resident, declaring that, now his titles, rank, and position were all gone, it was not for him to sign a treaty, or to enter into any negotiation. He was in the hands of the British Government, which had seated his Majesty's grandfather on the throne, and could, at its pleasure, consign him to obscurity.

"He touched on the forlorn fate which awaited his heirs and family, and declared his unalterable resolution to seek in Europe for that redress which it was vain to find in India.

"The Resident felt himself unable to act in any other way than by the tenor of his instructions, and assured his Majesty that, at the expiration of three days, unless his Majesty acceded to the wishes of the British Government, the Resident would have no alternative but to assume the government of the country.

"After some further conversation, and the expression of the unalterable reluctance of the King to sign the treaty then and there, the Resident intimated that no further delay than the three days could be permitted, and then, with the usual ceremonies and honours, took his leave of the King."

The only proclamations, which his Majesty could be induced to issue are the following—

"To all Amils, Talookdars, Malgoozars, Zemindars, Military Officers, Thannadars, Kanoongoes, Chowdries, and to all his Majesty's subjects—

"Be it known, that, according to the orders of the British Government, the servants of that Government have been appointed for the administration of the kingdom of Oude, and will assume the Government; therefore, take heed to obey all orders which may be issued, and to pay the revenue to them, and to become faithful subjects to them: on no account resort to resistance or rebellion. The army ought, on no pretence, to revolt or mutiny, because the servants of the British Government have the power to punish.

"No date of the month, but simply, Jemad-ul-awal, 1272."

"To all the officers of the army—

"Be it known, that you ought to remain at your post and on your duties in readiness as usual, and on no account are you to commit any violence or lawless act, and on no pretence allow of any unsoldier-like conduct.

"The balance of your pay, after the deductions made for advances received, will be paid to you by the East-India Company (Sirkar Kampani).

"Let no man leave his post; and pay particular attention to these orders."*

All efforts to induce the King to sign the treaty proved ineffectual, and, carrying out his resolution of proceeding immediately to Calcutta, accompanied by the Queen-mother, his brother, and other relatives, for the purpose of laying his case before the Governor-General in Council, and, in the event of this proving unsuccessful, of sailing for England to prosecute his claim before the home authorities, in less than a fortnight's time, Wajid Allee Khan took his departure from Lucknow.

* Blue Book on Oude, pp. 279, 280; 284—286; 287—289.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES TO THEIR SPHERES OF LABOUR.

At a general Committee of the Church Missionary Society, held at the Society's House on Monday March 12, 1860, Admiral Sir H. Hope, K.C.B., Vice-President, in the chair, the Committee took leave of three Missionaries, two of them returning to the Mission fields where they had already laboured, and one of them going forth for the first time. The Missionaries were the Rev. J. Bilderbeck, returning to Madras, where he has laboured with zeal and perseverance for many years; the ordained African, J. C. Taylor, to the banks of the Niger, where, in his fatherland among the Ibos, he has been instrumental in laying, at Onitsha, the foundations of a new Mission; and the Rev. R. H. Weakley, designated to Constantinople to strengthen the hands of Dr. Pfander. On that occasion the following instructions were delivered by the Honorary Clerical Secretary.

Dearly Beloved in the Lord—

You are going to widely different spheres of labour: your circumstances will be as various as it is possible to conceive. Your modes of operation must be distinct. Yet you go forth on one work—guided by one spirit—having each one and the same aim in view—to win perishing souls, whether in Asia, Africa, or Europe, to the Lord Jesus Christ.

To you, Brother Bilderbeck, the Committee have no specific instructions to address. You will, upon your return to Madras, re-enter upon your former work; and the Committee have only to pray that you may be enabled to carry it forward in the same wise, persevering, prayerful, and faithful spirit as before. The Committee have earnestly desired to make up the full complement of the Madras Mission, by appointing four Missionaries to that station. But through the failure of the health of several labourers, they have been hitherto defeated in their design. They fully acknowledge the importance of possessing a strong and complete Mission at the Presidency; and they will do all in their power to secure that object. You will carry back with you many new and encouraging associations. Your visits as a Deputation to different parts of the country have secured for you and your work many praying friends and much sympathy; and the Committee trust that the fruit may abound to the glory of God, upon your re-entrance into your work.

The Committee are thankful, Brother Taylor, that God has permitted them to see you face to face, and to confer with you on many important points connected with the Niger Mission. Your visit to England will, they trust, prove a great benefit in this respect to the Mission. They pray God that it may also prove a great spiritual benefit to your own soul: that when you return to your countrymen, your sympathy with them may be as entire as before: and that they may perceive in you nothing but deeper humility, as the fruit of enlarged intercourse with the church of Christ; and a more lively and patient compassion for the spiritual thraldom of Africa, upon the comparison which you will draw between this Christian country and your own dark land. Let all European habits, European tastes, European ideas, be left behind you. Let no other change be visible in your tone of mind or behaviour than that of a growth in grace and in the knowledge and love of God.

The good providence of God has provided you with the inestimable advantage of such an able, wise, and Christian philological guide as Mr. Schön. By his help your translation of St. Matthew's Gospel has been carried through the press, and you take out 500 copies as a noble gift to your tribe. You also carry out the Book of Common Prayer in Ibo, together with tracts and other translations, which will be the foundation of a native literature. The Mission will be furnished with a printing press, and the Committee trust that a taste for reading will rapidly spring up, as it has done in Abbeokuta.

You will be joined in Sierra Leone by the European catechists whom the Committee have set apart for the Niger Mission; and probably others besides Mr. Coomber, the native schoolmaster, will also join you: so that the Committee trust you will return to Onitsha a goodly company of Evangelists, to build up a spiritual temple upon the foundations already laid on the banks of the Niger.

But here the Committee are checked in their full satisfaction by some apprehension lest your numbers, and the union of Europeans and natives, should possibly give occasion to misunderstandings and jealousies. Such is our wretched human nature, that even the Lord's servants too often suffer wrath, and evil-speaking, and backbiting, and contention to arise amongst them, and to mar the work of God. These are the

poisonous serpents which lurk in the dwelling. These are the white ants that destroy the spiritual building. These are the works of Satan, by which he strives to counteract the light of the glorious Gospel, lest it should shine into the hearts of men. To you, and to all the other members of the Niger Mission, the Committee affectionately, but most earnestly, say, "Let brotherly love continue." As you stamp out the burning spark which falls upon your dry thatches, so put out as vigorously the sparks that are "set on fire by hell." They are soonest quenched by kneeling together at the throne of grace, and each one imploring the Lord's forgiveness of his debt of ten thousand talents. Open your hearts to a Saviour's love, and the expulsive power of the new affection will clear them of the works of the flesh.

And not only must you live in love: you must *keep up united action* in the spirit of love and mutual forbearance. You will act in Committee on all matters in which the business of the Mission is concerned, and in these respects all of you must be subject one to another. Let all your Committee meetings be sanctified by the word of God and prayer. Avoid all attempt to carry a point by voting. Seek the middle course, in which all may concur. If a spirit of contention and disputation arises in such meetings, turn them into prayer-meetings. United action in a holy, loving spirit of mutual confidence and self-sacrifice is the glory of a Mission, and gives it a strength which will overcome all obstacles. Here, therefore, Satan will ever direct his assaults—to sow discord among brethren, and so divide and conquer.

Onitsha will be your station; and it is to be regarded as the basis of the Ibo Mission. Strive to make it strong before you take up out-stations. Let all unite to raise up a body of converts in Onitsha, and to form them into a native church, able to read for themselves the word of God, to supply native teachers, and to consult with you upon future extension. Such an established body of Christians at Onitsha will be of inestimable value for future extension. Be not too hasty, therefore, to comply with the invitations which distant towns may send you for a white man or native teacher to dwell with them. If they are urgent, propose to them to send a few young men to reside for a time at Onitsha, to learn to read, and to be instructed in the new religion; who may afterwards return to their native town, and carry back a few elementary truths, which may suffice to keep up an interest in Christianity till the Onitsha Mission is strong enough to occupy out-stations with effect. This course was pursued in New Zealand, and it was one means of spreading the knowledge of Christian truth far beyond the range of Missionary tours.

Strive above all things to awaken amongst the new converts a spirit of self-reliance and activity in spreading the Christian knowledge amongst their countrymen. In matters of personal holiness, and love, and zeal for Christ, the Evangelist is to place himself before his people. As it is written, "Be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." But in other matters—such as the management of affairs, the serving of tables, the exercise of discipline, the building of places of worship and schools, the extension of the Mission—avoid putting yourself before the people as a leader: rather stand behind them as a prompter and counsellor. Prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader. It is possible that by this course of action a teacher may think that he will be lowered in general estimation; that bold spirits may take the lead. But things will soon rectify themselves. The forward spirits must soon fall back upon the mature wisdom and powerful aid of the teacher. His influence will be greater than ever. He will be the real spring of action. Whereas, if the teacher attempt to take the lead in all things, the whole Mission will hang upon his responsibility. The forward and bold spirits will foment jealousies against him, and thus the spirit of self-extension and self-government is checked and stinted, and the Mission becomes stationary as soon as the teacher's hands are full of employment.

The Niger Mission will be furnished, by means independent of the Society, with the opportunity of introducing industrial employments amongst the natives, especially the cleaning and pressing of cotton. But let this department be kept in subordination to the spiritual work of the Mission. Let it be so conducted as to make it of the widest benefit to the people. The object of such industrial establishments is only to teach the people to work for themselves, and to secure employment for converts who may be thrown out of their usual occupations by embracing Christianity. The success at which they aim is to be superseded by the general introduction of industrial habits: then their connexion with the Mission may be cast off.

One further instruction the Committee desire to impress upon you. Act as you have hitherto done in showing great respect to native authority. The system of native government may appear in many things very

defective; but it holds society together, and gives you protection. Show that Christianity enjoins submission and obedience and respect to rulers, as a cardinal duty.

And now the Committee commend the Niger Mission to God and to the word of his grace. It is a great experiment. It is essentially a Native Mission. The Committee believe that they have been led step by step in its formation. They have confidence in its stability, because they have confidence that it will be carried on in a spirit of prayer and faith. Take as your motto the noble saying of an old Red-Indian chief—"Our Mission is strong—Prayer is the stability of a Mission."

You, Brother Weakley, were introduced to the Society with a view to the Mission among the Turks. A zealous friend of that nation had first directed your attention to that field of labour, and awakened your sympathy in it, as one too long neglected by the Christian church, and holding out peculiar promise at the present time. You have already had a brief specimen of the kind of work to which you are called, by your visit to the Turkish sailors at Plymouth, and by witnessing the labours of Messrs. Bennett and Williams. In order that you may be the more fully equipped for your Mission, the Committee have directed you to reside for a few months in France or Geneva, to study the French language, as all the educated Turks prefer that language for their first inquiries.

While you have been thus preparing at home for the work for the two past years, a preparation of the most encouraging kind has been going on abroad, especially in Constantinople. This preparation may be noticed in three particulars.

1. There is evidence of an increasing spirit of inquiry abroad among the Turks. The reports of the American Missionaries furnish many instances. A body, comprising probably several hundred, have withdrawn their faith from the Koran, and are making inquiry respecting the truth of the Gospel. This is just one of those providential helps to an advancing Gospel which is often found in Missionary histories. Several Turks have also visited Dr. Pfander who were acquainted with his works in Persian, and had evidently studied them. These instances are indeed few, and for the most part isolated, but they are streaks of the dawn.

2. There is evidence that the effect of the Hatti Hamayoun is real, though at present very partial. There is testimony from many quarters that the prison-bars are unloosed, though few go abroad. Remarks are now made in the *Cafés*, and in common intercourse, which startle the ears of the old Missionaries, and show that "thought" is set at liberty.

3. The commencement of a Mission has been most wisely and auspiciously effected by Dr. Pfander. A room has been engaged in the midst of the population, where two native agents reside. There they sell their books and invite visitors. The Missionary occasionally attends. Already Dr. Pfander's admirable works addressed to Mohammedans are in a course of translation from Persian into Turkish. One of these is finished, the second has received its first revision. The utmost caution is required in order to obtain permission for their being printed in Constantinople, which would be a great step gained; but if this is refused, they can be lithographed elsewhere, and may soon become available for the use of the Missionaries.

These substantial encouragements strengthen the faith of the Committee in now sending you forth on your Mission; and they trust that your own faith, and prayers, and expectations will be enlarged thereby; and that you will go forward with the calm self-possession and firm perseverance of one who knows assuredly that the Lord has called him to the work.

On two specific points the Committee give you their directions.

You will find on the field of Constantinople and its neighbourhood a noble band of American Missionaries, whose labours there, as well as throughout all Western Asia, have been greatly owned and blessed of God. While this Society only paid occasional visits to Constantinople, and maintained a feeble Mission in Smyrna, and published Missionary researches, the American Society threw into that field a large force of men, erected printing presses, organized churches, and may fairly claim the credit of having opened the country to Christian Missions. To them, therefore, let the first place of honour be given. Avoid scrupulously any appearance of interference with their work. Let no root of rivalry and envy spring up amongst the subordinate agents of the Mission. Check any approach to questions or comparisons of ecclesiastical systems. Let it be your highest honour to follow them, as they have followed Christ. All questions of church organization are utterly out of place in the present state of our Mission in Turkey. Let nothing at present appear but points of agreement. The Committee hope that you will be assisted by the son of the native minister whom the American Missionaries employ. You will

desire him to behave with reverential affection towards his honoured father. Set an example in your own conduct towards your American brethren of the same deferential affection towards those whom Christ has called into the field before ourselves.

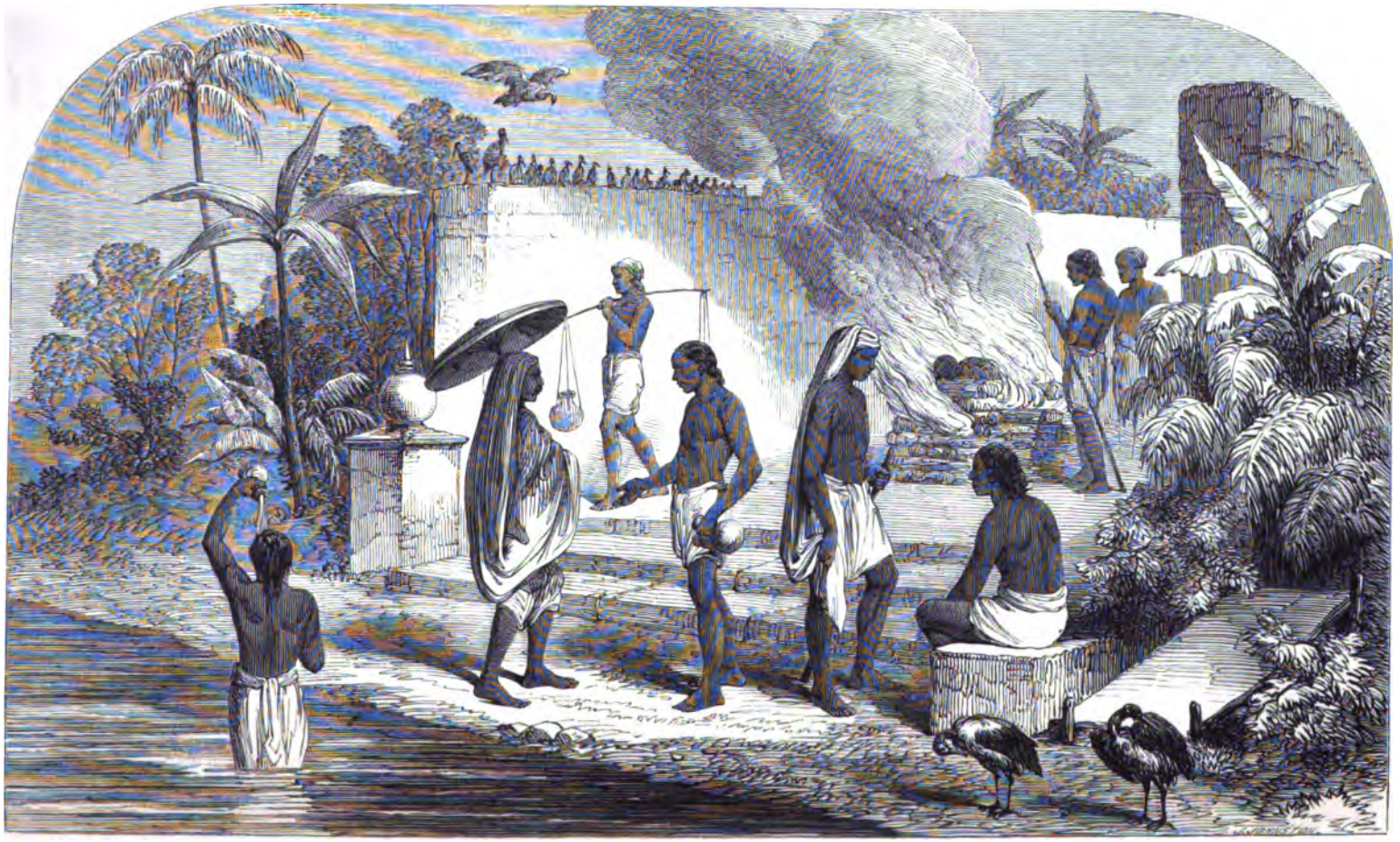
The second special instruction which the Committee address to you is to submit yourself, in all Mission questions, to the judgment of Dr. Pfander. The Committee are fully aware of the critical nature of Missionary operations in Turkey. They thank God that our Mission has been formed by a man of ripe and solid judgment and of large experience. You, as a junior and inexperienced Missionary, will find it your highest privilege to labour with him as a son with a father. Dr. Pfander is to be regarded as the head and the Secretary of the Mission. In laying upon you this injunction, the Committee rejoice to know that it entirely coincides with your own wish and predetermination.

The Missionaries having respectively and in a deeply feeling and earnest manner acknowledged the instructions which they had received, they were addressed affectionately and impressively by the Rev. W. Cadman, the Epistle to the Philippians being taken as the basis of his observations, and the more salient features of it, as presented seriatim in the different chapters, being brought home with great felicity of application to the circumstances of Missionary labourers, their responsibilities, and supports, their trials and encouragements. They were then in prayer commended to the favour and protection of Almighty God by the Rev. D. Wilson.

CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

A SERIES of papers bearing upon this subject have been placed in our hands. They have been drawn up by an officer many years resident in India. Frequently, in reading publications having reference to India—the papers of statesmen, books of travels, the journals of Missionaries—the reader meets with terms having reference to native rites, civil and religious, with which the writer is perfectly familiar, but which, to persons who have never visited Hindustan, convey no definite ideas. The fact is, our acquaintance, generally speaking, with the actual condition of the Hindu population is but superficial. We are scarcely aware of the complex nature of that idolatrous ritual with which they are tied and bound, of the manner in which it has interwoven itself with the details of domestic life, and the heavy exactions of time and attention which it requires from those who are ensnared in its meshes. Nor are we aware how well fitted these ceremonies are to quicken into action the depraved tendencies of the human heart, and facilitate their indulgence. The native mind is shut up in a gloomy prison. Were we convinced, how piteously enslaved it is, we should labour more strenuously for its emancipation. We shall be happy if the perusal if these papers induces more commiseration for the people of India, and prompts to more effort for their emancipation.

"I will endeavour to give a brief account of the customs observed by the Hindu population, both in their religious ceremonies and at the births, deaths, or marriages of their relatives. I will describe from the actual scenes which I saw myself, or from what I heard corroborated by the testimony of numbers of natives. The opportunity of being present at any of the remarkable sights or processions I never neglected. I have not trusted to the accounts given me, nor have I read any English author on the subject. The greatest number of the travellers who have, as it were, glanced at those details in their hasty progress through the country, and written their comments upon the sport or the society which they have found there, have not treated upon the manners, customs, religions, or language of the inhabitants of this large portion of the globe, who number about 120 millions. The late dreadful disturbances which for a season arrested the inquiries of those who were anxious to become more acquainted with the details of the modes of life which characterize the inhabitants of India, now that they have passed away, will probably make individuals more anxious to ascertain with precision the moral and social condition of a people who could be guilty of such great atrocities; and as they have been in times past, such, in great measure, shall we find them now; for so unchanging and so invariably superstitious is their general tenor of conduct, that the description of the habits and ceremonies which, in their worship, their families, and their daily intercourse used to obtain years and centuries ago, is still prevalent amongst them. When we reflect upon this, and also upon the



BURNING THE DEAD IN NORTH INDIA.

difficulty which exists of finding means or men to carry the tidings of Gospel truth amongst such immense multitudes, it would appear desirable to extend as much as possible the information likely to throw light upon the actual condition of these people. With regard to the habits of the Mussulmans, there are books which are written, and which give information with reference to the zenana, or modes of life which exist amongst the female population of the Mussulmans of India, and their secluded state, and the habit of immuring them in their dwelling-places, where they can neither communicate with any one, nor obtain any information from any who are not servants or slaves, or from their lord and master, who treats them as slaves. These exhibit the lamentable fact that they can neither read or write, or have any education whatever, and that their general ignorance is deplorable. There are also books written, treating of the Mussulman male population, but giving accounts which are mere translations from native descriptions, and which are too much interlarded with native jargon to be interesting. There are some of the descriptions of the modes of ejecting evil spirits practised by the ingenious and enlightened doctors of Islam, which I think would defy the patience of the keenest inquirer into native customs.

"Most of the customs practised by the Hindus will be found detailed in the 'Asiatic Researches,' but I am not aware that they have been explained and laid before the public systematically. I shall begin with the customs which are observed as religious rites, and put into practice by the higher classes, viz. the two castes called Brahmins and Chatrees invariably, and by such as value their character, and respect the degree of estimation in which they are held by their brethren of the other castes. Without mentioning here the great festivals which engage the attention of all classes universally, whether as festivals of joy or as commemorative of some gloomy event, we may first advert to the regular observances practised at fixed periods of the month.

"It is considered imperatively necessary on the last day of every month, or the first of the ensuing month, for all the male population to go to the Ganges, Jumna, or any river which is deemed holy, and bathe; and generally the higher classes—the Brahmins and Chatrees—stain the body, and breast, and forehead with sandal wood after having left the water. This is sometimes red, sometimes yellow, and there are also other colours. It appears that the order of things is frequently reversed in this country; for whereas a civilized person would suppose that painting the face and body was a rite indicative of debased intellect and prostrate superstition, and one likely to be practised by the most ignorant and degraded wretches, here he would be brought to the knowledge of the fact that those who perform it are the most respected amongst the general community. After this they go to the toolsee plant (that plant which naturalists call *osymum sanctum*) and cover it with Ganges water. They sometimes throw flowers into the Ganges, and sometimes those who can afford it throw milk. The toolsee is used by every Brahmin, who gives the vessel containing the Ganges water to any person whom he wishes to take an oath. When the plant is in the water, and the person swearing holds the vessel in his hand, it is considered a most solemn manner of taking an oath; and the natives who go through these observances constantly affirm, that, after death, the reward of adhering to them will be great, and their state of life happy.

"On the fourth of every month a very great number of the inhabitants fast inviolably during the whole of the day, and at night, when the moon comes out, they break their fast. This is called the *ehath*.

"The 11th of this month is called the *ekadshee*, and on this occasion the most religious will fast during the whole of the day and night; but some fast during the day, and at night eat sweetmeats. Many send invitations on this day to the Brahmins, and feast them sumptuously, but they themselves refrain all the time from touching a morsel. During the feast one of the Brahmins, takes a *pothee*, or book containing extracts from Shasters which treat of the customs of the *ekadshee*, and reads to all the party assembled, both when they are at meat and also during the rest of the day. The next day is called the *dooadshee*, and this day is the occasion for all the worshippers of Brahma to give the Brahmins what is called a *seedha*, which means a present of any kind of grain or provisions undressed. The quantity requisite to form this present must be a sufficiency for one man's consumption during the day, and also they put upon it half an anna, and then it is given to the Brahmin, or priest of their religion. It is considered also right, that, at the change of the moon, viz. when the light fortnight, as it is called, commences, which goes by the name of *amawus*, or 'the dark fortnight,' which is called *punnoor*, begins, that on that day every true Hindu should bathe in the river. This usually occurs about the middle of the month.

"On every Saturday, called by them *su-*

neechur, of which there are four in the month, there are a sort of Brahmins called *canogees*, or the class nominated *doobys*, who go about from house to house, and it is considered necessary to propitiate them by giving them presents of grain, oord, and oil, together with the usual accompaniment in such cases, viz. some pice. Those who give in this way believe that the star of that particular day is most unpropitious and unfavourable, deem it expedient to propitiate their evil destiny, and suppose that calamity to them, or to their family, may be averted by this act of giving presents to the wandering Brahmin. On Wednesdays, those who are the richest, make a great day of rejoicing. This festival day, which they call *boodh*, is considered a wrong day to begin any business upon, but proper for making merry. They carry their belief so far as to say that any thing commenced upon Wednesday will never be perfectly accomplished.

"They consider Friday as the most fortunate day for commencing any business, and think that their fate is likely to be favourable to them if they begin any work on that propitious day. But the day of the month which they look upon as the most propitious for the commencement of any business, is the 10th. These customs of the Hindus with regard to dates and days of the week obtain more or less amongst all parties according to the different degrees of superstition which prevail. In no part of the world are such superstitions stronger or more widely diffused, nor have they been shaken by our long intercourse with them.

"The year commences with the month called Bysakh, answering to our April. I have ascertained that the first custom which takes place during the year is called by the Hindus the *Beas Pooja*. The exact date for its observance is usually about the middle of July; but as it depends upon the change of the moon, its observance is decided by the directions of the Hindu astronomers, who fix upon the fifth day from the commencement of the light fortnight of the month: the time of its celebration is different in different years.

"Very early on the morning of this day the Hindus go to bathe in the river. The Ganges is always held the most sacred of all streams, and therefore the best adapted for the purpose; but when the distance from their abode is too far from it, the worshippers must take some river, tank, or stream, which is nearer them; and such as are pious give alms to poor Brahmins, and make a basket filled with mangoes and fruit called jamun, and sweetmeats, and present it to their family priest, or their gooroo, as he is called in the country. They make their obeisance to him by touching his forehead with tolee, the name of a species of red earth, which is common to the country, and sandal-wood. And after the gooroo has washed his feet, they fill a brass vessel with water, and make him put his feet in it. They then drink some of this water thus consecrated, and the rest they sprinkle on their faces. Of such a slavish nature is the debased and prostrate superstition of this land. The votaries of idolatry drink the *churna-mittur*, or the water which a Brahmin has put his foot into. The Brahmin then puts the *tiluk*, or mark, composed of a sort of paint, mixed with clay, on the centre of the forehead of each worshipper; and they are then bound by religion to give him, in return, presents according to their means.

"There are, throughout Hindustan, a species of pious men called *Bhuguts*, who bind themselves to abstain from fish, meat of any kind, all intoxicating drugs, and every sort of spirituous liquor. They are known by wearing a necklace of wooden beads, which, from its coming in front of the windpipe, is called *khunthee*, and the Brahmins, on this day of the Beas Pooja, invest the persons who are to assume this order with the necklace, and give the necessary injunctions.

"The origin of this ceremony is believed to be, that many thousand years ago, on the anniversary of this day, there was a great sinner, who had committed numberless atrocities and murders, but in a repentant mood he went to bathe in the Ganges; that he became very sick, and could not stir; that one of the holiest of the order of Brahmins came to him after he had left the water, and told him to say the name of God twice; that he did so, and became perfectly well.

"The next ceremony which is observed by the Hindus takes place about the 17th of our month of July, corresponding to the 8th day of their month Jawun. It is the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, the Indian Apollo, whose praise is the theme of so much of the Hindu poetry. He is very highly esteemed and especially worshipped by the women, and his birthday is kept all throughout Hindustan. On this occasion the men decorate thir *muths*, or idol houses, with jewels, carpets, and whatever ornaments they can procure, and they dress up their *thakoors*, or idols of brass, in fine clothes, and put jewels upon them. And some men go thither at the rising of the sun, and sit near the temple, singing their *bujins*, as they call the songs,

and neither eat nor drink from the rising of the sun till the middle of the next night. There is no provision made for the relief of the hungry worshipper; but if extreme or annoying thirst should come on, then he may drink the water of the Ganges, or, as they call it, the Gunga, but nothing else. In the middle of the ensuing night they get a large cucumber or pumpkin, and open it, so that they may enclose a small idol inside it. When they have put this small idol into it, and having left it there for about half an hour, they take it out again, and commence a great uproar with blowing shells, beating drums, sounding cymbals, and, by other means, evince their worship by making a clamour. After the idol has been taken out of the pumpkin they may break their fast.

"The reason which they assign, both for the fast and for the different ceremonies is, that the mother of Krishna, Jussodu, at the time of his birth, suffered extremely, and they fast in remembrance of this. And they think, also, that the deities, at the time of the birth of this divinity, made a great clamour of applause when it occurred; whence the hubbub which is kept up during the whole of the day. On the morning of this day, and on its evening, one may see in every direction groups of Hindu girls in dresses of all sorts of colours—yellow, red, crimson, blue, and white—singing, at the very highest pitch of their voices, songs in praise of Krishna. Those even of the highest rank, in point of birth, go out very early in the morning to bathe, and come back singing the praise of Krishna; and, as it is the general custom of women of rank to conceal themselves, these women do not allow any one to see their faces, and wrap themselves, head and all, carefully under a scarf.

"In this month also takes place the custom which is called the *goorea teohar*. The first thing which they are called upon by their creed to do is to eat rice-milk. After this they dress themselves in their best clothes, and assemble on a plain near their respective villages, and the wrestlers, called by the Hindus *Pahulwans*—similar to the athletæ of the Greeks—begin to exhibit the feats which are acquired in their art. This is done, not for any money, or reward, but merely as a trial of strength. All those who wish to become wrestlers learn the active exercises—the *dur palna*, which is a sort of exercise in which a person continues moving his body up and down in a horizontal position, with his face to the ground, and the *moogdur hilana*, which is a way of moving the heavy club so as to acquire strength in the loins. The tailors in the villages make dolls of cotton, and the boys of the villages beat them to pieces with sticks. These dolls are called *gooreas*, and the day, the *goorea teohar*, or the day of the dolls.

"The reason which the old men of the country assign for this is, that the devil, with an army of little creatures, invaded the country of the king of gods this day, and that the army of the gods defeated them; and they who chiefly practice this rite being the lowest of the people, conceive that they should, in commemoration of this event, make one idol resembling a man, and beat it to pieces, as, by doing so, they commemorate the defeat of the host of devils.

"On the next morning the Hindus purchase eight annas' worth of rice and milk, and, going to the river Ganges, make their proper worship of it, which, being finished, they throw the rice and milk into the water. I have seen many of the oldest amongst them with the dolls in their hands, which they either destroyed themselves, or gave them to the boys to tear to pieces. Had I not seen such things I would hardly have believed that their credulity could have been carried to such an excess.

"Towards the end of this month—the Lacoun of the Hindus, being our July—there is another holiday which is called the *raki teohar*. The Hindus commence the observance of it in the morning by eating rice-milk. However, previously to doing so, they are bound by their religion to bathe in the Ganges—an operation which, happily, being both salubrious and cleanly, is generally enjoined in their forms of devotion. When they have finished eating the rice-milk, they call upon their gooroo, or family priest, and the priest puts on their arm, tied above the elbow, the *raki*, or string. This is a sort of amulet or charm, which they consider as powerful to avert calamity, and they carry their superstition so far as to bind a ring of the same kind round the foreleg of their horses. When it is bound round a horse they give it the name of a *gunda*, or 'circle,' and it is considered efficacious in preventing any of the diseases to which a horse may be subject. When the Brahmin binds the string round the man's arm he reads some extract from the Vedas. The *raki* is composed of silk, or of a thread called *hoolee*. After it is bound on, the Hindu gives the priest some money, and the regulation of the day is, that every Brahmin he may meet binds a new string to the *raki*, and, in return, receives a new gratuity. The Hindus do not usually wear them longer than a few days.

"They believe the origin of this custom to be, that, a long time ago, in the *Treeta joog*, or, second division of the Hindu chronology, there was a king called Bul, who was in the habit of giving away every morning, to the poor of the Hindu persuasion, a hundred pound weight of gold. One morning a *jogee*, or beggar, came to see him, and the king gave him an entertainment of rice-milk, which, in those primitive days, was considered a great delicacy. The beggar was pleased with his repast, and said to the king, 'I am a man whose prayers are listened to, and I can cause you to get whatever you wish for.' Then the king said that there was an epidemic which raged in his dominions every year, at a peculiar season. The beggar then tore some hair from his temples, and, making it into a band, tied it round the arm of the king, and said, 'You must keep this round your arm for a month, and all the people in your kingdom who wear these kind of bracelets, having had them tied on by Brahmins—the Brahmin, at the time of tying them, reading the *Shasters*—will be free from the plague. They must be made of silk and red thread.'

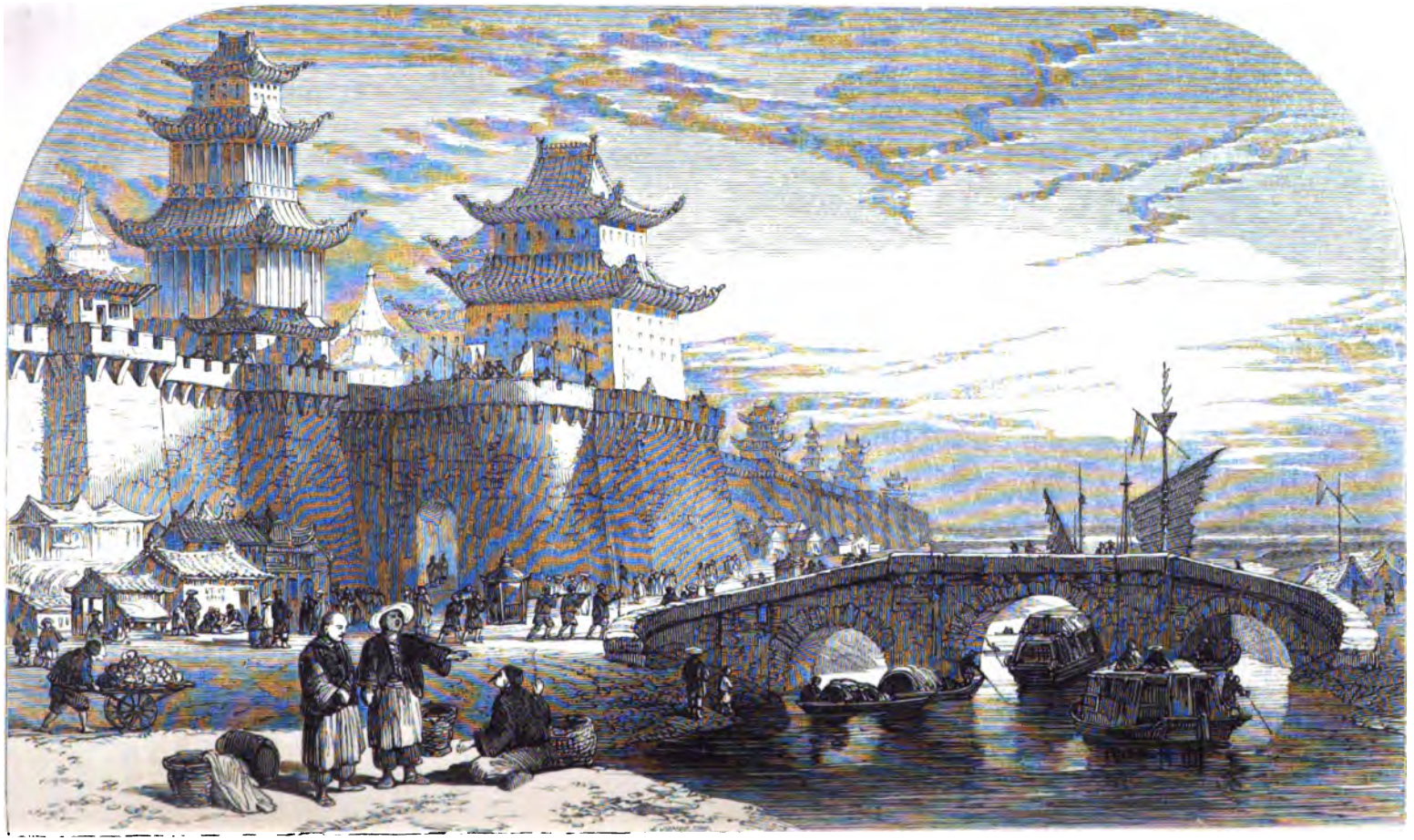
"The next Hindu custom, taking them in the order that they happen during the year, takes place in the month of August, or the Hindu monthBadun, on the sixth day after the change from light to darkness in the moon. On this day, called the *Shunka choth*, all the Shunka Hindus practise a rigid fast. They then take out of their houses an image of Ganesa, or the god of gain, which every householder in Hindustan preserves with the greatest care, and they place it in the cleanest part of the house. They get necklaces of flowers, and flowers in parcels, and these, with some ready money, they place as an offering before the image. When the appearance of the moon gives them intimation that the time for breaking the fast has arrived, all the family go and prepare a mess of a small grain called *zill* and sugar. They then proceed to look at the moon, and do so in a solemn way, as one of worship; and after having gazed on it sufficiently, they return to the house to eat the mess.

"This holiday is kept in commemoration of Mahadev—another name for the destroying spirit or devil—and of Ganesa. The story is, that Mahadev left his wife, Purwuttee, on the anniversary of this day, and promised to return in a very short time. The faithful spouse, seeing that she had no protector, placed an image of Ganesa at her door, telling him to admit no person inside the house. He observed the injunction most strictly; so much so, that when Mahadev himself came back, and attempted to enter his own house, the god Ganesa forbade him. Mahadev at this, like Apollo, in his wrath, attacked the guardian deity, and cut off his head. Having done so, he went in, and his wife, on seeing him, asked him how he had obtained entrance. He then told her of his act. Purwuttee was extremely sorry, and swore that she would eat nothing till Ganesa was made whole. She observed a fast from the morning until the moon appeared at night: then Mahadev got an elephant's head and put it on Ganesa: thus all the images of that god throughout the country have an elephant's head.

"The *tej* is the ceremony which is observed by the Hindu women on the third lunar day from the beginning of the light fortnight of the month of August. In the evening they make an image of Mahadev, which they call a *moorut*. They then send for a very learned pundit and he brings a book containing an account of Mahadev in Sanskrit. The women put in a basket some *soorma*, which is the antimony used by the women in India for staining their eyelids of a black colour, a comb, and a looking-glass: these are all symbolical of marriage, and are presented to the pundit.

"They believe, that on the anniversary of this day Mahadev was married to Purwuttee, and the day is therefore much thought of by the Hindu women. The death of a husband is known to be the greatest calamity to a wife. Although, in the districts under the British rule, she is not permitted to be burnt upon the funeral pile of her husband, still her life from that time commences to be one of dependence and, indeed, of infamy. She is taken into the house of her husband's brother, or into that of his nearest male relative, and she is treated as a slave, both by him and by his wives. She is not allowed to wear her ornaments. Thus the commonest mode of salutation to a Hindu woman is, 'May the ornaments of your husband's pride, the nuth and the bracelet, be always in safety!' and, 'May the turban of your husband be never unbound!' This last refers to the husband's never taking off or unbinding his turban in his waking hours. But speaking figuratively of his death, it is said, 'His turban is unbound.' At his death, the turban and the rest of his clothes are left at his couch. In the tombs of the great kings and chiefs who have ruled in Hindustan, one invariably sees the sword and the turban of each laid at the head, and the mute and simple pathos of this mode of appealing to his memory is more touching than the most studied devices and elaborate epitaphs.

(*To be continued.*)



WESTERN GATE, PEKIN

ENGLISH POLICY ON THE COAST OF CHINA.

New complications have arisen on the Chinese coast, and our relations with that singular people are again disturbed. In the opinion of many it is strange that it should be so. We had just achieved a great triumph. The forts at the entrance of the Peiho, which the Chinese had so laboriously strengthened, having succeeded in erecting earthworks, sand-bag batteries, &c., for a distance of nearly a mile in length, were carried with a dash by the united British and French squadron, and at "the temple of Oceanic influences" in the plain near Tientsin, Lord Elgin had constrained the Chinese Commissioners to the signature of a treaty, the provisions of which were in the highest degree distasteful to every Chinese functionary, from the Emperor down to the lowest mandarin in the suite of Kweiliang and Hwashana. The treaty secured to the English special advantages, and the congratulations of the home country were loudly expressed at the important stipulations secured at so slight a cost. But that treaty in its integrity the Chinese had no intention of keeping. It had been wrung from them by force; and, taken at a disadvantage, they had signed it to get rid of a present difficulty. As to conscientious scruples they had none; nor in refusing to give it practical force did they consider that they acted with greater injustice than the English, who, at the point of the sword, had compelled them to it. Their only object was to gain time, and so soon as the Western ships had withdrawn themselves, they began to reconstruct, on more scientific principles, the forts at Takoo, and, out of the ruins of a recent reverse, to learn those lessons which, on a future occasion, might enable them to a more successful resistance. And so it must continue to be so long as we pursue our present unhappy system of flogging the Chinese into good behaviour. We shall find John Chinaman like an intractable schoolboy. He will wince under the rod; irritated for the moment, attempt to defend himself, and, as the strokes descend more heavily and painfully upon him, cry loudly for mercy, and promise any thing to escape the present infliction: but no sooner have the eye and rod of his oppressor been removed than he will sink back into the same dogged obstinacy of character: the old feelings of distrust and jealousy of the foreigner will resume their ascendancy over him. Each time we coerce him his dislike to us will increase, and all his ingenuity be exercised in devising means by which he may evade the obligations which we compel him to contract, and, as a people whom he dislikes and whose incidental visits are as disagreeable to him as those of the piratical Danes to the former inhabitants of the British isles, keep us at the greatest possible distance. Meanwhile these corrections, which we, in our high character of a great and civilized nation, think it our duty to administer to the erring Chinese, are to us rather of a costly character. We have been, and still continue to be, subjected to a vast military outlay. The great rebellion of India, and its cost of forty millions; the home preparations against a coming struggle, which all are anxious to avoid, and which, nevertheless, all fear may supervene; these have necessitated increased taxation and a great expenditure. And now to these is to be added the expense of a new expedition to China, one which, for the moment, will be irresistible, and to which the Chinese will not fail to yield with all the impressibility of water, but, like water, so soon as the stroke is removed, only to become precisely what they were before. In truth, China is like the ocean, not only in the vastness of its population, but in the facility with which it yields to the momentum of an effort sufficiently strong to overcome its negative resistance, and the rapidity with which it relapses into its usual state of sluggishness, and that in total forgetfulness of recent and painful experiences. So long as we persevere in our present system we go to write characters upon the water.

In fact, we have got into a wrong position on the coast of China. We may succeed in opening China to free intercourse with other nations, but we are closing the national mind against ourselves. We may force her into closer amity with Russia than she desires, and to which she would never resign herself but with the view of avoiding a greater evil; but to the Chinese, as a people, we are rendering ourselves increasingly distasteful, and the more compulsion we put upon them the greater their aversion to us. We unite ourselves with France, a nation which has no commercial interests in China, nothing which is worth the name, and whose only object is to open the door for the entrance of her semi-political, semi-religious Missionaries of the Popish creed. But if we choose to open our eyes we may form a correct estimate of our true position by surveying that which our American brother occupies. He has not em-

barked with us in our decisive course of action. Why should he do so? We are breaking open the gates for him. We shall have the obloquy, and, as he expects, that will leave him a monoply of the benefit.

The truth is, and let it be told—let the nation know it—there is no object to be gained by disguising it—of all the foreigners on the coast of China, the English are disliked the most; and yet, had we pursued a different course, one more congenial with our professed principles as the great Protestant nation of our earth, we might have gained the goodwill of the Chinese, and obtained an influence over them which would have distanced all competition.

Does any one smile incredulously? Assuredly the persuasive influence of a just and honourable intercourse has never been tried by us, and we cannot, therefore, predicate of it that it would have been a failure. Our whole course upon the coast of China has been one of injustice and of unsound policy, in which, for the sake of a present gain, we have sacrificed our future prospects, prejudicing against us a vast multitude of people, and, so far as their sympathies and goodwill are concerned, closing against ourselves a boundless field of operation, which will eventually prove to be one of the finest openings for philanthropic efforts and commercial intercourse which the world has ever known. Of nations, as well as of individuals, is it true, that whatsoever each soweth, that shall he also reap. On the coast of Africa, England has sown good seed, but on the coast of China she has sown evil seed, and her harvest on either continent must be accordingly. Already, at the mouth of the Peiho, the first reverse has been sustained, and the first rebuke administered.

How have we distinguished ourselves upon the coast of China? We are the great opium-producers, the great poison-vendors of the East. It is not merely a matter of private speculation—a few private individuals, who, lost to all sense of honour, have sacrificed their own character, and the character of their country, for the sake of gain: it is in our national capacity we have acted. We have raised a large revenue on the opium, and that, not by placing a heavy export duty on the sale of a drug, whose liability to be abused renders the increase of it beyond the limited quantity needful for medical purposes prejudicial to the interests of humanity, but by becoming ourselves, in our governmental capacity, opium-farmers. The ryots who grow it are the *employés* of our Government; to this, as the great factor, they bring the harvest which they gather in; and other agents, skilled in the manufacture of it, prepare and flavour it so as to adapt it to the purpose of vicious indulgence. The Hon. James Wilson, in his financial speech before the legislative council of India (February 18th, 1860), candidly admits, "It is the only instance I remember at the moment of one country having succeeded in raising a large revenue from the subjects of another." The truth is here fairly put forward. Our opium revenue, at present amounting to five millions a year, is raised from the subjects of the Chinese crown; and what is it we vend to them? China exports to England articles which are promotive of the health, comfort, and convenience of European life. Her teas promote amongst us temperate habits, and a large portion of our population preferring this, distaste stimulating fluids; but we vend that to the Chinese which exercises a most dissipating influence on the physical and mental system, and destroys the *morale* of the man. We have nursed the morbid appetite, and developed it into large dimensions; we have advantaged ourselves of their weakness to vend our poison.

This heathen people, devoid of Christian truth, and destitute of any conservative principle or power which would enable them to offer effectual resistance to so dangerous a temptation, we nevertheless classify as free agents, unnecessitated, unless they choose to do so, to become the purchasers of our opium; and thus adroitly evading our just responsibility, we perpetrate the wrong, pocket the money, and then wipe our mouth and say we have done no wickedness.

How grave the responsibility, how heavy the guilt connected with the opium transactions of a long series of years! The Portuguese commenced its sale on the coast, and we followed greedily in their steps. The high authorities of China denounced it, but the local officers found the bribes of the foreign merchant more influential than the denunciations from Pekin, and the extent of the contraband trade at Canton was indicated by the floating dépôt of receiving ships at Lintin, an island between Macao and the Bogue. We have found the Cantonese of late years especially turbulent. They have been rendered so under the demoralizing influence of a contraband traffic in which our people were the tempters. Not content with the sale established at Canton, the opium-traders diligently sought out new places along the coast where they might find purchasers. In 1832 the ship "Lord Amherst" was sent out, at the desire of the factory of the then East-India Company in China, to facilitate commercial enterprise,

opium constituting a leading feature of the cargo. The Rev. C. Gutzlaff was on board, and in his "Three Voyages along the Coast of China" a narrative of the voyage may be found. It is singular that the cargo and its sale are frequently referred to in the narrative, but the fact that opium was on board is carefully suppressed. Scriptures were distributed, and opium sold, as there was opportunity. In October 1832 the "Sylph," a fast-sailing vessel, well manned and armed, with opium on board, proceeded northward on a like expedition. The same Missionary was on board, and occupied himself, as he had opportunity, in distributing Christian books, while the supercargo vended the opium. They were all near being lost. Off the great wall the ship ran upon a sand-bank, and as she fell over on her beam-ends, a fierce north wind, blowing from the ice-fields of Kamtschatka, disabled all the Lascars. A sudden change in the wind saved the vessel, and, returning leisurely down the coast, at Shanghae, Chapu, Pehkwan, Namoh, and other places, a ready sale was found. To Namoh and Chinchoo small vessels continued to be despatched, until affairs became ripe for the receiving ship, and the same system of bribery, and connivance, and deceit, which had so long prevailed at Canton, was extended along the coast.

Finding themselves unable to carry out the restrictive policy, some of the Chinese ministers, in 1837, recommended to the emperor its abandonment, and the legalization of the traffic. Nai-tsi in particular, the president of the Sacrificial Court, advocated this course; but others as earnestly opposed this proposition, amongst them Chu Tsun, a cabinet minister. The removal of the restrictions he compared to breaking down the dikes which prevented the overflowing of water, because they had grown old. In particular he adverted to the great encouragement which would in consequence be given to the native growth of the poppy, and the loss of fertile lands to nutritive purposes. This policy he compared to the error of a physician, "who, when treating a mere external disease, drives it to the heart and centre of the body." The anti-legislation policy prevailed, and the efforts of the Pekin Government for the suppression of opium smuggling became, in 1838, more stringent than at any previous period. The trade, encouraged by the memorial of Nai-tsi, and the prospect of speedy legalization, had become more active, and the Canton river was in a state of ferment. Then arose the Elliot-Lin controversy, the subsequent collisions, and the war of 1841. That war is justly denominated the opium war. It was avowedly commenced, not only "to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence," but to get security that persons and property trading with China should in future be protected from insult and injury. No reference is made to the contraband trade in opium, and our continued violation of international relations. There is no admission that if the Chinese had acted intemperately, they had been subjected to extreme provocation. In the demand for the future security of persons and property trading with China, there is no exception of opium and the opium smuggler. The drug and its salesmen had caused all the complication, yet both must be protected. For the past there must be reparation, for the future security, and for the attainment of such objects the war commenced.

That war was carried on with great suffering to portions of the coast which were wholly innocent of any offence against the English. The port of Canton having been blockaded, the British fleet moved northward, and, anchoring in the harbour of Tinghae, demanded the surrender of the town and island, "stating the grounds of the attack. The Chinese officers in command of the place and its defences, though confessing their inability to cope with such a force, declared they should do their best, and, during the night, placed the town and shipping in the best position for defence. They complained of the hardship of being made answerable for wrongs done at Canton, upon which the blow should properly fall, and not upon those who had never injured the English."* In the engagement which followed many of the principal Chinese officers were killed. The chumpin, or admiral, had his leg carried away by a round shot, and died a few days after. On board his junk were found five wounded men who had been unable to make their escape with their comrades. One of them, a young mandarin, who had accompanied the admiral on a visit to the "Wellesley" the day before, was writhing in agony; and seeing the operations the doctors had performed, he pointed to his shattered limbs, and, clasping his hands, implored them by signs to do something for his relief; but it was too desperate a case, and past all human remedy, so that in a few hours he breathed his last. Twice Tinghae was attacked and taken, the second time with a loss to the Chinese of 1000 men. At Chinhae a body of Chinese, in utter ignorance of military operations, allowed their flanks to be turned and fled into the sea, where hundreds were

* Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii. p. 52

shot down and hundreds drowned, the water being covered with dead bodies. The defences at Chapu were taken, 1500 Chinese being slain, with a loss to the invaders of thirteen killed and fifty-two wounded. "This was the first time that the Mantchus had ever come into conflict with the English, and either fearing that indiscriminate slaughter would ensue on defeat, or unable to brook their disgrace, they destroyed themselves in great numbers, first immolating their wives and children, and then cutting their own throats." The fleet now proceeded up the Yang-tze-kiang, and, on the defeat of the Chinese troops, and the capture of the city of Che-keang, the same pitiable scenes followed. "The destruction of life was frightful. Some of the Mantchus shut the doors of their houses, while, through the crevices, persons could be seen deliberately cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children by throwing them into wells. In one house a man was shot while sawing his wife's throat as he held her over a well, into which he had already thrown his children: her wound was sewed up, and the lives of the children saved. In another house no less than fourteen dead bodies, principally women, were discovered; while such was their terror and hatred of the invaders, that every Mantchu preferred resistance, death, suicide, flight, to surrender. Out of a Mantchu population of four thousand it was estimated that not more than five hundred survived, the greater part having perished by their own hands."*

At length the war was brought to an end, Keying and Ilipu being the Chinese commissioners. During the conferences which ensued, the subject of the trade in opium was introduced. Well aware of the complications in which it had involved them, and the double injury which it was inflicting on their native land, by destroying the morals and draining the resources of the people, the Chinese Commissioners eagerly appealed to the British Plenipotentiary, praying him that the growth of opium in the British territories might be prohibited. His reply was explicit. Of any restriction being placed upon its growth in India there was no prospect. It was in China that remedial measures ought to be applied. The Chinese people needed to become virtuous, and then, as the demand ceased, the growth of the poppy would be abandoned. But surely this was a harsh and unsympathizing reply. If we had not actually engendered the morbid appetite for opium, we had availed ourselves of a pre-existing weakness, and, in order to raise a revenue, had nurtured it into gigantic dimensions. Surely it was too late to admonish the Chinese statesmen to teach their people to become virtuous, when we had helped to make them vicious, and were resolved to persist in affording them every facility for the indulgence of their vice. What element of improvement could they bring into requisition which would be so rapid and potent in its action as to overtake the injury which the opium had been aggravating throughout so many years, and produce a reaction of a healthful character? Had the British statesman been addressing himself to a nation possessed, like England, of the leaven of Christian truth, there might have been some force in the counsel which he gave: he might have urged, "You have amongst you the great conservative element, that which can strengthen man to the resistance of the most powerful temptations. Bring that into more active requisition." But he was speaking to the representatives of a heathen nation, lying powerless before us: a vast unwieldy body, without tone or vigour, unable to resist either the seductive influences with which we approached them in the time of peace, or the military force with which we overpowered them in the time of war. All that they could do was to cast themselves on our sympathy and compassion, but they found no response. The British Commissioner recommended the legalization of the traffic. The Chinese court had refused to do so; her statesmen had hitherto been unwilling to give imperial sanction to a great national vice, against the overpowering influence of which, fed and fanned as it was by Christian England, they had earnestly yet vainly struggled. Nor did England only refuse her sympathy as to the future, but required indemnity for the past; and the opium which Lin had destroyed was compensated for by a payment of six millions of dollars. "How much nobler would that Government have stood in the eyes of mankind in that war, if its head and ministers had instructed their Plenipotentiary, that when their other demands were all paid and conceded, no indemnity should have been asked for smuggled opium entirely destroyed by those who had, it may be illegally, but with honest intention, seized it?"*

The new arrangements professed to give the Chinese authorities free action to prevent all smuggling transactions. Article 12 of the supplementary treaty of October 8, 1843, imposed on each British Consul the duty of apprising the Chinese authorities of any

* Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii. p. 562.

* Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii. p. 571.

smuggling transactions which had come to his knowledge, while they were free to take immediate action, and might proceed to seize and confiscate all smuggled goods of whatever value or nature. But this authorization was merely nominal. The Chinese authorities were mocked by a permission to deal with an impractibility. They were free to do that which it was well known they could not do. The opium receiving ships were all powerfully armed, and set at defiance the native authorities. The British Government permitted the smugglers to adopt this course, and in doing so evaded its most solemn engagements.

This treaty of 1843 did not heal the breach between the nations, or lay the foundation of a good understanding for the time to come. It not only left all the pre-existing causes of irritation unremoved, and ready to break out again on the first opportunity, but it introduced the seeds of new complications. The 6th article of the supplementary treaty provided for the residence of British subjects and their families at the cities and towns of Canton, Fuh-chau, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghae, without molestation or restraint. This right, at the ports of Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghae, was conceded without difficulty; at Fuh-chau and Canton it was resisted. After a time the unwillingness of the people of Fuh-chau was so far overcome, that a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, the late Rev. W. Welton, who had won good opinions by his readiness to use his medical knowledge in the alleviation of Chinese misery, especially that portion of it which originated in the use of opium, obtained permission for himself and his colleagues to live within the city; but the people of Canton remained immoveably obstructive on this point. Assuredly they knew far more of Europeans than the people of Fuh-chau, and the experience of former years was not such as to conciliate their goodwill. As a people, they had become fearfully demoralized by the contraband traffic. It had taught them lawlessness and disregard of authority: they had become an opium-tainted people, and ready for the perpetration of any crime. They distrusted and disliked the foreigner, and, except so far as commercial transactions were concerned, wished to keep him at the greatest possible distance. China had hitherto wrapped herself in a rigid exclusiveness, and her Government, absurdly assuming a position of superiority to which it had no claim, offended other nations by its superciliousness. All felt how desirable it was that China, in her state-craft, should become more affable and courteous. The only question was, how this might best be accomplished. One is reminded of the old fable of the traveller and his cloak, and which should prove most successful, the gentle or the violent course of action in effecting its removal. We have not had patience to wait the result of persuasive action. Our arm is strong, and it seemed the shortest way to force the door open. We have not yet succeeded, and the question is, whether our national procedure on the coast is not engendering an anti-English feeling, which will prove a more serious difficulty to beneficial intercourse with the Chinese people than the exclusiveness of their Government.

Canton, according to treaty, was to have been opened after April 6th, 1849, but, as the period approached, the unwillingness of the Chinese officials became more apparent. They asserted that this concession, so far from being advantageous to British merchants, would be, in reality, injurious, and that the Chinese Commissioners who had permitted its introduction into the treaty would have disembarrassed themselves of it if they could, but were obliged to yield to the force of circumstances. Governor Bonham, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated July 20, 1848, frankly stated the difficulties which presented themselves—the Cantonese were turbulent, and opposed to the entrance of the Europeans: the Chinese authorities were unable to coerce them. If, therefore, the treaty-right was to be insisted upon, a military demonstration on the part of the English would be necessary. In other words, if we wished to enter in, the door must be forced open. It was admitted by Govenor Bonham, that the right to enter the city was a matter of comparative unimportance. In a letter addressed by him to Lord Palmerston, under date of December 29, 1848, we find the following frank acknowledgment of this—

"It is my belief that no material advantage to our commerce would be gained by British subjects being admitted indiscriminately into Canton; at all events, none commensurate with the danger to be risked of involving the British Government in hostile discussion with that of China, for I am satisfied that, with the present temper and feeling of the populace in regard to this change, not one month would pass without some gross act of insult or violence being committed against any British subjects who might avail themselves of the privilege; such, in all probability, ending in bloodshed, and rendering it necessary for us to take steps which would certainly tend very much to embarrass our position.

"I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to make myself acquainted with the views of some of the principal of the mercantile commu-

nity on this important point, and I have come to the conclusion, that although they are quite alive to the inconvenience, politically speaking, that may possibly arise from our foregoing claims to a right which has been the subject of much negotiation, it is, notwithstanding, their impression that their particular interests, and those of commerce generally, would suffer less by allowing the question to remain in abeyance, than by enforcing what we demand by an appeal to arms."*

Yet, while its unimportance was admitted, it was thought by many on the coast that it ought to be insisted upon, otherwise fresh complications would arise; and a morbid sensitiveness of this kind so exaggerated the difficulty, that, rather than forego our claim, Governor Bonham suggested the desirableness of proceeding to Pekin to submit the matter to the consideration of the emperor; or, if this were found impracticable, from want of water in the river, to blockade the mouth of the Peiho, or the fort of Tientsin, or the great canal at Chekeang on the Yang-tze-kiang. Lord Palmerston's answer to these propositions deserves to be placed on record—

"I am clearly of opinion that it would not be advisable to proceed to hostile measures against Canton, or to take the unusual step of a mission to Pekin, in regard to a privilege which, like the admission of British subjects into the city of Canton, we have, indeed, a right to demand, but which we could scarcely enjoy with security or advantage, if we were to succeed in enforcing it by arms. It may be true that the Chinese might be encouraged by their success in evading compliance with their engagements in this matter, to attempt to violate other engagements; but this consideration does not seem to me to be sufficient to determine Her Majesty's Government to put the issue of peace and war upon this particular point."†

That a collision would ensue if the treaty-right of entrance was enforced became increasingly evident. The populace of Canton were getting into a high state of ebullition. A medical Missionary, who had expressed an opinion that the disputed point might be gained by firmness on our part, having resided some months in the suburbs, at a considerable distance from Europeans, daily mixing and conversing with the inhabitants, was led to disown all his former views. The aversion of the people was far stronger than he had imagined, while, in the numerous forts in the vicinity, stores and ammunition were being accumulated. The point, however, continued to be pressed on the attention of the Chinese Commissioner Seu, and, with a view to its adjustment, a conference took place, February 21, 1849, between him and Governor Bonham, on board Her Majesty's ship "Hastings."

On that occasion Seu frankly acknowledged the difficulty of his position. He declared that he had no hope of being able to ensure the peaceable entrance of the English, and that, rather than engage in the matter, he would prefer being removed to another place, or even retiring altogether from the service. He also insisted on the necessity of a reference to the emperor. Pending that reference the aspect of the Cantonese became more decidedly hostile. Large bodies of militia, or braves, continued to be enlisted, the expenses connected with which were met by a voluntary taxation. Numerous placards of an inflammatory character were spread abroad; the woollen trades published a table of resolutions to forego, or prevent trade with, or brokerage on behalf of, the barbarians; while all guilds were ordered to break off connexion with any hong merchant who should act otherwise. Meanwhile, the emperor's reply to Seu's memorial arrived. It avowed the impossibility of granting admission into the city contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants. "The decrees of heaven are in unison with the aspirations of the natural mind. Since the people of Kwang-tung [Canton] are now unanimous in their determination, and do not wish foreigners to enter the city of Canton, how can, then, an imperial order be stuck up everywhere, and a forced proclamation be issued? The central empire cannot oppose the people in order to yield to men at a distance. Foreign nations ought also to examine into the feelings of the people, with a due regard to mercantile interests." At the same time documents were forwarded from the Privy Council at Pekin, deprecating any rash movement on the part of the Cantonese, and dealing with the whole subject as a matter of trifling moment, which ought not to be magnified into a cause of war, and misfortune to the frontiers of the empire. "Would the annoyance by barbarians solely be confined to Canton? Would it not likewise extend to Fokien and Che-keang? How could we oppose them then? Those barbarians are, moreover, exceedingly cunning, crafty, and expert in war. . . . . Some years ago the said barbarians invaded Kwang-tung, Fokien, Che-keang, and Keang-se: the slaughter was terrific, and

* Parliamentary Papers relating to Naval Proceedings at Canton, 1857, p. 160.

† Ibid., p. 158.

their tremendous power was sufficiently displayed. Owing to the sacred penetration of our emperor, which embraces heaven and earth, we entered into a good understanding with those barbarians, that was to last ten thousand years. Our people were thus protected, and, by this means, lasting quietness was insured by a single effort."*

Mr. Bonham now addressed to the Home Government a lengthened *resumé* of the complications and correspondence on this subject. He expressed his conviction that the time was come when the claim must be either abandoned or enforced. To the adoption of the latter course he was disposed; not because he thought that any important advantage to commerce would accrue from our admission into Canton, or that there would be any increase of insolent bearing on the part of the Cantonese, in consequence of our foregoing the claim, but from an apprehensiveness that in matters of future discussion our position would be prejudiced. He thus advocates the policy of coercion—

"Believing, as I do, that the hostility of the people is encouraged by their officials, it is only by coercing the latter that we can make them so exert their influence upon the middle, as to produce through these a change in the demeanour of the lower classes. The last must, in my opinion, sooner or later, be taught a lesson which has perhaps been too long delayed; and I am only deterred from recommending that it should be given immediately by the serious doubts which I entertain whether the good we hope to obtain as an end, by enforcing the fulfilment of the treaty, justifies the possible destruction of the city as a means. Your lordship will understand that I am not suggesting a military expedition, but the employment of a part of the naval force in these seas, which can be easily assembled here, and at small cost. The presence of this force at Canton might extort what we require; but, failing this, it would be necessary to proceed to extremities. Since the emperor's ultimatum has been received, I foresee no good in making, without a formal mission, such a reference to Pekin as I had before the honour to recommend to your lordship. By operations, such as I now propose, against Canton, our trade at the northern ports need not be interrupted; while the chastisement of the Cantonese, or the intimidation of their authorities, would save us, I am convinced, from much trouble in time to come, and would, after a period of necessary inconvenience to the local trade, greatly ameliorate our commercial condition."*

To either of these extreme courses the Home Government felt disinclined. Lord Palmerston, in a despatch dated June 25th, 1849, considers that a formal renunciation of the treaty-right would be undesirable, while he deprecates a recourse to force of arms and the coercion of the Chinese authorities into a fulfilling of their engagements.

"A renunciation of the treaty-right would be inexpedient, because, though the exercise of the right may not for the present be attainable without efforts which would be disproportionate to the object, or without risks in the enjoyment of it which would counterbalance its value, yet at a future time the state of things may be different, and the privilege may be willingly granted and safely enjoyed.

"An enforcement of the treaty-right by military and naval operations would require an expensive effort, might lead to loss of valuable lives on our part, and much loss of life and destruction of property to be inflicted on the Chinese, while the chief advantage which it seems, by your account, we should derive from a successful result would be, that by giving such an example of our determination and power to enforce a faithful observance of the treaty, we should deter the Chinese from attempting future and other violations of that treaty. But Her Majesty's Government are not disposed for this object to make the effort, or to produce the consequences above mentioned; and they prefer waiting to deal with future violations of the treaty, according to the circumstances of the case, if such violations should occur."†

In a reply to the chairman of the London East-India and China Association, in which the Committee of that body had called upon the British Government to adopt energetic measures for the purpose of securing to British subjects all the benefits stipulated for by treaty, Lord Palmerston thus sustains the policy he had prescribed—

"I am to state to you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government have no intention to renounce the right of entering the city of Canton, although they are not prepared at present to resort to hostilities with China, in order to enforce that right. Her Majesty's Government are not ignorant that some inconvenience may result from the adoption of a policy of moderation in this instance; but as the practical advantage which could be

* Papers on Naval Proceedings, &c., pp. 176, 177.

* Papers on Naval Proceedings, &c., pp. 190, 191.
† Ibid.

derived by British trade from free access into the interior of Canton is probably not very great, while the effort to obtain the immediate fulfilment of the Chinese engagement, in this respect, would be costly, and might lead to a great loss of life and destruction of property, and to a considerable interruption to British trade in that quarter of China, and might, moreover, seriously affect the trade at the other ports, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the general commercial interests of the country are best consulted by not pushing matters to extremities on the present occasion."*

Meanwhile Seu had very adroitly availed himself of an ambiguous expression in a communication from Mr. Bonham of April 9th, the intention of which was to convey to the Chinese commissioner the Governor's conviction of the inutility of further negotiation, until he had obtained fresh instructions from home as to the course to be adopted. The communication ran as follows—"The question at issue rests where it was, and must remain in abeyance. The discussion of it cannot be further prosecuted between your Excellency and myself." Seu immediately replies—

"I received, on the 19th day, 3d month (April 11), a communication from the honourable Envoy, to the effect that the question about the entrance into the city should not again be agitated in future. These words are still as in our ears: not only have the Chinese who have eyes all seen them, but also all the nations that carry on commercial intercourse who have ears have heard them. . . .

"You, the honourable Envoy, judging the times, and considering the circumstances, put immediately a stop to the question of entering the city; the trade and commercial intercourse have thus been peacefully carried on as customary, and this may be called the very essence of the deepest wisdom. It would be inexplicable if any one looked upon it as weakness (on your part). If one is acquainted with the aspect of affairs at the time he would not do so."†

Seu soon communicated to the people of Canton, as well as to the court at Pekin, the successful issue, as he conceived it to be, of his negotiations. The gentry and literati of Canton resolved to erect a tablet in honour of Seu, and Yeh the Lieutenant-Governor, bearing upon it an inscription derogatory to the British Government; while from Pekin honours came thick and fast. Seu was rewarded with a double-eyed peacock's feather, and the fourth rank of nobility; the Governor of Kwang-tung with a single-eyed peacock's feather, and the fifth rank of nobility. An imperial edict was also promulgated, commending the people of Canton for their firmness in resisting the demands of the English—

"Nearly ten years have elapsed since the barbarian affairs rose (into importance), during which the country along the coast has been involved in troubles; the public revenue exhausted; the army wearied with toil; and although of late years a state of quiet has been in some degree attained, still in the measures taken to manage the barbarians, the equipoise between inflexibility and complaisance has not been maintained, and evils flowing from them have gradually made their appearance. We, having been seriously apprehensive that the inhabitants of the seaboard would be trampled down (if we acted otherwise), have for that reason tranquilly endured all, abiding our time. For it is unquestionably a principle of reason that slight oppression must be followed by great redress.

"The English barbarians having again preferred their request that they might enter the city of Canton, some days back the Governor-General, Seu-kwang-tsin, and his colleague (the Governor Yeh), sent in several reports to us detailing the measures adopted, which were in perfect accordance with good policy. To-day they have again reported by the post that the merchants and people of that place being fully alive to a high feeling of patriotism, have subscribed money to make preparations for preventing the insults (of the barbarians); that the gentry and literati had really exerted themselves in giving assistance; and that the proposals to enter the city were at rest, the barbarians in question carrying on trade as before, and both natives and foreigners being in a state of quiet and tranquillity, while not one man had been lost, not a single shot fired."*

Six triumphal granite arches had been raised in the city and suburbs of Canton, in order to record the wisdom and patriotism of the imperial Commissioner, the inscriptions conveying the Emperor's admiration in the most flattering and emphatic terms. About thirty miles from Canton there is a magnificent temple, called the Polo temple, covering a large space of ground; it is regarded one of the wonders of the province of Kwang-tung, and is dedicated to a god who is supposed to exercise a great influence over distant nations. In times of national danger this god is the object of special invocation, and when the

* Papers on Naval Proceedings, &c., p. 194.
† Ibid. pp. 205.

* Ibid. pp. 200.

peril has passed away, libations and offerings are made up on a magnificent scale, to testify the gratitude of the rulers and people for his auspicious interference. Here Yeh had erected a temple, with an inscription to "the god of the southern seas," some extracts from which, as illustrative of Chinese ideas and practices in the important concernment of religion, we introduce—

"The Leke classic (or Book of Rites) tells us, in regard to the sacrificial system, the organization of which devolves upon the sacred prince (emperor) that oblations should be offered to those (powers or spirits) who can guard against the evils (originated by men), or are able to avert the direr calamities (inflicted by heaven.) . . . .

"But how great is the difference between the early and these latter times! The usages of past antiquity were simple and pure; the numbers of natives and sojourners were then but limited, and the blessings which they derived from the watchful aid of the deity may be said to have been confined to those of an ordinary nature, such as rich harvests and profound tranquillity, which each succeeding year brought them. Now, however, the manners of the present age are becoming daily more removed from those which preceded them. Numerous cities have arisen along the coast; the territory has increased in extent; productions have multiplied; and the ports are frequented by the merchants and their ships. But these great benefits are attended with evils of corresponding magnitude. Intrigues from without are coupled with conspiracies within; (some men) are injured by sinister design, whilst others are ensnared in (their neighbours') wiles, and commotion oft ranges the maritime frontier. How imposing, then, is the majesty, and how great the honour due to the deity who continues (at such a time) to preserve harmony among the masses of the people, who prevents the growth of evils (inherent in mankind, and averts the infliction of calamities (from on high), and who shares the responsibility which weighs on those to whom the local guardianship is entrusted.

"Instance the unbounded fear and dread which thrilled through all ranks of the people, consequent upon the seditious endeavours of the English barbarians, who, although permitted to trade at Hong Kong, asked, in addition (to this privilege), for liberty of entrance into the city."*

Yeh then enumerates the plans adopted by him, in conjunction with Seu, and their successful character, and then tenders his obligations to the god of the Polo temple.

"On these occasions the strength of the deity availed us, when it was indeed needed. At the same time plenteous harvests were reaped, and an abundance always recorded: not only, therefore, have the blessings bestowed on us been bounteous, but likewise of such a nature as shall endure for endless ages. Great, indeed, have been the exertions of the deity on behalf of the people of this province.

"Arms have now been laid aside, and the progress of the storm arrested; the public are in the enjoyment of peace, and their affairs are flourishing and prosperous, and the spirit of satisfaction and delight reigns among the people. It is at such a time that they should turn towards their gods, and render to each one of them the proper sacrifices. In the Sheking particular mention is only made of 'the river' as one of the objects of general public worship throughout the empire; but the preface (to that work) explains that (the rule for this worship) comprises within its application the sea, towards which all rivers flow.

"In person, therefore, I offered up a pure acceptable sacrifice (to the deity of this temple), and rendered to him thanks for the efficacious protection he had granted us. By the wish of the gentry I presided over the repairs of the temple buildings. These were commenced in the Keyew year of Taoukwang (1849), and their completion was announced in the Kangseuh year (1850). And I now compose this inscription to be engraven on stone, in order that the great virtue of the god may become widely known, and inspire proper respect."*

Thus Yeh, in his inscription, curiously blended his own praises with the praises of the god, and vaunted himself over the barbarains. It was translated by Mr. Interpreter Parkes, and duly forwarded to the ministry at home. But these lucubrations, if they showed any thing, made us cognizant of this fact, that the admission of the foreigner into Canton was a much more serious matter with the Chinese than we had imagined, and that what was unimportant to us was vital with them.

Seu, on being remonstrated with, disclaims all knowledge of the tablet, but, assuming the whole affair to be now arranged on a satisfactory basis, compliments the Governor on his sagacity, and communicates to him the purport of an edict received from the imperial

* Correspondence relative to entrance into Canton, 1850—1855, p. 7.

* Correspondence relative to entrance into Canton, p. 8.

court, in which the emperor expressed his desire, "that the merchants of foreign nations, coming as they do from far across many seas, and in all instances dwelling in quietness, and delighting in their vocations, are to receive the same support as those of China, with a view to the establishment of perpetual amity, and to the enjoyment, by both in common, of universal tranquillity;" and thus, through the temperate action of the Home Government, which refused to go to war with the Chinese for the purpose of enforcing a treaty-right, which carried with it no real advantage, difficulties were smoothed over, and commercial intercourse resumed.

In January 1852, Sir Samuel Bonham returning home on leave of absence, Dr. Bowring, the Consul at Canton, was appointed Superintendant of Trade, receiving, at the same time, very explicit instructions as to the course of policy to be pursued—

"It is the anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid all irritating discussions with that of China. It will, of course, be your duty carefully to watch over, and to insist upon, the performance, by the Chinese authorities, of the engagements which exist between the two countries. But you will not push argument on doubtful points in a manner to fetter the free action of your Government, and you will not resort to measures of force without previous reference home, except in the extreme case of such measures being required to repel aggression, or to protect the lives and properties of British subjects."*

Dr. Bowring, however, in a despatch dated April 19, 1852, resumed the old question of admission into Canton. It was a pity to resuscitate it: it had been decently buried. What though the Chinese had erected over it a somewhat vain-glorious inscription: it was not worth while, because of this, to disinter it. The new Consul, however, insisted on the importance of admission into Canton. He considered that it might be effected without any serious difficulty. The moment also, in his opinion, was very opportune for such an effort. "The city of Canton had been, for two years, in a state of universal tranquillity. The popular passions, so long and so systematically excited against foreigners, under the encouragement of the mandarins, have been allowed to subside. No longer administered to by violent placards, public meetings, ostentatious displays of rude military organization for the so-called 'defence of the city,' the fear, and, to some extent, the hatred and distrust of strangers, have been moderated by a more friendly and habitual intercourse." Some would have thought that these were weighty reasons why the *vexata quæstio* should not be re-agitated. The new Superintendant was of a different opinion. The mandarins were in difficulty: they were menaced by the insurrectionists in the neighbouring provinces, and, dreading a collision with foreign nations, would, it was thought, be disposed to yield to a comparatively slight pressure. We must confess that the proposal to take advantage of the new emergency in which the Chinese authorities found themselves does not comport with the generosity and highmindedness which ought to mark the proceedings of a great nation like England. So confident was Dr. Bowring of obtaining ready entrance into Canton, that the despatch of Earl Granville, which put a wholesome restraint on his proceedings, appeared to him to constitute the only difficulty to a happy solution of the question. Before, however, his despatch of April 19th had reached England, the home ministry had been changed, and Lord Malmesbury, from the Foreign Office, prohibited still more peremptorily all incautious interference with Chinese affairs—

"I have received your despatch of the 19th of April, and I have to state to you in reply, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government that you should strictly adhere to the instructions given to you by Earl Granville, by which you were enjoined to avoid all irritating discussions with the Chinese authorities; and in conformity with the rule thus prescribed to you, you will abstain from mooting the question of the right of British subjects to enter into the city of Canton.

"You will likewise abstain from pressing to be received as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary at any other description of place, or in any other manner, than your predecessors.

"I have further to remind you that you were enjoined by Earl Granville's instructions to take up your residence at Hong Kong for the period of Sir Samuel Bonham's absence; consequently you will not be authorized to visit the various ports of China, as you seem to intimate your intention to do, and you will therefore abstain from so doing."*

A subsequent despatch, a month later in date, reiterated, in an unmistakably decided tone, the injunctions which had been laid on the new official—

* Correspondence relative to entrance into Canton, p. 3.

* Correspondence, &c., p. 10.

"With reference to the possible occurrence of circumstances which render personal intercourse with the Chinese authorities indispensable, I have to repeat to you the injunction contained in my despatch of the 21st of June, not to press to be received by them at any other description of place, or in any other manner, than your predecessors.

"I have further to enjoin you not to raise any question as to the admission of British subjects into the city of Canton, and not to attempt yourself to enter it. In my opinion no solid advantage could be gained which would compensate for the risk of provoking an insult to Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, and bringing on, as a necessary consequence, a collision between England and China."*

And thus for two years longer Canton remained at peace.

In February 1854 the Earl of Clarendon was at the Foreign Office, and Sir J. Bowring was appointed Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary and Chief-Superintendant of British trade in China. His lordship's first despatch to China recalled all the old questions, the rights to which we were entitled by treaty, more especially "free and unrestricted intercourse with the Chinese authorities, and free admission into some of the cities of China, especially Canton."† These, he was of opinion, it was desirable to secure, although, in dealing with such questions, much caution was required. Thus empowered, Sir J. Bowring was not long in forwarding a missive to Yeh, in which he was reminded of the accumulated injuries under which the English were suffering, the most important grievances being "non-admission into Canton city" and "personal intercourse between the officials of the two countries." He sought a personal interview with the commissioner, for the discussing questions of so great gravity; an interview which, after some delay, Yeh was willing to concede, specifying Howqua's packhouse on the Canton river as a suitable rendezvous. This afforded the British plenipotentiary the long desired opportunity of bringing matters to a point. He at once declined any but an official reception, at the public office of the Viceroy, within the gates of the city. Yeh, in his reply, very properly deprecates the revival of so irritating a subject, and reminds the British official of the tranquillity which had prevailed since this question had ceased to be agitated. Finding Yeh immoveable, Sir J. Bowring proceeded to Shanghae, and there addressed a letter to the Viceroy Eleang, in which he complains of Yeh, and the danger to which his incautiousness exposed the friendly relations between the two countries. Eleang's answer is worthy of note.

"I have no means of knowing what kind of treatment your Excellency or your predecessors received at the hands of the Commissioner at Canton. It is to my mind a matter of more consequence that we, of the central and outer nations, have made fair dealing and good faith our rule of conduct, and thus for a length of time preserved entire our amicable relations. Familiarity or otherwise in social intercourse, and all such trifles, are, in my opinion, to be decided by the laws of conventionality. As your Excellency cherishes such a dislike to discourteous treatment, you must doubtless be a courteous man yourself; an inference which gives me sincere pleasure, for we shall both be able to maintain treaty stipulations, and continue in the practice of mutual goodwill, to your Excellency's everlasting honour."*

Canton now became endangered by the proximity of the rebel forces, and Yeh addressed himself to the British Governor, in the hope of obtaining from him some seasonable help. He referred to the joint action which had been adopted in the pursuit and destruction of the Ko-lahn pirates, and expressed his hope, that as the thieves in the river had become strong and troublesome, the English ships of war might be available for their destruction likewise. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed. A notice, signed by the consuls of the Western Powers, was immediately put forth, in which they declared, that as they and their countrymen were resident at Canton only for the purposes of trading, they were resolved to take no part in the movements now agitating China, and that, as they purposed to maintain a strict neutrality in all respects, they claimed that all foreign residences, and the avenues leading to them, should be respected as neutral ground.

It would have been well, however, if no attempt had been made to take advantage of the perplexity in which the Chinese authorities found themselves, for the purpose of constraining them to the surrender of points which they had hitherto been unwilling to concede. As they had felt it their duty to decline affording any assistance in the present critical circumstances of China, the greater delicacy was needed on the part of the British

authorities; and we cannot but think that the determination "to take this opportunity of compelling the Chinese to give effect to certain measures which had been provided for in Sir John Davis's convention with Keying, in April 1847, but which had been either neglected or imperfectly carried out—such as the removal of boats and other nuisances in front of the foreign residences; clearing the navigation from barriers and other obstructions to free communication" was neither generous nor wise. It must have served to confirm the Chinese officials in the view they had already taken of the restless and grasping tendencies of the English. These changes would have involved the removal of a considerable Chinese population, and to this Yeh positively objected—

"The boundary of the foreign residences has always been well defined. The natives who live within it are mostly engaged in foreign trade, and there are also some who have shops for the sale of miscellaneous articles, which are much resorted to by foreigners. These are all harmless people, and there need be no apprehension of their creating any disturbance. It would be inexpedient to compel them to remove without their consent, and such a measure would excite suspicion and alarm."*

Sir John Bowring had also flattered himself with the idea "that the extreme perplexities of the Chinese authorities, with the country all around them in confusion and conflagration, and the city menaced daily by the rebel forces," would have induced the mandarins to grant him "an official and amicable interview, in order to discuss matters which interest them so deeply." But on this point they continued to manifest the old determination. The superintendant plied them with verbal messages and formal communications; but he was not successful. Compelled to return to Hong Kong without having succeeded in carrying out this favourite point, he addressed to Yeh the following peremptory note—

"I came hither with the confident hope that by my presence the friendly relations between the Governments of China and Great Britain might have been consolidated and extended, and I expressed to your Excellency, through your deputed officers, my willingness officially to meet you, and personally to discuss those arrangements which the disordered state of China, and the position of Canton and its neighbourhood, seemed to demand from your Excellency on the one hand, and from me as the plenipotentiary of a friendly power on the other.

"My Government will learn with sorrow and surprise that your Excellency has not appreciated the motives which brought me hither, nor the amicable spirit which has been the guide of all my proceedings.

"I cannot, however, quit Canton without reminding your Excellency, that if I have not insisted on a proper reception within the walls of Canton, according to the engagement entered into by his Excellency Keying, in the month of April 1847, it is solely because I was unwilling to take advantage of the embarrassments which surround your Excellency, and to add to the many complications and difficulties with which you have to struggle.

"But in order to remove any misunderstanding on the part of your Excellency, it is my duty to inform you that I possess sufficient means peremptorily to enforce the obligations entered into by your predecessor to admit me into the city, and that nothing but extreme forbearance has prevented my employing the powers at my disposal; and I ventured to believe that the experience you have had of the power of that Sovereign whose representative I am, would have led to the adoption of a policy far different from that in which your Excellency has seen fit to persevere, notwithstanding the lessons of the past, the perils of the present, and the uncertainties of the future.

"It would not, however, be becoming in me to leave this neighbourhood without again formally advising your Excellency that the state of our intercourse is most unsatisfactory and intolerable; that many great grievances remain wholly unredressed; and that Her Britannic Majesty's Government, who have already been informed of the results of my visit to Tien-tsin, will be further advised as to what has taken place at Canton, in order that such measures may be adopted as in its judgment become the dignity of a great nation, and as may be deemed necessary for the assertion of rights secured by solemn engagements, and for accommodating our relations to the exigencies of present circumstances."*

This communication must be acknowledged to be sufficiently threatening. The British nation, through the unwise action of its officials, was placed before the Chinese in a most truculent aspect, as prepared to have recourse to war, in order to carry a point, which was virtually of no consequence, and which Lord Palmerston and Lord Malmesbury had wisely

* Correspondence, &c., p. 33.

* Correspondence, &c., pp. 34, 35.

put aside, as provoking needless irritation, and unduly disturbing our relations with the Chinese Government.

On the defeat of the insurgents by the imperialists in the vicinity of Canton, Sir J. Bowring, with a perseverance which had better have been reserved for a more suitable object, again importuned Yeh to concede to him an official reception at his yamun within the city. Yeh's good fortune was now in the ascendant, and, emboldened by his successful operations against the insurgents, he responded to the British official with a curt and decided negative.

"As regards the question of personal intercourse between the officials of our two nations, to which it refers, when I undertook to meet your Excellency last year at the Jin-sin packhouse, you declined the interview. The rebels have been causing trouble and disquiet ever since, and I have been so occupied with the movements of the military necessary to their suppression, that I have not had a moment's leisure. Even now, although tranquillity is perfect restored to the city, still the movements of the troops for the extermination of vagabonds throughout the other departments and districts of the province all so require my personal attention as to keep me busier than before.

"As regards the arrival of the British Consul at Canton, there is no precedent for an interview with him. There never was a deputation to receive your Excellency for instance, during the many years that you were Consul here. The Commissioner of Finance, again, is charged in no way whatever with the administration of foreign affairs, and as, in addition to this, the Commissioner Tsuy is dead, and his vacancy has not yet been filled up, there is no use in the consideration of the question. I accordingly reply to you, availing myself of the opportunity to wish that prosperity may daily increase to your Excellency."

In all these proceedings Sir J. Bowring appears to have carried with him the full approval of the Foreign Office.

Our readers will readily perceive, from the preceding digest, that the train was laid, and that a trivial circumstance would be sufficient to ignite it. The "Arrow" was the ignitable spark. It bore the same relation to events on the Chinese coast, as the greased cartridge to the disaffected elements which had accumulated in India. Yeh, by the seizure of the lorcha, only precipitated a crisis; and if there had been no other point in dispute it might have been arranged. It was not, at best, a very clear case. The vessel had been for a time in the hands of pirates, and then had become the subject of litigation between the parties whose property she had been before her seizure by pirates, and the subsequent purchasers. The register under which she was authorized to use the British flag had run out, and she was, at the time of seizure, in an irregular position. The Chinese authorities accused one of the crew of piracy, nor does the accusation appear to be disproved. Yeh, on being remonstrated with, liberated nine of the crew, reserving three for further examination.

Not much time, however, was permitted for negotiation. The British authorities were prompt to act. An opportunity long looked for had occurred, and they were determined to break ground, with a view to the settlement of all those great grievances which, as Sir J. Bowring informed Yeh in his letter of December 27, 1854, remained unredressed. The "Arrow" was seized on the morning of October 8, 1856, and, on the 15th, Her Majesty's ship "Barracouta" made a reprisal by seizing a large junk flying Government ensigns, and mounting ten or twelve guns. On October 22d Yeh gave up ten of the crew, and, finding this unsatisfactory, forwarded the entire twelve; but this was one only of three things which had been required of him, and, therefore, Mr. Consul Parkes refused to receive them. Now the other two required reparations were of mere nominal value, namely, that Yeh should apologize for what had taken place, and give assurance that the British flag should in future be respected. They might have been dispensed with. The remittance of the twelve men was the most practical apology, and as for Yeh's assurance, it was worth as much waste paper. But, nevertheless, because of these two valueless points we went to war with China, and how much this insisting on a letter of apology has cost us, let subsequent events testify.

On October 23d the British admiral took possession of the four Barrier Forts, as well as the Macao passage Forts, and the next day the true gravamen was avowed, and the real object of the war unmasked. Sir J. Bowring, writing to Mr. Consul Parkes, October 24, 1856, says, "I have conveyed to Sir Michael Seymour an opinion, that if his Excellency and yourself agree on the fitness of the opportunity, it would be well if the *vexata quæstio* of our entrance into the city should now be settled, at least as far as to secure us an official reception there. This would be a crowning result to the successful operations of Her Majesty's naval forces."

On the 24th Yeh addresses to the Consul a

letter of remonstrance on the subject of the "Arrow:" he pleaded that she had been originally a Chinese vessel, and was supposed to be such at the time when she was boarded; that he had remitted the twelve men of which the crew consisted. He then proceeds, and with justice, to remonstrate against our precipitate proceedings, which, without any formal declaration of war, had already involved some loss of Chinese life.

"Who could have incited you, the said Consul, to attack, on the morning of the 23d instant, the Barrier Forts, burning the forts, and wounding and killing six of the soldiers? And again, on the 24th instant, to attack and burn the Macao Passage Forts, when three of our soldiers received contusions? It was because I, the minister, am at peace with your honourable nation, that the soldiers, in no instance, offered resistance. But if you, the said Consul, should thus, of your own will, again resort to violence, and occasion commotion among the people of this city, who will not submit to such proceedings, then I, the minister, shall find it difficult to employ persuasion on your account. I therefore inform you of this beforehand.

"Furthermore, your honourable nation has hitherto reverenced the spirits of heaven and the Sabbath-day, and justice and propriety are held by you in esteem. But does the destruction of forts correspond with your professions? You, the said Consul, should well consider this"*

And, on the 25th of October, he adds—

"On the morning of the 22d October I addressed you a declaration, and with it sent you the twelve men, thus, therefore, returning to you the whole number that had previously been seized. You, the said Consul, received (the letter and men), and thus had knowledge (of the fact). Was not this proceeding in accordance with (the demands made in) your letters of the 8th and 12th October? Why then did you, as before, refuse to receive them, and proceed without reason to burn and destroy the forts of this city?

"But I, the Minister, also know full well what you the said Consul have in view. For a certainty it is nothing less than a desire on your part to imitate the course taken by the Envoy Davis in the spring of 1847. Little, indeed, you know, that in China the people form the basis of the nation, and that the people of Kwang-tung are very different from (other communities)."*

Yeh's mind was soon made up. He saw the real question at issue. It was the old question of admission into Canton. That disputed and irritating point, which a wise and conciliating policy had for a season put aside, was now placed in the foreground of the controversy. It was a point carrying with it no real advantage to us. It was a point of unquestionable difficulty to the Chinese officials, for to yield it would be to embroil themselves with the population of Canton. If, then, to gain what was of so little value to us, we were prepared to go to war, we cannot be surprised that Yeh, with whom it was a vital point, was prepared to go to war rather than concede it. He issued, therefore, in true barbarian style, the following proclamation—

"Yeh, the Governor-General, proclaims the following—

"The English barbarians have attacked the provincial city, and wounded and injured our soldiers and people. Their crimes are indeed of the most heinous nature.

"Wherefore I herewith distinctly command you to join together to exterminate them, and I publicly proclaim to all the military and people, householders and others, that you should unite with all the means at your command, to assist the soldiers and militia in exterminating these troublous English villains, killing them whenever you meet them, whether on shore or in their ships. For each of their lives that you may thus take, you shall receive, as before, thirty dollars. All ought to respect and obey, and neither oppose nor disregard this special proclamation."†

It was accompanied by a Chinese notification to the following effect—

"A public announcement of all the gentry and scholars of the city of Canton.

"When, some time since, native banditti had raised disturbances, our soldiers swept away every one of them to destruction, and merchants and people, both native and foreign, were then enabled to live in peace, and pursue business with satisfaction. Could there be a better state of things than this? Lately, however, we have heard that the English authorities have suddenly forced their way into the river with ships of war and steamers, setting fire to and destroying batteries, and wounding and killing soldiers, with the utmost degree of unreasoning perversity. Fortunately, however, the soldiers

* Papers relating to Naval Proceedings, &c., p. 35. It does not appear that any violent action on the part of the English occurred on the Sabbath day.

* Papers relating to Naval Proceedings, &c., p. 39.

of our batteries did not return their fire, to prevent (its being said that) we have turned our backs upon the treaty and disregarded the claims of friendship.

"It appears that heretofore many of the lorchas which run upon the Canton river have been breaking the laws, both by smuggling and trading in salt: there are records of their repeated offences, and they are universally detested by the mandarins and people. On the present occasion, lorcha No. 27 had the audacity to afford concealment to Leming-tae and other robbers on their passage to Canton; but the English authorities in the first place, if they respected the treaty, ought, according to it, to hand over persons discovered to be robbers to the Chinese mandarins to deal with, and as the master who was in charge of the said lorcha secreted (robbers), and concealed the circumstance from the Consul, if there was an irregularity the fault is his and not our officer's.

"The lorcha in question, moreover, was in the employ of Soo-a-ching, a Chinese, its sailing letter having been obtained under false pretences through the master aforesaid: it was in no respect an English lorcha, having nothing at all in common with those genuine ships of war or trading vessels that come from foreign countries. And further still, those military officers of ours, whose duty it is to search for robbers, though adroit in seizing them, do not understand treaties, which is a thing, indeed, of every-day occurrence.

"When our mandarins heard the circumstances, with an uncalled-for indulgence they set free all the twelve criminals in a way, it may be said, the most friendly and the most courteous; but—who would have thought it?—the English authorities have openly violated the treaty in attacking our batteries with cannon, setting fire to and destroying them, and wounding and killing our soldiers. Is there also, we would ask, any principle of right in operations such as these?

"In our humble opinion, the batteries all along the river banks were erected originally for the protection of the people, and now that they have been suddenly burned down, it is to the people in truth that the injury has been done.

"Everybody's blood is boiling with indignation, but we can only ask the officials and merchants of other countries, and the principal English merchants themselves, to look into and consider the unreasonable perversity of the English authorities, and the manner in which they have disregarded treaty obligations. Do not say that we Chinese have not observed the principles of right."*

It will be our duty, in our next Number, to trace the progress of the war so far as it has advanced, and to show how, with its progress, our demands have increased. We commenced by requiring free admission into Canton; we next insisted on a concession still more repulsive to the dynastic sensibilities of China, and equally barren of advantage to ourselves—the residence of a British ambassador at the Court of Pekin.

* Papers relating to Naval Proceedings, &c., pp. 45, 46.

RUPERT'S LAND—ITS PROSPECTS.

Sixteen years past the Red-River Colony was a secluded spot, a home in the wilderness, where a mixed population of Europeans, Indians, and half-breeds had met together, and a colony had been formed along the banks of the Red River and its tributary, the Assineboine, which straggled down to no great distance from the shores of the great lake Winnipeg, into which the united stream discharges itself. The country is level, forming the commencement of the prairies, and, when the settlement was formed, well-wooded along the river's banks. Here agricultural operations were commenced, and a considerable extent of land brought under cultivation. Beyond, however, the necessary provision for their own personal wants, the settlers had no motive for exertion, there being no market for their surplus produce. With Europe there was no communication, except by the cold and distant north, the door of entrance to their territories having been placed by the Company at the icy portals of Hudson's Bay.

The necessary result was, that, as they increased, the settlers began to seek out some other channel of communication with the world outside, and faint threads of intercourse began to form between the United States and the Red-River Colony across the uninhabited district, extending between the Crow-Wing River, to the north of St. Paul's, and Pembina, a frontier post on the Red River, a distance of some 400 miles. The intervening territory was level, and presented no natural obstructions; but the distance was great, and the country, to a great extent, without inhabitants. Danger was also to be apprehended from wild tribes of Indians. Strong parties, therefore, used to unite

together, perhaps 200 carts and men, with horses and oxen, for the accomplishment of this lengthened journey of 1700 miles to and fro. This route is being increasingly used. St. Paul's, Minnesota, presents a very different aspect from what it did twenty years ago, when the first shanty was set up for the purpose of selling bad whiskey to the Indians. It is a place of business-like aspect, with its daily lines of steamboats crowded with passengers and goods. Substantial stone buildings adorn its principal streets, while on many others in rapid progress the sound of the workman's hammer is heard. The best mode of conveyance across the intervening flats is the Red-River cart, which, unlike other vehicles, has not a particle of iron in its composition. "It is made with two high broad wheels, admirably adapted for crossing soft, swampy places. Loaded with six hundred or even nine hundred pounds of stuff, these carts are drawn from St. Paul's to Red River by single oxen, at the rate of twenty-five to twenty-eight miles a day.

But it is not only in the American direction that the strong impulse for intercommunication has been felt, but on the Canadian side likewise. Canada, with its increasing population, begins to feel its way in the direction of the Red River. The lands in the western peninsula of Canada, between lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, had been gradually taken up, and many of the settlers began to look wistfully towards the prairies of the Western States, as preferable to the labour of clearing the forest. When, therefore, the Select Committee on the Hudson's-Bay Company was sitting, in 1857, the government of Canada deputed two of its officers, the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Upper Canada and another gentleman, to watch over their rights and interests in this question. The natural outlet of the Red River appearing to be rather in the direction of the United States, it became the more necessary to encourage the Canadas to open communication with that territory, and render it available for the purposes of British colonization, otherwise there was reason to fear, lest in some way or another it might cease to be British territory; and the Committee recommended the cession to Canada of the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan, provided the province was prepared to open communications with them, and provide for their administration. At the time when that resolution was adopted, the gold deposits of British Columbia had just been touched upon, and the value of the intermediate districts between Canada and the Rocky Mountains has proportionally increased. The line of country on the British side of the frontier presents the most feasible route for a railway across the continent. On the American side, the country is intersected by the tributaries of the Missouri; but the water-shed to the westward of the Assineboine lies a little to the north of the frontier, and, northward of that, the prairies extend, with scarcely an interruption from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. The competition, therefore, between Canada and the Americans, with reference to this important field for emigration, is becoming more intense. The Americans have had the start, and are availing themselves of the advantages which the Red River affords as a practicable route to the gold fields of British Columbia. In the summer of 1859, the good people of the Red River, who had hitherto lived in such seclusion from the rest of the world, were startled by the unexpected appearance amongst them of about two-score Americans. They were on their way to the auriferous regions beyond the Rocky Mountains, and rested at the Red River for a brief season, to obtain a renewal of strength, preparatory to the further prosecution of their lengthened journey.

But Canada, also, is rapidly pushing forward her roads and communications. "A road has been completed from Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, to Dog Lake through a section of country which was believed to be the most difficult on the whole route; and from the head of Dog River, a line has been opened across the summit of the water-shed to the Savane River, which, with the Lac des Mille Lacs, into which it discharges itself, presents an unbroken navigable reach of seventy-five miles. This important link of communication has been effected by the efforts of a few spirited individuals, who have undertaken the work and risked the outlay pending the organization of the North-west Transit Company. Lac des Mille Lacs is within sixty miles of Rainy Lake, from whence an unbroken navigation of 200 miles extends, by Rainy River and Lake of the Woods, to within sixty miles of the prairie region."

The local paper * from whence the foregoing extract has been taken is the first publication which has been attempted at the Red River, and marks the new era which has dawned on that colony. It is with reference to these altered circumstances that it has been commenced.

"Exploring parties, organized under the direction, respectively, of the Canadian and

* The "Nor-Wester," published at the Red-River Settlement.

British Governments, have established the immediate availability for the purposes of colonization, of the vast country watered by the Red River, the Assiniboine, and the Saskatchewan; and private parties of American citizens, following Captain Palliser, are engaged in determining the practicability of rendering this the great overland route to the gold deposits of British Columbia. The Red-River Settlement is the home of a considerable population, hardy, industrious, and thrifty; occupying a fine farming country, with all the advantages of prairie and timber combined. It has churches many, and educational advantages which will endure comparison with those of more pretentious communities. And, for hundreds of miles beyond, stretches one of the most magnificent agricultural regions in the world, watered abundantly with lakes and navigable rivers, with a sufficiency of timber, with vast prairies of unsurpassed fertility, with mineral resources, in some parts, of no common value, and with a climate as salubrious as it is delightful. Such a country cannot now remain unpeopled. It offers temptations to the emigrant nowhere excelled. It invites alike the mechanic and the farmer. Its rivers and rolling prairies and accessible mountain-passes, secure to it the advantages which must belong to a highway to the Pacific. It has mail communication with Canada *viâ* Fort William; and regular communication with the Mississippi *viâ* steamboat and stage to St. Paul. What can impede its development? What can prevent the settlement around Fort Garry from becoming the political and commercial centre of a great and prosperous people?"

The seclusion of the Red-River Colony is at an end. For better, for worse, it must come forward and be known. Busy emigrants and gold-finders from Canada and the United States will make it a halting-place, in the first instance, and a *point d'appui* as they locate themselves in the regions beyond towards the Rocky Mountains. The settlers and Indians of these remote regions will come within the reach of those dangerous influences which are inseparable from free and unrestricted intercourse with white men of every variety of character.

"Temptations," observes our Missionary, the Rev. W. W. Kirkby, in one of his late communications, "are fearful things for a weak-minded, half-civilized people, and often astonish and confound us by the discoveries they make. And temptations we shall have. Indeed, we have had them for some time past; but they are very much on the increase. We are every year brought nearer to the civilized world, and at present are receiving more of its vices than its advantages. We have Canadian soldiers and Commissioners here, whose influence is not at all what we could desire. Then there are Canadian and American traders continually visiting the Settlement, who fill the minds of our young people with notions of pride, extortion, and ungodliness, which they never before had. And in addition to this, some 700 or 800 carts go every summer to St. Paul's (at least they have now reached that number: four or five years ago they were only fifty) for goods. These are chiefly attended by young men, whose principles are not formed, and the effect upon their character is but too manifest. Last year some of the American traders, and, I fear, our own people too, brought in a great deal of whisky, which they sold here, and to the poor Indians in the interior, at an immense profit. This induced a great many of the free-traders and others to fetch some this year, that they may do likewise. From the pulpit and the platform did I beseech all connected with this parish to abstain from such wicked and unlawful traffic. Yea, to every one going from here did I go, and, almost on bended knees, implore them to spare us the sin, the shame, and the wretchedness that will certainly follow the promiscuous and unlimited sale of ardent spirits; and, thank God, I for the most part prevailed. I am not aware of one man from this parish (St. Andrew's) bringing any for sale here. One man, who was to have brought forty gallons, assured me he would not bring a drop; but the carts are just returning, and I hear that the people from the Settlement, and the American traders together, are bringing in not less than 8000 gallons. The result must be ruinous. It is a critical period for the Mission. Earnestly am I endeavouring to warn the people of it, and to strengthen them in those things wherein they have been taught. Pray for us, my dear friends, that our people may stand firm in their allegiance to the Gospel of Christ, that they may be preserved from being carried away by the temptation of the wicked one. The enemy is indeed coming in like a flood: may the Spirit of the Lord lift up a standard against him, that he may not prevail over us!"

The above extract tells us of the dangers which must be met, and of the only influence by which they can be effectually resisted. Let us, then, ask what measure of influence has scriptural Christianity attained over the mingled population of the land, or what amount of conservative influence is it likely to exercise at a crisis such as this? A long

period of quietude has been permitted, during which it might take root and spread. Has it been diligently improved? and is it exercising sufficient power on the hearts of Indians and Europeans, to justify us in entertaining the hope that the transition period will be passed in comparative safety?

The population of the Red River will be the first to be visited by the tide of emigration, with its mingled good and evil, and, next, the Saskatchewan districts. Beyond that limit, we do not think it will advance. The remoteness of the northern districts, and the severity of the winters, will probably, for a lengthened period, deter settlers from occuyping the cultivable spots, which are by no means infrequent. But the Red-River districts will be the first to be tested, and they ought to be the best prepared to meet the trial. They have been longer under Christian cultivation, which has not yet extended itself beyond the Missinipi or English River. What, then, is the condition of the settler population of the Red River? We shall take one parish, that of St. Andrew's, as a specimen, the more so, as it is a station of the Church Missionary Society, and the resident Minister, one of our Missionaries. The Rev. W. W. Kirkby had charge of the parish during Archdeacon Hunter's visit to the Mackenzie-River district, where he now occupies the Archdeacon's place, being the only Protestant Missionary in the vast regions which lie beyond the English River and York Factory. His statements as to the spiritual condition of this Mission station are very encouraging—

"I am thankful to say, that during the past year, on all the services, but more especially on the Sunday services, the attendance has been extremely good—almost all that we could wish. I do not think that we have one wilful, habitual neglecter of the means of grace in the whole parish. Almost every stranger that has passed a Sunday with us has been impressed by its devout observance; and frequently has the question been asked, 'Are your Sundays always so well observed, and your services so well attended?' And on being answered in the affirmative, the inquirers have felt astonishment and delight.

"I am thankful to report that the communicants are on the increase: several have been admitted during the year, and four more are waiting for admission the next time the Lord's supper is administered. This I feel to be a source of comfort and joy. They now number over 200, and might have been much more had we not weeded them most unsparingly.

"The parish being ten or twelve miles in extent, it is impossible to keep up a regular and systematic course of visitation; but I have done the best I could under the circumstances. The sick have always been promptly and regularly attended, and the others as time and opportunity served. In my last course through the parish, I made special inquiries respecting family prayer, and the private reading of God's blessed word, and was delighted to find both more extensively practised than I had ventured to hope. Diffidence, or fear of incompetence, had refrained many from erecting their family altar; but upon my giving them a little book of family-prayers, they promised at once to do so. Some I found were in the habit of reading a chapter and saying the Lord's Prayer; others using some of the prayers of our church. Many, very many of our dear people are, I believe, endeavouring to glorify God in their bodies, and in their souls, which are his. 'The life which they live in the flesh is a life of faith upon the Son of God, who loved them, and gave Himself for them.' When in the house of God, or when one visits them in their homes, and questions them about their souls, the truth comes out. The quivering lip, the heaving sigh, the falling tear, and the downcast look, bear abundant evidence to the work within. And happier death-beds I never sat beside, than some which I have witnessed here. But when I have said this, I must add that there is a great deal in the parish which I could wish to see otherwise. And I fear worse is yet to come. A testing season is at hand, which recent events in New Zealand and Kishnagurh cause me to dread."

Now we do not mean to give any exaggerated views of the Red-River Settlement, or endeavour to persuade our readers that they are all real Christians, and that there are no bad characters among them. We do not think this. But we believe that there is much genuine Christianity among them, and we doubt not, if the trying times of which some are apprehensive should arrive, that it will come forth into decided action, and manifest its conservative power.

If we look to the native population, we find that, through the blessing of God on the faithful and persevering efforts of our Missionaries, scriptural Christianity has obtained a decided influence over the Indian nation called the Crees. Numbers of them have been led to renounce heathenism and profess the Christian faith; so much so, indeed, that not less than from 8000 to 10,000 Indians and half-breeds are computed to have been brought under the instruction of our Missionaries: no slight result, when it is remembered that the entire population of the Hudson's-Bay terri-

tories, east of the Rocky Mountains, does not amount to more than 140,000. If we had such a proportion of Christian converts in India, they would amount to fourteen millions of souls.

From amongst these people Christian congregations have been raised up: some of them are now settled congregations, and present features of much interest. The most prominent are the Indian congregations at Red River, the Christian Indians at Christ Church, Cumberland House, 500 miles distant from Red River, in a north-westerly direction, and the congregation at Moose Fort, at the bottom of James' Bay, 1200 miles east by north from Red River.

We have space only for a few brief notices of the state of these congregations; but let our readers judge from a few sentences. At the expiration of the first week of the new year the Rev. A. Cowley is enabled to bear the following testimony, "Although this generally is a season of great festivity, I have not seen a drunken Indian, and have heard of but three cases of drunkenness among the people, heathen and Christian Indians, of the station." The value of this testimony will be more strongly felt, when it is remembered that drunkenness was the besetting sin of these tribes. Again, on Easter Sunday 1857, he remarks, "Morning congregation large: a goodly number were present at the sacrament. The usual solemnity and decorum prevailed, and we trust the season was profitable to all. Several partook for the first time."

One other congregation we shall so far refer to as to introduce one extract from the communications of the Rev. J. Horden, of Moose—

"*April* 30, 1859—During the greater part of the month I have been constantly engaged on the Indian books, except while fulfilling my pastoral duties. On Easter Sunday a large number met around the table of the Lord, after preparing themselves, by prayer and supplication, by assembling in the church for that purpose. But that which I think has, more than any thing else, caused me to feel deeply grateful to my God, is the having been enabled to see the completion of the printing of the four Gospels in the Cree language. I had not expected to be able to complete them this winter, but, God be praised, it has been otherwise. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark were almost ready for the press a long time since, and that of St. Matthew was printed last winter: that of St. Mark, with those of Luke and John, have very fully occupied my attention this winter. The Gospels of Luke and John were translated by Mr. Watkins. They were very well executed, and required, for the most part, only the change from the pronunciation of one dialect into that of the other. We had made arrangements to translate together the whole of the New Testament, but his removal to the Cumberland district prevented our carrying our intentions into execution. These books, and the Prayer-book I have sent home, will provide the Indians with much of the life-giving food. I dedicate all to God. In a desire to extend his kingdom they were undertaken, that the inhabitants of this quarter of the world may be able to read, in their own tongue, of the wonderful works of God; that they may see what has induced the white man to pity their condition, what reason they have to fear and love God, the abundance of the mercies obtained through Christ—happiness below, happiness and eternal life above. I hope my spiritual children will be deeply grateful for all that is done for them, and that they may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Many of them are now increasing in knowledge. They had first put into their hands the First Catechism of Dr. Watts, then the Bible and Gospel history, the Gospel of St. Matthew followed, and now the whole of the Gospels are printed for their use. Glory be to thee, O Lord!"

Let it be remembered, that from these more settled points the influence of scriptural Christianity is extending itself in various directions. The work which has been accomplished among the Crees has excited among other tribes a desire to be possessed of similar advantages. Taking the Red River as the basis of operations, the Missionary stations are spread abroad, like an expanded fan, from west to north and east. Some of them are very distant. One of our most advanced stations to the north, the English River station, was visited by the Bishop of Rupert's Land in the summer of 1859. This is a frontier station, the Chipewyans being found on the northern bank of the river and the Crees on the south. There the bishop was met by a deputation from the first-mentioned people—nearly fifty adults, with their wives and children. A double interpreter was necessary—the station interpreter on one part to give it in Cree, and then the Beaver, or Basilinné, on their part, to report the Cree to them. "They were sent to ask for a minister—a minister of their own, and would like him planted at the northern end of Deer's Lake; subsistence was easy among them, but wood (for building) was difficult to procure; they would like an interpreter sent for from Churchill, who understands both Cree and Chipewyan

. . . . They spoke with great animation and earnestness, and listened with attention to what was laid before them. In their language there is a near approach to the click of the Hottentots, which recurs at intervals, coupled with a great abundance of the liquid L. To my own ear it is not inharmonious: some of their names are thus pretty enough, as, for instance, *Chiliousa, Basilinné.*"

The bishop promised his utmost efforts on their behalf, and appeals to the Parent Committee to send out help. He says—"I only wish that all the Parent Committee had been in my place, and had heard the Chipewyans face to face. The result then would have been, I am convinced, that they would unanimously, without one dissentient voice, have acceded to the petition, and granted the prayer. Though absent, I trust they will act in the same spirit, and send a Chipewyan Missionary."

It is gratifying to be enabled to add, that before the bishop's appeal reached us, a Missionary was already on his way to strengthen the English-River Mission.

Thus the seed of the divine word is being scattered throughout the wilderness, and we doubt not that portions which we thought were lost are springing up, and will be found when least expected. The following fact may be adduced as an instance of this.

The Earl of Southesk has been travelling extensively throughout these regions. Proceeding by Fort Ellice and Qu'Appelle Fort, he and his party crossed the south branch of the Saskatchewan, advancing westward into the plains some thirty miles. From hence they passed, *viâ* Carlton and Fort Pitt, on the north bank of the Saskatchewan, to Edmonton, about 299 miles from the base of the Rocky Mountains, where they left their carts, using, in their stead, pack-saddles on their horses. Diverging from the Saskatchewan at this point, they pursued a north-westerly course until within about a day's march of Jasper House, where they struck the Medicine Tent River, the principal tributary of the Athabasca, and went up the river, some fifty miles, to its source in the mountains. "The scenery in this portion of the mountains was of the grandest description. The valley ran north and south, masses of rock, of an enormous height, towering above it on either side; and as it was situated at least 3000 feet above the level of the sea, with a view almost unobstructed, a charming prospect of the country was obtained. From the absence of any axe-marks, or other indications of the presence of travellers, it is supposed that this valley has not been explored before."

But another and more encouraging discovery was made by him. At a Missionary meeting held in January last, in St. John's schoolhouse, his lordship, who was requested to address the audience, stated, 'that while on his trip, in the neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains, he fell in with about twelve families of Assiniboine, or Stone Indians (a very wild and savage tribe), who professed Christianity, and, so far as he could judge, were acting up to their profession. These families were far from any Missionary station, and had not even seen a Missionary for many years. Still they showed considerable acquaintance with Scripture, and were regular in their morning and evening devotions. A little bell was always rung as their signal for assembling to worship, and the singing of hymns formed part of their religious exercises. At their earnest request his lordship wrote out for them several passages of Scripture. Their knowledge of religion is supposed to have been imparted to them by the Rev. Mr. Randall, a Wesleyan Missionary, who went to Fort Edmonton in 1839, and left the country in 1847, on account of ill-health. They have, however, a regular teacher in one of themselves, who has been set apart by them for that purpose."

CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

(*Continued from p.* 96.)

"On the 14th of Badun, which answers to our 23d day of August, there is a ceremony held in commemoration of Vishnu, or 'the preserving spirit.' The Hindu males begin the day by preparing all sorts of sweetmeats, and they then twist a sort of band, made either of silk, or cotton mixed with silk and silver threads. In this are always tied fourteen knots. This is called an *ununth*, and it must be fastened to the upper part of the arm. At one o'clock in the day they send for the Brahmin, their family priest, without whose presence no rite or ceremony can be performed, and they throw the *ununth* into a brass cup filled with milk and Ganges water, and make oblations of red clay and flowers,

and burn incense. After this the Brahmins read from the Shasters an extract treating of the customs of the *ununth*. They believe that this custom has descended from time immemorial.

"The next custom which takes place in the Hindu year is a very remarkable one, and occurs usually about the beginning of our October, on the 25th day of the Hindu month, called Koohar; but as it must ensue during the light fortnight, it is of course variable. It is called the *Dusserah Leela*, which means, 'the ten days' sport,' although it usually continues eleven days. It is attended with the most profuse expense of money, laid out in making images of pasteboard dresses, and all manner of pyrotechnic display. In some cases the English officers have been known very largely, to contribute, *proh pudor!* to the grandeur and the effectiveness of this 'barbaric solemnity.'

A short history of the tradition will be necessary, to show the meaning of the different actors in the scene, which is often an enigma to numbers of spectators who flock to view it, unless they actually belong to the country, or have had it explained to them by an intelligent native.

"The Hindus, then, believe, that 31,000,000 of years ago, in the country of Lunka—which is the Sanskrit name for Ceylon, which they assert to be 10,000 miles from the shores of Bengal—there was a great king, of supernatural powers, whose name was Rawun. He had authority over all the spirits which disturb the peace of humanity. He had the power of walking on the sea as upon dry land, and was in the habit of making frequent journeys to India. Having seized on all the living creatures he could catch, he used to take them over to his own country, and to feast upon their flesh. Thus the world was much oppressed by his cruelty, and, from his being endowed with supernatural powers, no one could sufficiently make head against him. The divinity Vishnu, seeing the condition of the sons of men, and that they were suffering much, was grieved, and told Rawun that he would be destroyed by a human hand. He (Vishnu) assumed the incarnation of a human being, and became born as one of the sons of Jessurut, who was then reigning in Ujoodhea—or, as we call it, Oude—and had the whole world under his control. The name that was given him at his birth was Ramchund, and his brother Lachmun was born from the same birth, though two days after him. When Ramchund was twelve years old, he was married to Leta. Some time after this, Ramchund had a quarrel with his mother, and, in consequence, he left the abodes of men, and lived in the desert along with his wife and brother. They lived a rambling life: they subsisted upon hunting and fishing, and Leta dressed for them the food which they procured in their hunting and sporting excursions. On one occasion they left Leta under a tree, and went into a neighbouring jungle to hunt. It happened that Rawun had been making his excursions that day, and arrived at the place where the lady alone, seated under a tree, was waiting for the return of her brother and husband. Having the power of assuming whatever form he chose, he took that of a beggar of a religious kind, and approached to where she was seated. When he saw her close he became enamoured of her beauty, and, seizing her in his arms, mounted a stag which was at hand, and went along, with the speed of lightning, to his own country.

'Thus Pluto, seizing Proserpine, conveyed
To hell's tremendous gloom the affrighted maid.'

"On his progress he met two birds, who were the favourite allies of Vishnu, the one a vulture and the other a crow. He defeated them, and killed them both, and left their bodies on the ground, and went on to Lunka, or Ceylon. When Ramchund and Lachmun had come back, they were heartbroken to find that Leta was gone. They made every possible search for her, and travelled into the country far and near. When, in the course of their travels, they found the bodies of the vulture and crow, they knew them to be propitious to them. They burned the bodies, and, from the ashes, they were shown, by a divine spirit, where Leta was borne to. When Ramchund had ascertained this, he collected immense armies of bears and of monkeys, and went to the shores of Bengal. He chose one amongst the monkeys of prodigious stature, called in the Sanskrit Hunooman, or the Chief of Monkeys, and made him cross over to Lunka. On Hunooman's arrival there, he commenced destroying the houses in the island with fire. When he had proceeded to some extent in his work of destruction, Ramchund and Lachmun crossed over the sea to Lunka. Rawun sent his brother Krimkurrun to fight with Ramchund and Lachmun. In this combat they fought with stones, and rooted up trees to use as weapons. There was much slaughter amongst Rawun's subjects, and at last Krimkurrun was killed by an arrow from Lachmun's bow. Then Rawun sent his son Indurjeet against them, and he was killed by an arrow fired by Ramchund. At last Rawun came to fight in his

own person, and there commenced a great combat, and Lachmun was killed. There was a physician in the army of Ramchund who declared that if some grass of the kind called *jeewun bhootee* were procured, and Lachmun were made to smell it, he would revive. Hunooman, the monkey, went into the forest for the grass, and having procured some, restored Lachmun to life. Towards the close of the fight Ramchund killed Rawun with arrows, and his army, with the exception of a small number, were routed. After this, another brother of Rawun's, named Baber, came and acknowledged his submission to Ramchund. Then Ramchund ordered that no further depredations should be committed; and having got back his wife, he returned to Oude, and, after the death of Jessurut, became king of the country.

"This story, incredible and absurd as it is, is most strictly believed, and all the characters who are mentioned in the course of it are represented either by living actors dressed conformably, or by immense figures of pasteboard. The representation is in a rude kind of theatrical style, exhibited

'Midst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy,'

All the monkeys, the chief of them included, Hunooman, the bears, and the living actors in the story, are represented by Hindus. In the same semi-barbaric theatrical manner is acted the combat, the fire, and the destruction of the houses. The very large concourse of people, the thousands of instruments playing, the noise of acclamations, and the grotesque character of the scenes, are things which one does not soon forget. The whole transaction takes up eleven days, which have their Sanskrit names. The first day is called the *Bun ou bas*, abode in the forest. It represents the departure of Ramchund, Lachmun, and Leta to the desert, and parties from all quarters trying to dissuade them from it. The second day shows the abduction of Leta; the third, the killing of the vulture and crow; the fourth, the burning of vulture and crow; the fifth, the cutting off of Rawun's sister's nose. This punishment, the commonest in the country among native governments for a woman's infidelity, was supposed to be inflicted upon Rawun's sister for her brother's fault. The sixth is called *Lunka Julu*, the burning of the houses and property in Lunka by Hunooman. The seventh *Krim Kurrun ke biraee*, the fight between Krim Kurrun and Ram's army. On the eighth the people celebrate the fight between Ramchund's army and Indurjeet, and great quantities of the grass called *serkee* is burned. On the ninth day is represented also the combat, and the actors in the scene throw about earthen vessels called *kioopees*. On the tenth day there is a fight with Rawun, and it ends in the evening by his being killed. On this day the people commence the celebration by throwing stones over the large pasteboard body of Rawun; and towards night they set fire to him, to Indurjeet, and to Krim Kurrun; so the three hideous-shaped masses of pasteboard are turned into gigantic lighthouses, and so bright are the flames, that for a quarter of an hour the scene in the vicinity is as light as day; great quantities of fire-works are also let off during the combustion. On the eleventh day they celebrate the return of Ramchund to his family, the meeting of his kinsmen, and his re-establishment upon the throne.

"The next observance which occurs during the Hindu year takes place about the 13th of their Kohar, or 23d of our November. The first day kept holy is called *Dhuntaris*, from a Sanskrit word meaning the flowing in of wealth. On this day all the Hindus, whether of high or of low rank, make their houses altogether clean, apply the lime called chunam, to the walls, and have them put in the best possible order. They brush and clean their furniture, and spread out their best carpets, and, if they can afford it, they buy new dishes and goblets. The second day, being the next day to this, is called the little dewalee (*chotee dewalee*). On this day they make ready all sorts of sweetmeats, and partially illuminate their houses. The third day, which is the *dewalee* or great day of all, they make what they call a *puteree*, or clay image of Luchmee. She is the wife of Vishnu, and is the Hindu goddess of abundance. Round the image are twenty-five departments for lamps, and when it is night they light these lamps and illuminate the whole of the house, so that not a corner of it may remain in darkness; and having taken one of the new basins, and put thereon a gold mohur, or a rupee, according to their means, they assemble all their family, and send for a Brahmin. They will borrow money rather than not go through this ceremony, to omit which they consider as highly unfortunate. When they have put flowers, and sweetmeats, and wet rice upon the place on which the money is laid, they repeat the words of adoration to Ganesa—

'That Ganesa sublime
May bless with joy his own propitious clime.'

The basin or plate, and its contents, are all given as a present to the Brahmin. This pre-

sent is called a *duchna*. On the departure of the Brahmin they may eat, but they dare not touch a morsel till the offering is completed. They pass away the night in gambling, principally at *gunjeefa*, a game played with round cards, on which are pictured the Hindu deities; *brat chosar*, a game played on a piece of cloth having twenty-two divisions, three dice, and sixteen counters; at *solihi*, in which sixteen cowries are brought into play; or at *pucheesee*, a very common game in India, played with cowries and counters on a cloth piece of checked work. They must not, on any account, lie down during the whole of this night, and, until day-dawn, they must keep the lights burning in their houses. These observances they consider proper and necessary to propitiate the goddess 'Suchenee' or 'Abundance' for one years' prosperity. The *dewalee* is the most generally observed of all the festivals.

"On the 30th day of their month Ragh, or on our 8th of February, the festival of the *Sunka Nath* takes place. On that day all the Hindus go to the river and bathe. Then they collect a quantity of grain and rice mixed together, which is called in the country *kicheree*, a sort of crisped cake made of grain, salt, and clarified butter, called *pooper*, and the seed called zill, and these, together with some ready money, they give the Brahmins; and they believe that if, on this day, they obtain a rupee, it is as good as a hundred on any other day. They believe the origin of the custom to be, that, according to the Hindu chronology in the *sutjooj*, or first division of time, which is their idea of the golden age, there was once a certain traveller passing through the country, and, after enduring three long fasts, which, from poverty, he was unable to break, he found a vessel containing *kicheree*; he sat down and was about to eat it, when Mahadev, whose name is also Shunka, appeared. The god was in the guise of a beggar, and he asked from him the food, saying he was very hungry. The traveller, notwithstanding his own wants, gave the beggar the food. The beggar solicited him not to do so, but to consider himself first. He insisted on relieving the beggar, who, at last, took the dish from him, and, in return for his benevolence and abstinence, told him he should go to heaven without dying, which he accordingly did. One would suppose that the history of Elijah had been carried over to this country, and had become merged into the fanciful and absurd tradition of the misguided natives, for some features of this 'bald, disjointed' fable remind us forcibly of it.

"On the 5th day of Phagoon among the Hindus, corresponding to our 14th day of February, is the ceremony of the *Busunth*. This is even observed partly by the Mussulmans. In the morning the Hindus bathe in the river, and afterwards, during the day, have large assemblages, and collect a number of dancers and singers, and make merry. All denominations of people on this day wear yellow clothes, if they can afford it. This is the colour of festivity. The custom, they assert, had its origin in the golden age, the time of the *Sutjooj*, Ramchunder was going to war, and appointed an assembly; when Hunooman, the chief of the monkeys, came into the assembly, and brought with him a large number of followers, and Ramchunder was well pleased, and gave them all splendid dresses. The meaning of the word 'Busunth' is 'spring,' and it is used also to express a time of pleasure.

"The next festival day is called the *Holee* and, like most of the other ones, it is determined by the moon, but it usually takes place about the beginning of March, which is the Hindu *Jyte*, and is the last month of their year. It is certainly remarkable as one of the most extraordinary customs ever practised among any people: it more resembles the description of the Roman saturnalia than any thing else which I recollect having heard of. On this day, throughout India, servants, masters, soldiers, porters, labourers, all associate and mingle promiscuously in the jokes and familiarities, when the master sinks all his authority. The world is made slightly acquainted with this observance from the notoriety of the interview, described so often, which happened some years ago between Runjeet Singh and Lord William Bentinck. The interview took place while the natives of Lahore were celebrating this holiday, and the astonishment of the noble parties at finding the people composing his court amusing themselves with flinging gold-dust at one another, and at the noise and licence which prevailed all throughout the palace, may well be conceived. They consider it an honour to throw dust on all whom they see, consequently they did not spare their noble guests. The anniversary of this day is determined by the computation of the pundits and astronomers, and with very minute exactness do they watch for the minute and the second when the *Holee* is fixed to commence, and, instantly upon its being made known, the master of every house lights a fire, and, getting wood and barley, corn, wheat, grain, and flowers, throws them into the fire. The inmates of the house begin abusing one another, and using obscene and

scurrilous epithets to each other. These, which the language is most prolific in, are some of them, even when literally translated, unintelligible to any one who has not been long in the country. Thus it is known to be a most abusive thing to call a man your brother-in-law. But all the ribaldry, which takes place this day, is taken in jest. Then all ranks of people begin pelting each other with dust, which is of three kinds of pulverizing clay, viz. the umber, which is brown; the grolal, which is red; and the tesse, which is yellow. A short time after this, no matter where you go, every person you see has his clothes covered with some of these colours, and you find parties in every direction singing, dancing, and flinging about the various coloured dust. In one place you may see groups laughing immoderately and chewing pawn, or smoking; in another, a group quite senseless from the intoxicating influence of *bhung* or *subzee*. The lowest order of the Hindus are all of them, on this day, generally drunk from spirits. The song, which is sung by all parties, is most licentious, and is generally shouted by them at the topmost pitch of their voices. It is called the *holee*. This custom, which is so generally practised by all parties from Lahore to Calcutta, and which obtains among all classes, is most lamely accounted for; but what the natives have told me I have put down and had it reiterated by many of all classes. They keep it in commemoration of the first appearance of fire upon earth. They believe this to have been the gift of the Almighty. They think that when they were first created they had no occasion for fire, but subsisted upon roots, fruits, and such unsophisticated diet as did not require fire to prepare it for eating; that a number of these aborigines, having assembled upon a large plain about the same time of the year as the *holee* occurs, some amongst them saw a flame of fire issuing from the ground in the form of the root of a tree; that they who saw it differed much in opinion as to what it was, and begun to dispute, to abuse one another, and to pelt each other with clay; that fortunately there came among them some Brahmins, who, having held a consultation, decided that the favour of Vishnu had thus given them fire; that the Brahmins addressed the multitude, and told them to approach the flame, which they accordingly did, and, when they were by its side, they threw into it wood, barley, wheat, and other kinds of grain; and, seeing the effect produced, they begun worshipping it and making merry, dancing and singing.

"The next observance which they generally attend to takes place about the middle of March, and again, during the next year, some time before the sowing of the autumnal crop. There are two harvests in Hindustan, one vernal, which is called the *rubbee*, and the other autumnal, which is called the *khurrieef*. The highest orders of the Hindus begin to observe this festival by sowing barley, or other sort of grain, in a small space of ground allotted for the purpose, and near the place they put a small lamp of oil, which is kept burning night and day, and they place near it flowers and rolee, and some sweetmeats, and every morning early the guru, or family priest, reads out some extracts from the Vedas, to carry a blessing to it; and the eighth day from this is called the *tistummy*, and all the little boys and girls in the neighbourhood, who are about three years old, are assembled, and given a mark to their foreheads called a *tilk*, and the people prepare quantities of pastry, which they give to the children, and a little ready money, and they go to some place where there is a goddess's shrine, and make what is called their *durshun* by going up to the idol and depositing flowers before it. And on the tenth day from the first planting the corn, the seed has grown up, and the corn is some inches out of the ground, and it is rooted up and thrown into the Ganges; but the Brahmins do not throw away their roots, but receive a large sum of money from their followers for putting it into their turbans. On this day all merchants and traders commence their accounts. They believe that, many thousand years ago, there was a person, who was very poor, who bought some ground and sowed barley, but it did not spring up; that at last he kept calling on one of the goddess's names as he sowed in the ground, and that then the seed sprung up; that on the eighth day the goddess herself appeared, dressed in red, and holding in her hand lamps decorated with flowers. She remained there till the tenth day, when she disappeared.

"These customs of the Hindus apply to those of Hindustan Proper."

ENGLISH POLICY ON THE COAST OF CHINA.

In our last Number we indicated the *vexata questio* in which has originated our present serious and expensive war with the Chinese government—the right of entrance into Canton. The treaty of Nanking, the ratifications of which were exchanged at Hong Kong, June 26th, 1843, did undoubtedly provide for the residence of British subjects at the cities of Canton, Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo, and Shanghae, and that "without molestation or restraint." But this was subsequently modified. Such was the opposition of the Cantonese, not only to the entrance of foreigners into their city, but even to the enlargement of the space allotted without the city for the European hongs or factories; and such the inability of the local authorities to overcome their refractoriness, that Sir John Davis advanced to Canton with several vessels of war, capturing the Bogue forts, and compelling the Chinese to yield a sufficiency of room. On that occasion a convention was agreed upon at the Bocca Tigris, April 4th, 1846, which dealt specifically with the points in dispute. Our right of entrance was recognised, but its execution deferred. The following paragraph of the convention is explicit on this point—

"His Majesty the Emperor of China having, on his own part, distinctly stated that when, in the course of time, mutual tranquillity shall have been insured, it will be safe and right to admit foreigners into the city of Canton, and the local authorities being for the present unable to coerce the people of that city, the Plenipotentiaries on either side mutually agree that the execution of the above measure shall be postponed to a more favourable period; but the claim of right is by no means yielded or abandoned on the part of Her Britannic Majesty."*

The conviction of the Plenipotentiaries who signed and sealed that document is here clearly expressed, that the time had not arrived when the admission of foreigners into the city could be attempted with safety. The people of Canton would not suffer it except under coercion, and to this the local authorities felt themselves unequal. To insist upon it under such circumstances was not regarded as a becoming course by the British plenipotentiary. It would have neither been *safe* or *right;* and therefore, with his consent, it was postponed until the arrival of a *more favourable period*, when, through commercial intercourse and other conciliatory influences, irritation might subside, and "mutual tranquillity be insured." Of the wisdom of this decision no doubt can now be entertained, and it is to be regretted that the just principles laid down therein have not been persevered in. But it shadows out the line of policy which, so soon as circumstances permit, ought to be resumed on the coast of China. They who, in that quarter, are charged with diplomatic interests, need to be thoroughly acquainted with the idiosyncracy of China. Its formalism is excessive. Points of etiquette, of no real value in themselves, but handed down from time immemorial, such as the mode of communication between their high officials and those of other nations, the ceremonial to be pursued on the introduction of foreign embassies to a personal interview with the sovereign, constitute with them just those vital points on which they have resolved there shall be no surrender. There is an assumption of superiority in the Chinese, and a haughty reserve towards foreigners; but it is a portion of the national character, and is exhibited as well in their intercourse with each other as with us. If Canton was a prohibited city to the foreigner, the inner city of Pekin is a prohibited city likewise to all save the privileged classes who are admitted within its precincts. Pekin consists of two portions, the northern or Tartar city, called Nui Ching, and the southern or outer city, where the Chinese live. The northern city consists of three enclosures, one within the other, and each surrounded by its own wall. The inner area is called Kin Ching, or Prohibited City. When it is necessary to bring Chinese workmen into this interdicted city, they are conducted in blindfold; and when the work is done, they are again blindfolded and taken out. And here, within this reserved area, the *sanctum* of the Chinese system, in which the Emperor is not merely chief, but divinity, to whom universal homage is to be rendered, there is one point of more intensified reservation, the Kien Tsing Kung, or Tranquil Palace of Heaven, into which no one can enter without a special licence. This principle of reserve and exclusion is the pervading principle of the national organization. It centres in the Emperor, and extends from

* Papers relative to Naval Proceedings at Canton, p. 223.

him through the varied grades of officials in continually expanding circles, until at length it exhibits itself in the demeanour of the Chinese towards other nations. All this no doubt is very inconvenient and offensive. But what is to be done? We have resorted of our own accord to the coast of China for commercial purposes; and we have done so because such is our interest. It is just one of those peculiarities of national character which, under the influence of kindly intercourse, would have modified itself, given way by degrees, and finally have disappeared; and until this consummation had been attained, it would have been our wisdom to have avoided, as much as possible, collision on those points. But we have not had patience to wait; nor is this surprising, for nothing can be more contradictory to an Englishman's straightforward mode of action, than the official cunctation of Chinese diplomacy. We have got impatient, and have proceeded to put it aside by force. These ceremonial delays and obstructions to direct and prompt intercourse have been estimated by us at their true value, as useless, nay, mischievous, and to be got rid of as quickly as possible. But the Chinese are not of the same mind with us: they think just the opposite. And we have come into collision with them on these points. We have proceeded to deal with them as with the obstructions at the mouth of the Peiho. A little of our strength, it was thought, would suffice for the purpose, and so we set to work. The Cantonese would not give us right of entrance into Canton. We resolved to wait no longer. We summoned the high officials to give way to our demands. We asked of them more than, if they were ever so much disposed, they dared to concede. The high Chinese official knew well what would be the result to himself personally, if he ventured to admit the English—a popular insurrection, a displeased court, an angry menace from the vermilion pencil, and his own death by suicide. If they must needs fight, better to fight the English with their own people to back them, than, by concession, get rid of the pressure from without, and thus subject themselves to a worse pressure from within. Again we resolved, not only to have entrance into Canton, but to have free entrance into Pekin, and to hold direct communication with the Emperor himself. We resolved to come as no other ambassador ever had. English embassies had visited Pekin, but matters had been so managed as to save appearances, and to leave intact the prestige of the court. The flags pendant from the yachts and land-carriages of Lord Macartney's embassy had inscribed upon them, in large Chinese characters, "ambassadors bearing tribute from the country of England;" and when, on his interview with the Emperor at his summer residence in Tartary, his lordship, at the instance of the President of Rites, ascending the steps which led to the throne, bent on his knee, and lifted above his head, between both his hands, the square box of gold, adorned with jewels, which contained the letter of the British King to the Emperor of China, he was regarded at that moment as presenting the tribute. But now, in these modern days, we will go on no such terms. We must needs visit Pekin, and visit it as recognised equals: these ridiculous ceremonies must not interfere. But ridiculous as they may seem to us, they are vitalities to the Chinese, and, rather than yield, they are prepared to fight for them. We had to force our way into Canton at the cost of much blood. We shall, if persistent on these points, have to do the same at Pekin. Are we, as a Christian nation, justified in the sight of God in beating down by force the peculiarities of the Chinese system? Are the results which we would compass such as to justify the shedding of human blood? That is a question which, as a nation, when we give account of our stewardship we shall find it difficult to answer. All our perplexities at Canton have been ascribed to the want of free entrance into the city, and immediate access to the Chinese Commissioner. All our difficulties with the nation generally we now ascribe to the want of free access to Pekin, and direct communication with the Emperor himself. Are they not rather attributable to other causes, with which we are ourselves far more intimately concerned? Is no self-correction necessary? Has our conduct along the coast always been innocuous and praiseworthy? Have we given no cause to the Chinese officials to complain? Has the advent of the Englishman on the coast inaugurated that benignant period which has introduced ameliorating influences into China? Or have we not rendered the Chinese worse than they were previously? "The Chinese at first feared and respected those who came to their shores, and whom they saw to be their superiors in the art of war, and in the spirit of enterprise; and if means and conduct befitting the superior knowledge and civilization of their visitors had been taken to enlighten them, such efforts, it cannot be supposed, would have been useless or unappreciated." But we first wrong them, contravene their fiscal regulations, grow opium for contraband purposes, and smuggle a large

revenue out of China. They grow savage and retaliate, and then we flog them.

It is necessary we should have a just perception of our actual position in China, and that with a view to the adoption of such a policy on its coast as may be more considerate towards the Chinese, and more becoming as regards ourselves. It is with such views that we attempt an analysis of recent events there. It is not at all with the intention of imputing blame to any of those individuals who have occupied responsible positions in China. All, we are persuaded, has been done with the best intentions. But political and commercial interests on that coast are like the oceanic tides in the same region: there are currents and counter-currents; and the politician from Europe finds himself like the shipmaster when he has to deal with the *Kuro-Siwo*, or "Black Stream," which at the best is but little known. Hence the judgment becomes warped, and able and humane men get wrong without intending it.

So also with respect to our naval and military operations on the coast: they have always been conducted with the greatest forbearance and humanity, and by none more so than by Admiral Sir M. Seymour. But our commanders on the coast are the executive of our diplomatists; and when they are informed that, diplomacy having failed, the solution of the difficulty devolves on them, however they might wish it otherwise, they must bring into requisition the force at their disposal. Still it must be remembered, that there is no European nation which has derived so large a revenue from China, and by such indefensible means, and that there is no nation which has shed so much Chinese blood as England. This is an unhappy notoriety which cannot be regarded without the deepest pain by every well-wisher of his country.

To resume our review of events as they occurred—Sir John Davis's convention with Keying neither yielded nor abandoned the treaty-right of entrance into Canton: it only deferred its execution until a more favourable period. In the meanwhile, British subjects were to enjoy full liberty and protection in the neighbourhood, *on the outside* of the city of Canton, within certain limits fixed by treaty; freedom to make excursions on the two sides of the river, where there were not numerous villages, being also granted. We have stated accurately the articles of the convention, and it certainly guaranteed for the suspension of the treaty-right, until the time came, when, in consequence of an alteration in the feelings of the Cantonese towards us, it might be carried out without provoking popular tumults, and endangering in consequence the peaceable relations of the two countries. In fact, until the hostile feelings of the city population had become altered towards us, the fulfilment of the provision of the original treaty remained impracticable. If the British insisted on their treaty-right, and entered the city, the local authorities declared that they could not protect them. The execution, therefore, became impossible, except under the protection of British troops in such force as to overawe the city population, and amounting to a military occupancy of the city: and such, in fact, has been the course of events. Yet the convention of 1846 pledged us not to compel an entrance; and it ought to have been remembered and adhered to. Nor does the force of it appear to be invalidated by the fact, that, at a subsequent period, Keying, in answer to a proposition that the British officials should visit him at his own residence in the city, got rid of a present difficulty by undertaking that, at the end of two years from April 1847, British officers and people should have free access into Canton. It was done in the hope that, during the intervening period, the Canton population would have become better affected towards foreigners, and such perchance would have been the case, had we conducted ourselves in all respects as became a Christian and civilized people.

As, however, the appointed period of April 1849 drew near, it became obvious, that whatever might be the feelings of the local authorities, they had no power to compel the people, who retained all their hostility to the measure, "to behave themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner;" and that, therefore, "without some military demonstration, it would be useless to attempt an entrance into the city."* It was then that Lord Palmerston sought information as to the practical disadvantage in regard to commerce under which British residents laboured in consequence of exclusion from free entrance into the city, and the practical advantages which they would gain by admission, receiving from Mr. Bonham the decisive reply which we introduced in our last Number, "that no material advantage to our commerce would be gained by British subjects being admitted indiscriminately into Canton."

This decided the Home Government as to the course which ought to be adopted. It

* Mr. Bonham to Lord Palmerston, July 20 1848.

consisted in an adherence to the principles of Sir John Davis's convention, deferring thus to a more favourable opportunity a question which was not yet ripe for solution. This was the temperate line of policy enjoined on Sir John Bowring, when he was invested with full powers as Her Majesty's Plentipotentiary on the Chinese coast, and that both by the Earl of Granville and the Earl of Malmesbury, the representatives of different administrations. The British official, however, felt strongly on this point. In a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, April 19th, 1852, he expressed his conviction that the importance of admission into Canton, and of access to the high authorities, had not been sufficiently appreciated. He also considered that it might be obtained without serious difficulty. Hence the re-agitation of this question in April 1854, and the continuous and irritating discussions maintained with the Chinese officials on the subject, engendering suspicion and bad feelings, which at length exploded in the affair of the "Arrow." Hence the quick and peremptory action of the British authorities on the coast, the seizure of the Government junk, and the commencement of military operations. A very little pressure, it was thought, would suffice to obtain the point so long contended for, of free entrance into Canton. With each fort, as it yielded, it was thought Yeh would yield. But these demonstrations, instead of overawing him, only served to bring out his obstinate and savage temper, until, on opening our eyes, we found that we had drifted into a war with China, which no one wished for or intended, but which unhappily has continued ever since, and which, so far, has cost us much, and profited us nothing.

Resuming our sketch of events as they transpired, on October 25th, 1856, the British admiral took possession of the Dutch Folly, a fort with fifty guns on a small island opposite the city. Letters and missiles continued to be expended, the one on Yeh, the other on the defences; but the Chinese Commissioner maintained the same imperturbability. The defences yielded, but he did not. The *iron* arguments were therefore brought to bear somewhat more closely upon him. Fire was opened on Yeh's yamun, a large space of ground within the old city which contained his residence. It was done in such a way as to show that it was done reluctantly, and merely with the object of inducing him to yield, a shot being fired at intervals of from five to ten minutes from the 10-inch pivot gun of the "Encounter." The irritated barbarian responded to these importunate knocks at his yamun's gate by issuing a proclamation, having appended to it his own seal, in which he offered a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. The document runs as follows—

"YEH, the Governor-general, proclaims the following—

"The English barbarians have attacked the provincial city, and wounded and injured our soldiers and people. Their crimes are indeed of the most heinous nature:

"Wherefore I herewith distinctly command you to join together to exterminate them, and I publicly proclaim to all the military and people, householders and others, that you should unite with all the means at your command, to assist the soldiers and militia in exterminating these troublous English villains, killing them whenever you meet them, whether on shore or in their ships. For each of their lives that you may thus take you shall receive, as before, thirty dollars. All ought to respect and obey, and neither oppose nor disregard this special proclamation."*

This sanguinary document rendered the prospect of an adjustment more distant than ever. One attempt, however, in that direction the admiral resolved to make before he advanced further. Modifying the demands, which had hitherto been preferred, he acquainted Yeh that he would be satisfied with this simple concession, that at Canton the foreign representatives should have the same access to the authorities as at the other ports. Had this moderation been used at the beginning, matters might have been arranged; but now that blood had been shed, and savage tempers aroused, were the Cantonese more likely to concede a point, to which already, as included in more extended demands, they had given the most decided opposition? Had the shots so freely bowled from the British ships into Yeh's yamun conciliated the people, or rendered them better disposed to give a friendly welcome to the British officials? If Yeh had found it impracticable to persuade the Cantonese before a shot was fired, how was he likely to prevail with them now? Yeh, in his reply to Sir John Bowring, refers to the increased difficulty in which he found himself.

"The proposition made before was objected to by the entire population of Canton; the people affected by the present proposition are the same Canton people; the city is the same Canton city; it is not another and separate Canton city. How can it be said that there

* Papers, &c., p. 40.

is no connexion whatever between the two propositions?

"But more than this, the Canton people are very fierce and violent, differing in temper from the inhabitants of other provinces. Admission into the city was refused you in 1849 by the people of Canton, and the people of Canton of the present day are the people of Canton of the year 1849; and there is this additional difficulty in mooting the question of admitting British subjects into the city now, namely, that the strong feeling against your Excellency's countrymen having been aggravated by the terrible suffering to which the people have been subjected, without a cause, they are even more averse to the concession than they were before.*

Offensive operations were in consequence resumed. Two guns were placed in position on the Dutch Folly, and, the fullest warning having been given to the inhabitants in the vicinity to remove their persons and property, an occupation in which they were engaged during the whole of the previous night, opened fire in the direction of the city wall, which was quickly followed by the conflagration of the houses in the line of attack. A practicable breach having been opened, preparations were made for storming, and about 3 P.M. the English colours were planted on the wall by Captain Bate. A field-piece placed in the breach cleared the approaches to the yamun of the Imperial Commissioner, which was duly entered by the admiral at the head of the marines. Yeh, however, was not there to receive him, and the position, being found untenable, was abandoned at night-fall.

The city population began now to be thoroughly roused. A notification was issued by all the gentry and scholars—"The English authorities have openly violated the treaty in attacking our batteries with cannon, setting fire to and destroying them, and wounding and killing our soldiers. Is there, we would ask, any principle of right in operations such as these? . . . . Everbody's blood is boiling with indignation; but we can only ask the officials and merchants of other countries, and the principal English merchants themselves, to look into the unreasonable perversity of the English authorities, and the manner in which they have disregarded treaty obligations."

A counter notification was issued by Mr. Consul Parkes "for the removal of misconceptions by declaration of the truth, to the end that confidence may be restored to the public mind." To its two concluding paragraphs we direct attention—

"To conclude—this quarrel is not with the people: our proceedings have not originated in any thing done by the people. They have been caused by the obstinacy and discourtesy of the chief authority, and for any calamity that may result from them the chief authority is singly responsible. There is but one means of escape from it, and this is in the hand of the chief authority, who, if he lose no time in meeting our high authorities, will be enabled, by arranging matters on a satisfactory footing with them, to put an end to the existing peril, and to prevent the recurrence of like misfortune in the time to come.

"Think how completely at our mercy are the lives and property of the entire population of the city; and with what facility, in one moment of time, we could effect their utter destruction—a terrible contingency! You are told this in no spirit of boasting: the power of our nation is too well known to require that we should indulge in self-glorification; but simply because we have no wish to see a long continuance of these hostilities, so cruel to the feelings of the people and so injurious to their interests."*

Surely, if we had no quarrel with the people, and the collision had not been caused by any thing which originated with them, it ought to have been felt that we had no power over their lives and property; and that, although force was at our command, we were powerless to use it against a people who we acknowledged had committed no injury against us. With one breath we tell them they are innocent, and, with another, terrify them with threats as though they were guilty persons. The inconsistency of the document exhibits the falseness of the position into which we had been betrayed.

The Chinese now closed up to the conflict, firing with desultory matchlocks and wall-pieces from the south-western angle of the city wall upon the inmates of the factories. They were answered by shot and shell thrown by the ships, at moderate intervals, into the yamuns of the Tartar-General and Governor of the province, situated at the back of the city, and surrounded with large trees and open court-yards, which separated them from the more populous and densely-built dwellings of the people. Heavy guns, placed upon the Dutch fort, were also directed against the Kwang-yin-shan hill, to the great amazement of the Chinese, who had imagined that position secure against all attacks.

On the morning of November 5th, a docu-

* Papers, &c., p. 89.

* Papers, &c., p. 60.

ment was sent in triplicate to the British Consulate, from the house of the Chinese merchant Howqua, one copy being intended for Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, one for the naval Commander-in-chief, and one for the British Consul. It purported to be an address from the inhabitants of the whole city. The following is a translation of this document, in which, not without reason, an entire population prayed that their case might be considered, and that they might be spared from the destruction which threatened them—

"Every question has its rights, every position its contigencies of advantage and disadvantage. We cannot refrain from stating those incidental to the present one for the benefit of your Excellency's nation.

"We, the Cantonese, who have been born and brought up in this place, some of us in the public service, some of us in trade, whatever our vocation, have each one and all our property, our very food and raiment, in this city, and to all of us, hundreds of thousands in number, the city is our base and our foundation.

"Your nation has traded at Canton for more than a century, during which it may be said that between you and ourselves, the Cantonese, there have been relations of friendship, and not of hositility.

"The late affair of the lorcha was a trifle; it was no case for deep-seated animosity, as a great offence that could not be forgotten: yet you have suddenly taken up arms, and for several days you have been firing shell, until you have burned dwellings and destroyed people in untold numbers.

"It cannot be either told, how many old people, infants, and females, have left their homes in affliction. If your countrymen have not seen this, they have surely heard, have they not, that such is the case?

"What offence has been committed by the people of Canton that such a calamity should befal them?

"Again, it has come to our knowledge that you are insisting on official receptions within the city. This is, doubtless, with a view to amicable relations; but when your only proceeding is to open a fire upon us which destroys the people, supposing that you were to obtain admission into the city, still the sons, brothers, and kindred of the people whom you have burned out and killed will be ready to lay down their lives to be avenged on your countrymen, nor will the authorities be able to prevent them.

"The authorities are able to accord you admission into the city, but they are not able to assure to such of your countrymen as do enter a perfect immunity from harm.

"If, then, your countrymen were admitted, could you always have a large force here for their protection? A protecting force cannot remain here any great length of time; and if death and wounds were to be the condition of your entering it, what boon would your admission into the city be, even were you to obtain it?

"There is another point. Although shells have been flying against the city for several days, burning buildings and destroying life, no fire has been returned by the troops. This is really friendly and conceding: it is enough to content you. And as you resorted to hostilities for a small matter, so now, for the sake of the people's lives, you may suspend them; and, considering what has been achieved at the present stage of proceedings, there allow them to terminate. Why add another difficulty to the existing one, and so cause an interruption of the friendly understanding between our countries?

"To conclude: it is not well to trust power too far; neither is it right to let a feud so confirm itself that it cannot be ended.

"There is one point of which you lose sight. You do not remember that our authorities are subject to promotion, translation, and similar changes of office, which may remove them from Kwang-tung: in the twinkling of an eye its whole establishment may be changed. But the native trader has been here, generation after generation, from father to son, from grandsire to grandson, for hundreds and thousands of years, without interruption of the line. You do not reflect upon the distant future, that to inflict injury on the Canton people is to make enemies of thousands and millions of men; that the longer the feud endures, the deeper rooted it will be; that the more protracted the struggle the more impetuous will be the zeal for it. Is it in your power to go the extreme length of injury that can be inflicted?

"To resolve on this is truculently to contemplate the extermination of every living being in Canton—is to contemplate the total abandonment of its trade. What in that case would be your gain? And if resolved to go this length, how are you to dispose of the French, the Americans, and other foreign nations?

"This is the unanimous declaration, made with sincerity and earnestness, of the Cantonese. We submit it in the hope that your Excellency will deign to consider it, and we respectfully present our wishes for your Excellency's peace and prosperity.

"Representation made by the whole population of Canton."

This was followed by a respectable deputation of the gentry of the city, who waited on the Consul with a view to the adjustment of difficulties. But to the accomplishment of this, one thing was requisite—concession upon the part of Yeh. The British, with their ships and guns, had done their best to overcome his obstinacy, but in vain. The gentry were now told, that if they desired peace, they must constrain him; and that, if they could not do so, the war must go on: in other words, that they must continue to suffer for the delinquencies of Yeh, whose obstinacy they declared themselves to be as incapable of overcoming as the English found themselves to be. They "urged that the Imperial Commissioner's obstinacy was altogether uncontrollable, and that they could not influence him; and they deprecated injury to the population of the whole city for the fault of one man."

Once more the indomitable Yeh was summoned to surrender, and twenty-four hours were given him for deliberation, before active operations were recommenced. In his answer he concedes nothing, but defends himself. He stated that when fire had been opened on the city forts he had refrained from any hostile rejoinder, in consideration of the peaceful relations which for many years had subsisted between the nations. But when fire had been opened on the city, by which, as he asserted, numberless houses had been consumed, with considerable loss of life, the people had come crowding to his court in thousands, demanding why they should be subjected suddenly to such suffering at the hands of the English; and at their demand he had issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the head of every Englishman. That we justly considered a most barbarous proceeding, and not only the British authorities, but the French representative, the Comte de Courcy, remonstrated with Yeh because of it. But when, without warning, shots were plumped amidst the crowded houses and dense population of a Chinese city—when individuals, who probably never had any intercourse with us during their whole lives, saw their homes wrecked, and their friends killed or wounded—did we not, in their eyes, appear just as barbarous and cruel? It is not surprising that heathen people, who had no guiding principle, should proceed at once to avenge themselves by every means in their power, however unscrupulous and sanguinary. If we disturb and irritate a nest of wasps, it is not to be wondered at if the insects use their sting. It is their nature, and we must expect it. We are at liberty to destroy the insects, but it is rather a serious thing to deal with multitudes of men and women after the same fashion, more particularly as we profess ourselves to be the followers of One, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

On November 12th, the admiral proceeded to possess himself of the Bogue forts, which command the entrance into the Canton river. Previous to attack, a flag of truce was sent to the principal fort, summoning the commanding-officer to surrender, on the condition of their being restored, without injury, when difficulties should be adjusted. This, however, he declined to do, stating that he had orders to fight, and that he should open fire on any ships that approached within a certain distance of his batteries. The engagement accordingly commenced, but, on account of the strength of the forts, they had to be attacked in detail, and those on the north and south Wang-tung, mounting 200 pieces of cannon, fell on the 12th; those of Aneanghoy, mounting 187 pieces, on the 13th.

The capture of the Bogue forts was followed by the destruction of the Shamun forts at the south-west angle of the city. These were dismantled and blown up, the working parties being fired upon by the Chinese troops in the adjoining houses.

Yeh was duly informed of these new calamities, and the admiral again called upon him to comply with the requisition which he had made; but the Chinese Commissioner, in his answer to Mr. Consul Parkes, declares that the measures pursued by the British commander had rendered all concession upon his part impossible.

"As to your proposal in the same letter, that we 'should meet as becomes, &c.,' an interview might of course have been practicable in the first instance, but do the proceedings of Admiral Seymour, who has commenced hostilities without cause, show any acquaintance with what 'becomes?' He has come to Canton, and, at a moment's notice, he has destroyed habitations without number, with considerable loss of life; the sufferers are crowding to my court, complaining of their distress, and entreating me to do them justice; and such, at this moment, is 'the opposition of the gentry and the turbulent violence of the people,' that not only would your Excellency have some difficulty in entering the city, but, for the time being, I, myself, should have equal trouble in getting out of it. It is the admiral's wanton proceeding that has provoked all this irritation. Let your Excellency once again well consider it."*

* Papers, &c., p. 107.

On November 18th the British guns from the Dutch Folly re-opened fire on the Tartar buildings in the Tartar city, but ceased at noon, to allow time for a reply to a note sent in by Sir John Bowring, proposing an interview with the High Commissioner in the city; a request which, if granted, was to ensure the cessation of hostilities. The British Plenipotentiary declared, that if Yeh was unable to control the people, he could protect himself. Yeh, in his answer, after referring to the feeling of animosity with which the population was pervaded, replies to the British official—

"You say in your letter that you are quite able to provide for your own safety: it is, I think, but too probable that, so far from having your safety in your own hands, you are incurring mortal danger. Would your Excellency but follow the course of the late Plenipotentiary, Mr. Bonham, you would, in so doing, be following the policy of safety. Your Excellency, during your service (here) as Consul, must have seen with your own eyes the real condition of things. To conclude, I request your Excellency, once more, to ponder well on this—that in the management of all matters, we must act as reason teaches is right before heaven and due to man, before we can arrive at any satisfactory result."*

It now appeared but too plainly how great the misapprehension had been under which this series of aggressive operations had been commenced, when it was thought that a little pressure would suffice to overcome the reluctance of the Chinese Commissioner, and obtain for us entrance into the city. This Sir John Bowring now clearly perceived. In a letter to the admiral, dated November 8th, 1856, he observes—"Whatever may have been the importance of the question which necessitated the first appeal to hostilities, it has assumed a character seriously involving all our present and future relations with China." Undoubtedly it had done so, and that this would be the issue had been foreseen by many.

The war now commenced in right earnest. Yeh had been taken by surprise, and was at first wholly unprepared for a conflict with the English. But he lost no time in collecting all the forces within reach of Canton, and summoning to his aid all the village braves, who are recruited mainly from among the idle and dangerous classes of the population. The results soon appeared. On the night of Dec. 14th the Chinese set fire simultaneously, in several places, to the houses surrounding the Factory buildings, and all the foreign establishments, with the exception of the English Factory, were burnt to the ground. The whole of Old and New China Streets, with the contiguous portions of the suburbs, were consumed. The admiral, feeling the importance of holding the position at Canton, the church and barracks being preserved, proceeded to entrench a portion of the Factory garden, and garrisoned it with 300 men. They were not suffered to remain unmolested. The Factory being threatened, the British proceeded to burn the suburbs to the right and left, in carrying out which operation a party of the 59th was repulsed with loss from the city wall. A retrograde movement now became necessary. The admiral, finding it impossible, with the handful of troops at his disposal, to bear up against the increasing pressure of his assailants, withdrew from all the advanced positions in the immediate vicinity of the city, falling back upon the Macao fort, which remained for a considerable time our advanced position in the Canton river.

Tidings of these events soon reached England. So serious were they considered to be that they caused a defeat of the ministry. More than this, they had to be accepted as a disagreeable necessity. Chinese barbarity had broken out fiercely, and every method which an unscrupulous hostility could devise, even so far as the attempt to poison the English community at Hong Kong, was brought into requisition by Yeh and his Cantonese, who now appeared intent on one object, the entire expulsion of the English from their waters. The western powers also had come to their determination. Their relations with the Celestial Empire had long been unsatisfactory. The suitable moment appeared to have arrived when China might be constrained to abandon her peculiarities, and to throw open, not only the vast interior, but even the sacred city of Pekin, to the entrance of the inquisitive foreigner. France and England were to unite in a military demonstration so imposing as to overbear all resistance, while from four countries, England, France, Russia, and America, Ministers Plenipotentiary were to be accredited to the Court of Pekin, who, following up diplomatically the successes of our fleets and soldiers, were to content themselves with nothing less than access *ad libitum* to the imperial presence, on such terms as might befit the representatives of equal powers, and therefore without the kotow. They were to have free entrance into Pekin; how far does not appear to have been fully understood. To be

* Papers, &c., p. 108.

there, and yet be detained in the Chinese city, would be to subject our representative to a degradation greater than if they had continued to negotiate outside. Even if they were admitted into the Tartar city, while the vermilion city remained interdicted, they would still be stamped with inferiority in the presence of the high officials of the Chinese empire If the representatives of the western powers were to approach his Celestial Majesty on terms of equality, they needed to have access, not only into Pekin, but into the Kien Tsing Kung itself. But the British Ambassador was to require, not merely access to His Imperial Majesty, but the permanent residence of a British official at Pekin. This was not a new demand. On the occasion of Lord Macartney's embassy, the same request was preferred. Kien-lung, on that occasion (in his 58th year, 1793), communicated with George III. in a very patronizing document—

"The Emperor makes this communication for the information of the King of England—

"'You, oh king, who are distant by the breadth of several oceans, while your yearning heart inclines toward our transforming influence, have sent a special envoy respectfully to present a memorial and gifts. Having crossed the seas, he has reached our Court and made the prostrate salutation: he has also presented the productions of your country, thus exhibiting your loyal devotion. I have looked over the document, and find the expressions are truthful and sincere, exhibiting the honesty of your Majesty's respectful obedience, which is deserving of the highest commendation.'"*

He then refers to the proposal of a resident Ambassador at the Court of Pekin—

"As to the request in your Majesty's memorial, to be allowed to locate one of your people at the Celestial Court, to watch over the commercial interests of your nation, this is opposed to the constitution of the Celestial Court, and cannot, by any means, be permitted. Hitherto Europeans of every nation, who have desired to receive employment at the Celestial Court, have been permitted originally to come to the metropolis, but, having once come, they respectfully complied with the etiquette of the Celestial Court in their clothing; they remained quietly within their churches; and were never permitted to return to their native lands. These are the unalterable regulations of the Celestial Court, as I presume your Majesty is well aware. Now your Majesty wishes to be allowed to place one of your people to remain in the metropolitan city; but since he cannot come to the capital in the character of a European in the Imperial service, and remain in the capital, never to return to his native land, and, moreover, as he cannot be permitted to come and go, or to carry on constant communications, there would certainly be no advantage gained. Further, the territory under the dominion of the Celestial Court being most ample and extensive, when envoys arrive at the capital from any of the outer dependencies, the provision for them at the intepreters' hotel, and their various movements, are all controlled by fixed rules, so that they are never allowed to follow their own option. Now, should one of your people be left in the capital, his language would be unintelligble, his dress would be strange, and there is no place where he could be located. If he should come to the capital, and enter the Imperial service as a European, he would be compelled to change his garments in accordance with the regulations; but the Celestial Court is unwilling to force people into such difficulties. Should the Celestial Court wish to send a man to reside in your country, would your nation permit such a thing? Besides, as there are a great many countries in Europe, and not your country alone, suppose, like your Majesty, every country should request to be permitted to place a man in the capital: how could permission be granted to every one? So that this affair is beset with difficulties. How can we, at the request of your Majesty, a single man, alter the laws of the Celestial dynasty, which have been in force for more than a hundred years?'"†

We were about to ask much; we were scarcely aware how much. We decided to demand a change in the ceremonial of the Chinese Court—with sacrilegious touch to approach that which is most sacred in the estimation of the Chinese. We were about to interfere with the queen bee of the Chinese hive. Perhaps we had in our minds the example of the bee-charmer of some fifty years ago, who had such power in the management of that peculiar insect, that he could possess himself of the queen bee without exciting her resentment, and, by placing the queen wherever he wished the bees to settle, manage the whole hive. Perhaps we had a latent thought that our Ambassador, if resident at Pekin, could possess himself of such influence over the Emperor, as, through him, to manage the vast hive of China. But we have not yet exhibited the skill of the bee-charmer, and the

* "North-China Herald," February 6, 1858.

† Ibid.

queen bee is not yet in our hand. Meanwhile, not finding his Celestial Majesty quite so amenable as the royal insect, we have set to work to break down the hive, and in so doing have got severely stung for our pains.

In short, we have been asking for a revolution in the Government of China. So the Chinese regard it. Can we be surprised if they resist, until, finding we are too strong for them, they profess to yield in order to gain time, and then exhibit a more determinate resistance? Probably they will again be defeated, and again agree to prescribed stipulations. How shall we ensure their fulfilment? Have we resolved on the permanent occupancy of Pekin? Certainly, for the resident Ambassador, that would be a very desirable arrangement, and would place him personally on a much more secure footing. But we shall find such an embassy rather expensive, and in other ways inconvenient in its character.

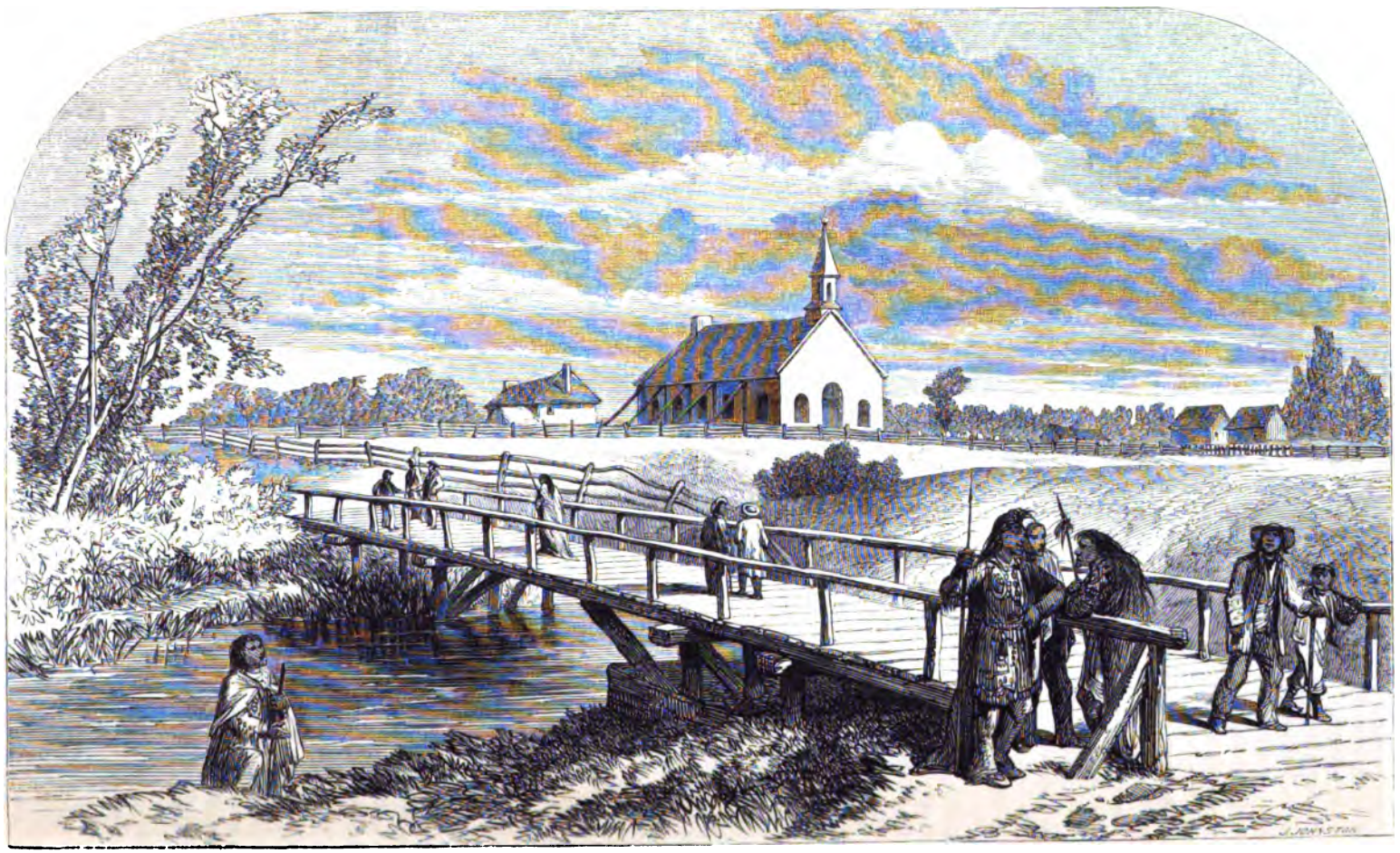
Meanwhile, in sending forth our Minister Plenipotentiary to insist on such concessions, we have been as sanguine of success as Sir J. Bowring in the matter of entrance into Canton. Nationally we adopted his principles of action. A little pressure brought to bear upon a well-selected spot, one nearer the organs of vitality than Canton, and all would be well. The Chinese emperor would come forth from his seclusion, resign without a sigh all his arrogant pretensions to superiority, and concede to us readily all the privileges we should ask, and this, not to obtain from us corresponding advantages—for neither he nor his subjects wished to visit our shores—but to dissuade us from smiting him with the naked sword which we held *in terrorem* over him. We should have known otherwise. We should have known that the Chinese never will yield these points except on compulsion; a fact which suggests two very serious considerations—is it right to use it? and then, can we so use it as permanently and effectually to secure the objects which we have in view?

RUPERT'S LAND—ITS PROSPECTS.

IT is the distinctive feature of genuine Missionary work that it cannot stand still: it must needs go forward. It is like the flow of the tide, which, though met by numberless obstructions, still continues in some direction to open a passage for itself, with an impulse at first feeble, but which, slowly gaining strength, isolates the projecting rocks, and then, burying them in its depths, establishes its uninterrupted dominion far as the eye can see. The great evangelistic effort has commenced, and it must needs go forward. A Divine Power urges it on; and therefore wherever, amidst the wide range of heathenism, we find a standing-point won for Christ, we discover there a vitality more or less powerful which will not be satisfied unless it put forth new efforts and make new conquests. Thus, in the Rupert's-Land Mission the more settled points become centres of more extended action. In the direction of the Plain Indians, where the Indian tribes are most numerous, advances are being made, and opportunities sought for the extension of the Gospel. An effort of this kind made from the Nepowewin station by our native Missionary, the Rev. H. Budd, presents an interesting specimen of these tentative efforts to our readers—

"*Feb.* 20, 1858—As we got ready last night, we were up in time this morning for an early start, with two young men and three trains of dogs. The thaw will soon commence, and we must make all possible haste to make this trip before the thaw. I want to see the chief of the buffalo-hunters, 'Mistowasis' by name, or 'Big-child.' I have heard something of this chief before, and I had a wish to see him. He has always been remarkably kind to our men when out there with him; and he always has a band of Indians about him, which I wish to see too. To-day it was snowing, and made travelling very difficult, for the snow had already covered the road. We had to go with the snow-shoes on our feet all the day, and at night we felt very weary. When we had camped and made our fire, we took our suppers, fed all our dogs, had our prayers, and made ready to lay down.

"*Feb.* 23—We came up to the camp of Indians soon in the afternoon of the following day: the man, however, was not at home himself, but the women and children were. After resting ourselves in the tent for some time, and getting something for our dogs, we proceeded on our way, and went on till night overtook us, when we had to put up for the night. We started early in the morning, and reached the edge of the plain by noon, the plain (properly so called) commencing from here. We took our dinner, and made ready to cross the wide



CHURCH, &c., OF THE BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND, RED RIVER.

plain, which is like one vast field of snow. Late on the evening we came to the first woods on the south branch of the Saskatchewan. Here we found a little wood, and were glad of it, encamping for the night. Resuming our journey, we proceeded on to the Moose-woods: the snow being less in the wide, plain our dogs came on much better. We met three of the Company's trains in the evening: they had come off from the Moose-woods, and are on their way to Fort-à-la-Corne. In the evening, rather late, we at length arrived at Mistowasis' house. We found quite a comfortable house to lodge in, and every thing that I could expect to find in a civilized place, was to be found in this house. There is quite a village of houses. The free-traders occupying a row of houses, and the Company also having houses there, the place looked quite inhabited. We soon had a comfortable supper. I found that the chief man was not at home. He was away hunting the buffalo, but was expected to be home soon. I resolved to go after him, for he was the principal person I came here to see. I called the people together in the house, and I read a portion of God's word, and endeavoured to explain it to them. There were a mixture of Canadian half-breeds, and Indians, who came to join us in our evening prayers.

"We got up early, and were soon ready to go off after Mistowasis. The Company's men started off with us, and kept us company for part of the way. Our route lay towards the Eagle Hills; but the Company's men were going in another direction looking for provisions to trade. I sent off two of our sleighs in company with them, to try for some provisions too. However, when the sun got hot, a regular thaw came on, and we were all stuck, and none of us could move. We all remained together, and waited till the night came on, when we could have nice travelling. As the sun was setting, it got colder, and we all started off, and travelled all the night. Just at break of day we reached the chief's encampment, and I saw him for the first time. He is not a pure Indian, but a half-breed, an elderly and intelligent man. He soon made his wife get up, and commence with the cooking operations, and pieces of the best buffalo meat and tongues were soon boiling in the kettle. When we had breakfasted we were all soon under way, the chief coming with us towards his house. He had seven carts all loaded with fresh meat. Pushing on before him, we reached his house late in the evening, and rested all the next day, waiting for his arrival. He arrived in the evening with all his carts and horses. When all was quiet, we again assembled all the people, and invited them to come in and join us in the evening prayers. All the neighbours being free-traders, though Roman Catholics, came in, and joined us. I had the honour of addressing them, in the name of God, in their own tongue. They were exceedingly attentive, and, after prayer was over, some of the Canadian half-breeds remarked, 'This is the first lecture in Cree I have heard in all my life.'

"*Feb.* 28: *Lord's-day*—A very nice morning in this wilderness. I found plenty to attend the two services with us this day, when, by the help of God, I freely spoke to them of the freeness and fulness of the salvation of God in Christ, and of the necessity of at once closing in with the offer of mercy, while yet it is the accepted time, and the day of salvation. I had a long conversation with Mistowasis in the evening. I find him quite favourable, and willing that his children should be taught to read, &c. I went into the other tents in the evening. The next day we remained in Mistowasis' house, to get our sleighs ready loaded for a start the following morning. I went to see more of the people, and got into some of the houses. In the evening we called in the people again for the evening prayer. I addressed them in the Cree, and bade them farewell. I was talking to Mistowasis with regard to my coming out to them and staying for a few months in the summer, that I might have a better opportunity of speaking to them of the things which regard the next life, and likewise to do something towards teaching his children to read, &c. The chief said, "I would like it very well if you can come and live with us for a short time, and I shall ever feel thankful if you take the trouble and teach my children to read." I told him that I would see, and whenever I was able to come to them I would. I told him that when I came I should expect to have every liberty, and be under no restraint whatever, but have room in the tent to hold prayers in every morning and evening. He said, 'I shall be very glad to take you into the tent: I will take care of you, and feed you with the best meat I have.' Would that I could manage to leave my Mission for a little time every summer, for there is plenty of work for a Missionary to be even always with them."

The greatness of the efforts made by the Missionaries for the extension of the Gospel may be estimated from the extent of the journeys made for this purpose. We have before us the notes of a Missionary journey of 500 miles on snow-shoes, accomplished by our Missionary, the Rev. T. H. Fleming. It extended

from Moose Fort to the East-Main district on the east shores of St. James' Bay, whither wandering parties of Esquimaux came down from the Labrador coast. Some sketches of this journey we shall introduce, that our readers may understand something of Missionary travelling in Rupert's Land. The first night was passed upon a bed of brush, and beneath the open sky. There was plenty of dry wood to burn; and a good fire, with a barricade of snow to windward, were the defences against the cold. In the morning "it blew a hurricane, and drifted so thick that it was impossible to see which way to go; so I was obliged to make the barricade my home for that day, and a wretched home it was. I was half blind from smoke, and but for my blanket, which I stretched on two or three poles stuck slantingly in the snow, and extending roof-like over my head, I should have been wholly covered with snow, so great was the drift. This was impossible to bear, and I told my Indians so; but they said they could mend matters no other way than by going farther into the woods, and striving to make a sort of tent with the few coverings we had for our respective sleds. It took hours to perform, as the deep snow had to be cleared away from the site of the tent, the poles cut, firewood chopped, and brush obtained for carpeting and bed. Then the sled coverings were too small, and the holes had to be stopped with brush and snow, and a bank of snow raised all round to keep out draughts at the bottom: a blanket made the door. Just at sunset we got into a capital tent, where we slept well, resolving, before we lay down, if spared, to be on the move early next morning, and strive to make up for lost time. But we were doomed to disappointment; for, when the morning came, the storm had not lulled, nor the atmosphere cleared. We were confined to our house in the woods for that day also. Thus two whole days were lost; and dreary days they were.

"On Tuesday morning we got under way again, but the coldness of the weather, which usually forbids talking, or, at least, suffers little more than the exchange of common civilities between winter voyagers, and the almost utter barrenness of the whole route, must excuse my omitting to mention particular spots and camping-places. Suffice it to say, that, at seven o'clock P.M. on our eleventh day from Rupert's House, we arrived at Fort George, I must not, however, omit to mention, that as far as camping-places and firewood, this coast has far the advantage of the opposite, at least that part which lies between Moose and Albany, which I have good reason to know. We had no difficulty in getting good places to put up at, and this settles the question of wood, for no place is good without that. The monotony of my daily walk was now and then agreeably broken in upon by the excitement of shooting white partridges, or a chase after a band of reindeer which emerged from the woods; but these on the coast, and the isolated whiskyjack, the lonely tomtit, and the cheery chattering squirrel in the woods, were the only signs of animation along the dreary waste which lay before and around us. All animated nature seemed dead. I did not see a living soul besides my Indian companions, while passing over the 210 miles which lie between Fort George and Rupert's House."

Leaving Fort George, our travellers advanced on their way. Provisions were not to be procured, and scanty food was added to other hardships. On one of the nights an Indian tent afforded poor shelter—

"The tent that night would have been a strange sight for those who are unaccustomed to scenes in Indian life, and the various circumstances under which the Missionary in this desolate region of the world is enabled to make known the saving truths of the Gospel to its wandering inhabitants. The tent was made of deerskin, now black with soot and smoke, and only adorned here and there by a white fox, or an otter skin, which was suspended from its low slanting sides to dry. A round hole in the centre, where the tent-poles converge at the top, answered the double purpose of window and chimney, although, on the present occasion, the smoke seemed to be disposed to go anywhere but through it. Twenty-two individuals, of various ages, sexes, and conditions in life, sat crosslegged all around on a carpet of brush, listening most intently to the hissing and bubbling of at least half a dozen kettles which were suspended over the cheerful fire, which burned in the middle. Again the scene changes: supper is ended, the kettles are removed, and the tent arranged. Then we lifted the voice of prayer and praise, confessed our sins, and sought for pardon through the blood of Jesus. Then I refreshed the memories of those poor, forlorn, and forsaken ones in the blessed truths of the Gospel."

The Great Whale River post was next reached, from whence, after a few days' rest, our Missionary proceeded on his journey in a sledge, drawn by nine Esquimaux dogs, and thus Little-Whale River was at length attained, where he expected to meet the Esquimaux. The census forwarded by him from this place contains the names of seventy-one families, num-

bering 430 persons, and of these Mr. Fleming saw 351, in little parties, for they were continually coming and going on their sleds, and earnestly did he occupy himself during the time of his continuance with them in communicating divine instruction. "I strove to explain to them how God extends pardon and forgiveness to the most guilty sinners who turn and repent of their sins, believing on Jesus. Oh! it is most painful to find them so attentive, manifestly desiring to hear more of the word of life, and yet be able to communicate with them in broken accents only. I cannot, however, but acknowledge the hand of God to be with me, for they have caught up my meaning in a wonderfully quick manner."

The great object of the Missionary was to teach them to read the syllabic characters, which in so short a time are learned, and then to place in their hands rolls containing the Lord's-prayer and Ten Commandments, and brief portions of Scripture, such as John iii. 16, 17, verses which most of them had learned by heart. After nearly four months' residence among them, during which we may trust much precious seed was sown in the hearts of these poor wanderers, our Missionary left, with many a *chimo* ("Good bye") from the Esquimaux.

Beyond the English River, and far away to the north, through the zeal of Archdeacon Hunter, the standard of the Gospel has been planted at Fort Simpson, the dépôt for the Mackenzie River, and the head-quarters of the Hudson's-Bay operations in the north. Until this forward movement had been made the priests of the church of Rome were spreading themselves over the country, and, instead of the bread of life, distributing among the poor Indians their miserable counterfeits. There are two priests at Isle à la Crosse; two at Athabasca; two at Fort Résolution, Great Slave Lake; one has recently gone down to Fort Good Hope, situated in latitude 60° 16′ N., and consequently not far from the Arctic Circle; besides which, a bishop is to be consecrated for the north, and a staff of Sisters of Charity is to be sent to Isle à la Crosse. Perhaps all this was needful to stimulate us to effort. In 1857 the entire Indian population of the Athabasca district amounted only to 2000 souls. We might perhaps have thought these numbers too few and scattered, and, especially in consideration of the teeming multitudes of tropical lands, have been tempted to leave these few sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd. If the church of Rome thinks them worthy of her notice, shall we contemn them? Let one extract be given from Archdeacon Hunter's journal—

"I feel it a great privilege so far to have carried the tidings of the blessed Gospel down this mighty river, and thus to become a witness for Jesus 'to the uttermost part of the earth.' May He graciously crown this feeble attempt with abundant success: for the first time, since the command was given to his disciples, has the Gospel been proclaimed here, and we cannot but believe and hope that He has many souls here which shall become jewels in his royal crown, who shall be built into the living temple of the living God, and be numbered among those who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. I cannot, I will not think that my visit thus far has been in vain, but will indulge the pleasing thought that I am only opening the way for others to enter in and reap an abundant harvest of immortal souls. Surely the time to favour these poor benighted Indians is come; surely these smiling faces I see around me will no longer be left in darkness, no man caring for their souls. They look all energy and intelligence, and listen gladly to the message of redeeming love. Surely we will never allow the idolatry and superstition of Rome to be chained around their souls, and the mark of the beast to be imprinted on their foreheads! Having advanced to this point, no thought of retreat must be entertained. We must not show our back to the enemy, but go straight forward and possess the land. I feel, however, that all events are in the keeping of our faithful and covenant God; that in his gracious providence He has brought me here to proclaim his truth; and I cannot but believe that He has purposes of love and mercy towards these poor benighted Indians, and that He will, in his own good time, raise up and send his faithful servants to preach among them the unsearchable riches of Christ. Labour is our's, results are his; and I therefore leave all in his hands."

This brief review of the existing circumstances of Missionary work in North-West America, will prepare our readers to peruse with the more interest the following extracts from a charge of the Bishop of Rupert's Land addressed to his clergy on Jan. 6, 1860.

"My Reverend Brethren—It was not without some reluctance that I gave up the idea of meeting you as usual on St. John's day. But from the almost additional solemnity connected with Christmas and New-Year's Day, as falling each of them on a Sunday, it

was found inconvenient and unadvisable to withdraw those from more distant spheres during any portion of that week. I deemed it best that you should enjoy both those hallowed seasons in the bosom of your flocks, and that you should come up with all the freshness of an opening year for mutual counsel and communion. Nor could I have much doubt in the choice of the Epiphany instead, as a bright and blessed season for all associated in any way in Missionary labour and in the ingathering of the Gentile church.

"I have read somewhere of the celebration which takes place at Rome at about this time —an exhibition of the various languages among which her emissaries are labouring over the face of the earth. In something of a similar spirit we might reckon up to-day the different tongues to which the ministrations of our church are extended in this far reaching land. The Crees and the Salteaux, the two largest tribes, with their cognate dialects, have been long embraced: to these have been added during the past year a large body of the Chipewyans, and a very few of the Sioux;* while in the eastern district, the Norwegians† have regularly, and the Esquimaux occasionally, heard the message of the Gospel. These, with the original settlers, and, as yet, a very small number of emigrants, form our care, and along with them will be associated, we trust, gradually, a remnant from other numerous tribes,‡ as we penetrate yet farther to the mountain ridge of the west and the icy barrier of the north. Planted in the midst of these, accommodating itself to their varied tongues, 'the little one' may, in accordance with the divine promise which we have just heard, 'become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation.'

"With such a field of labour before us, it is an unspeakable pleasure to find our ranks still unbroken by death. Indeed, the healthiness of the land for the European may now be established upon grounds which place the matter beyond dispute. When I look around, and see one of you who has completed his thirty-fourth year in this country—when I take the average of the seven who have been the longest on this continent, and find it seventeen years—when I remember that it is the eleventh year of my own episcopate, and think of the short period in that office of many most signally marked out by God as possessing every qualification for their high work—I feel that no common gratitude ought to be ours for the amount of health and strength which God grants us here in his service.

"Now, if God, while mysteriously cutting short the thread of life elsewhere, prolongs so graciously the span of our existence, He has surely work for us to perform; and we are naturally called upon to review our position, and to ask how we stand at the point of time which we have now reached.

"Politically, no change has as yet passed over the land. Several social improvements have taken place, marking a new era, and betokening progress. The river communication has been opened up; the road over the prairies has been traversed; and the appliances of modern science have rendered more easy the production of some of the necessaries of life.* But the greater change has not yet come. There is a general expectation that the present year may usher it in, and that, during its course, the southern portion of the land, or at least our own settlement, may become a direct colony of the Crown. The boon was granted with great promptitude by the late Colonial Secretary to British Columbia, and I can scarcely doubt that the nobleman who has succeeded him in office, and whose attention has for so many years been directed to the subject, will be prepared ere long with a comprehensive measure bearing on the condition of this territory. For this, as a body, we have ourselves petitioned the two Houses of Parliament, from the persuasion that the highest interests of the country may in this way be best promoted. Whenever the change shall take place, a new class of duties and responsibilities will arise. It will be your part, brethren, to guide and direct the minds of the people in the new channel, so that there may be a healthy and hearty co-operation from all—so that they may exercise the privileges which may be committed to them, to the good of their fellow-men and the glory of God.

"Ecclesiastically, we ought to feel in a measure strengthened. Two new dioceses,

* It seems not unlikely that more of this tribe may penetrate into this country. As the territory of Dacotah becomes settled, the Sioux (or Dacotahs) will in all probability be driven northwards.

† It is not a little creditable to Mr. Horden that, in addition to preaching in the Indian tongue, he has also acquired the Norwegian, so as to be able to preach in it to the Norwegians in the Hudson's-Bay Company's service at Moose Factory.

‡ Among these would be the Blackfeet, towards the Plains; the Siccanees and Loucheux, towards the extreme north.

* Besides these might be specified the publication of this Charge on the spot, for the first time.

the eighth and ninth in British North America, have been formed since we last met; so that we have an additional one on either side of us—that of Huron on the east, and that of British Columbia on the west. The uncertainty regarding the extent of our own jurisdiction has been removed; our boundary is now marked and definite, and the Rocky Mountains would limit our view in looking towards the Pacific. We have, too, a third new diocese immediately adjoining us to the south—that of Minnesota, in the sister church of the United States. All this has a tendency to support us. And yet, in comparison of all the other dioceses, we are still of a very unwieldy shape, and, though small in population and number of clergy, our distances are almost as great as before. In each of the other eight dioceses, the clergy can, on all such occasions as this, meet almost all of them together: here we can scarcely ever expect to succeed in gathering more than a half. In this diocese alone can it be said that one is absent from us two thousand five hundred miles distant to the north-west; that another is unable to be with us, being twelve hundred miles to the east. Ungava Bay, the Rocky Mountains, and the Arctic Sea, our present limits, are limits rather for the eye and the imagination to rest upon, than possible to be overtaken by any amount of personal labour. And at the heart and centre we remain very isolated; we are still the oasis in the wilderness. After repeated efforts, the difficulty is found to be great to bridge over the intervening distance on each side—to throw out branches which may connect us with our neighbours in Canada and Columbia, and make us to be, in something more than name, the highway of the west.

"With this measure of apparent outward strength there are some causes and hindrances which, I think you will agree with me, tend to cripple and retard our work.

"These is the very migratory character of our most settled population. This may, in the good providence of God, carry onward the tide of population, and scatter it over the wilderness. It may thus ultimately answer a good purpose; but its tendency at the time is felt by us very painfully. It weakens parishes and very materially checks education, rendering it more expensive and difficult to be extended to all. It keeps the mass in a state of greater poverty, and prevents their growth and rise. It lessens the amount of public spirit and local attachment, and perpetuates many of the habits of Indian life. It parts and separates, where, if united, all would be combination and strength.

"There is, too, the want of a deeper religious life, even amongst the more advanced Christians. Here there is stagnation instead of movement. The word is heard with joy and received with readiness; but it is the development of the rich fruit which the minister looks for, and looks too often in vain. Measuring themselves rather by that from which God hath saved them—the condition of the heathen who know not God—than by the standard of by-gone generations and of other countries, they are satisfied with smaller attainments—they rest contented with a lower level, and do not press forward to the measure of the stature of a perfect man. Their condition is a matter of rejoicing to the minister of God, at first, as they are eager to hear. It is in their after course that he suffers disappointment. The building stops before he is prepared: the growth terminates suddenly, after advancing for a time with rapidity, and there is not the higher experience of the divine life.

"There is, moreover, an additional check in the Indian work. It is a transition period: change is anticipated. An excitement has seized the Indian mind, and he is little inclined to give a calm and patient attention to the claims of the Gospel. A wider competition is afloat; and baits are held out by the unscrupulous which the poor Indian is too weak to resist. A greater difficulty has thus been found in selecting and planting new stations, while at the old-established Missions the stedfastness of the convert has been very sorely tried, if not, in some cases, too successfully shaken. Direct conversions have, in consequence, been less numerous during the last two years, and I much fear that the next two or three may continue to tell the same tale. At all events, the Indian is less hopeful and more difficult to act upon than he was found to be five years ago.

"With these and other causes impeding the progress of our work, and materially affecting its character, the testimony of all of us would, if I mistake not, be somewhat similar to-day: our common acknowledgment would be, that the interval since we last met has not been marked with such distinct success as previous periods—that some of our more sanguine expectations have only been faintly realized. Now, if such be your feelings, brethren, is there no deeper agency to which we may trace this? is the condition peculiar to ourselves, or may we throw it under a wider classification, and identify it with what we notice elsewhere on a wider scale? The answer to my own mind is sufficiently clear: the explanation which alone

appears to me to account for it is a greater measure of power put forth by Satan in the days in which we live, not only here, but over the whole earth. Can we then substantiate this in the world, so as to prove it more than an idle dream?"

In proof of this conviction on his part, that the god of this world is putting forth special energy at the present time (Rev. xii. 12), the bishop refers to the respective conditions of the civilized world, the professing church, and heathendom. We pass on to the last of these divisions, as the one in which we are more especially concerned.

"If, then, we turn to heathenism, has Satan stirred and aroused it in like manner? No. Here, and here alone, his object is to rivet the soul in its chains—to lull with the opiate of a false security—to prevent inquiry and to seal up in darkness. Fearing lest the light should shine into their prison-house, he would stay the hand of Christian charity and silence the voice of the preacher. No interference with the systems of idolatry and superstition—neutrality would be the watchword which he would seek to instil into the minds of all. How clear his unwillingness to allow any one to escape from his bondage and thraldom; how plain the cry of the spirits which 'work in the children of disobedience,' anxious to retain them a little longer in their grasp, 'Art thou come hither to torment us before our time?"

The charge then refers to those encouraging considerations which show, that when the "enemy comes in like a flood," the Spirit of the Lord never fails to "lift up a standard against him."

"Is there, then, this growing power in the world, the church, and heathendom? If there be, then, judging by the analogy of God's providence and the promises of his word, we might expect to find that there would be a corresponding outpouring of the Spirit. Can we, then, brethren, discern side by side any thing of this?

"And surely here we may place first among the phenomena which force themselves upon our notice, the symptoms of revival in so many different spots in the United States, in Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere. Whatever there may be of physical or nervous excitement connected with it (as there will often be when the masses are concerned in a religious awakening), I cannot doubt that there is beneath a work of God. This, on our own continent, is attested by two bishops of the highest character, and is made by one of them, the subject of his annual charge; while in the north of Ireland it is fully recognised by the bishop in whose diocese the occurrences have chiefly taken place, who has himself taken part in many of these devotional meetings.* Visitors to the spot, and even judges on the bench, all concur in the same testimony. And surer almost than all these is the proof from the changed life, the wonderful disappearance from districts of sin and vice, the wide-spread prevalence of prayer. The very scorner can scarcely deny that the hand of God is here. But the believer, turning aside to behold the sight, recognises in it something of an effusion of that same Spirit which was poured out on the day of Pentecost; he looks hopefully for times of refreshment from these premonitory tokens. He sees from the droppings the proof of the willingness of God to give the plenteous shower: he hears almost the very voice of God saying to him, 'Prove me now herewith, if I will not open the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.'

"Connected with this spirit of awakened seriousness, there is the ever-widening spirit of zeal for the souls of others, whether at home or abroad. How manifest this in the special services at Exeter Hall and elsewhere, designed to bring all within the sound of the Gospel: how manifest in the opening of cathedrals, where thousands listen together to the glad sound, and fill the lofty dome with choral praise; how manifest where, under the open canopy of heaven, the ambassador of God declares the same message, whenever he can assemble hearers—on the steps of the seat of commerce, or in the neighbourhood of the densely-peopled alley. Nor has this in the least tended to weaken the activity of Christian charity for dying souls abroad. We had all, perhaps, thought with anxiety regarding the future, when we heard of the efforts made to succour the Indian sufferers—the large sums raised for their temporal relief. We thought it must necessarily curtail and lessen the receipts of the various Christian Societies, on which we were so largely dependent, and we were prepared to find it so. But we hear of no diminution. Many seem to have acted on the conviction, that whatever their previous contributions to the cause may have been, they must now be doubled. The insecurity of the past has been felt: it has taught the necessity of building on a surer foundation, and proved, with a force clearer than that of lengthened argument, that the open avowal of the Christian faith must ever

* Bishops M'Ilvaine and Eastburn.—See Charge of the latter, "The Signal Work of the Holy Spirit in the United States."

be the surest defence of a professedly Christian nation.

"And already the power of the Spirit is manifesting itself in those very portions of the earth where Satan had erected his trophies, and from which he thought he had gathered in his triumphs. We noticed on a previous occasion that war had given us noble and cheering specimens of the beauty of holiness—convincing proofs of the efficacy of divine grace. It has been so again, brethren, and on a wider scale. Some of the names most conspicuous recently in military prowess are to be handed down as very memorable examples of a living faith. Religion has been seen to be the brightest ornament on the brow of the victorious general; it has been seen giving energy and decision to the civilian, investing him with a power and influence greater than that of the sword;* and elevating with the bright hope of heaven the patient and enduring female, as she bends under the stroke, willing either to suffer or to die. Already we receive from the land tidings which speak encouragingly of the future, and tell of a greater willingness to entertain the message. It is as if the darkest hour had come, and God were now ready to bless. Seeds of light have been sown on the very spots bedewed with blood, and the names of places associated with fierce and foul deeds seem likely to be hereafter connected with the records of grace. And in that other land, since rendered desolate, the land of poetry and song, is a similar dawn of hope. The older superstitions of Italy, under which she has so long groaned, seem fast decaying. Many, unwilling to dwell longer in darkness, seem calling for the light. There is a growing demand for God's blessed word, and, while seeking to cast off their shackles and assert their nationality and independence, they appear in some quarters to manifest an anxiety for that liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free. The slumbering truth may revive, the hidden witnesses who have long prophesied in sackcloth may awake as from the dead, and the pure Gospel of Christ may carry healing and cure to the wounds of that stricken people.

"Thus have we taken a rapid glance at the growing power of Satan, as seen at present in the world, and the yet mightier power of the Spirit which God shows Himself so willing to exert on the side of his people, in answer to their prayers. May we not, brethren, learn something ourselves from this double view? May we not, on the one hand, do well to remember that our very calling is to make inroads on the kingdom of Satan, that 'mysterious, ever-working power, which is entrenched in heathenism as in a stronghold?' Let us never forget his personality, his power, his wiles, as now more than ever necessary to be borne in mind. Let us remember, that at the basis of all Missionary effort lies the declaration, 'the whole world lieth in wickedness,' or rather in the wicked one. From it—that is, from his grasp—we are to win souls for Christ, bringing them to the foot of his cross and the knowledge of his salvation now, that we might present them to him hereafter, to receive from his hands their crown. And, on the other hand, let us seek more of the power of the Spirit, We cannot, it is true, look for it in the mightier gatherings of the saints, where numbers add a quickening energy to prayer; but let us look for it where the promise is still sure of fulfilment, where two or three are met together. You have felt the profit as well as the pleasure of those monthly clerical meetings for prayer and the study of God's word, and conference on ministerial duties and trials, at most of which I have been able to be present and take part with you. Their object is to remind of ordination vows, to plead for a Pentecostal blessing, to give point and unity and purpose to separate and scattered effort. You felt, too, the advantage of the social meetings with your parishioners during the past winter—the cottage or family lecture from house to house. Now, at all such seasons, whether meeting ministerially, as brethren whose toil is for souls, or periodically, as the shepherd with a portion of his flock, let us with yet deeper fervency pray that the agency of the Spirit, felt elsewhere, may be more and more felt among ourselves; that while refreshing other spots, it may also 'drop upon the pastures of the wilderness.'

"And now I might almost pass to the recapitulation of our own work, were it not that there are two subjects which have of late been much before the public mind, which seem to call for a passing notice, and some expression of opinion. The one concerns all the churches of the Reformation, which speak our tongue; the other is connected with our own branch of the church of Christ, and limited to it. The first is a question regarding the Bible, which is the guide and manual of the redeemed people of God, to whatever

* The names of Lawrence, Montgomery, and Edwardes will readily occur as instances of great personal influence; as well as the singular fact, that when all means of getting supplies failed, the Rev. C. B. Leupolt was sent out to Benares, as the one most trusted by the natives, and succeeded.

earthly communion they may belong; the second is concerning the form of prayer in which we worship our heavenly Father, as we trust, in spirit and in truth."

The bishop then proceeds to touch upon certain points of commanding interest at the present day; the authorized version of the Bible, the Prayer-book, the subdivision of services, &c., as to avoid needless repetitions, and then returns to the circumstances of his own diocese. As the charge has been separately published, it is not necessary we should introduce it *in extenso*, and we limit ourselves to those portions which refer expressly to the Mission work.

"I must now, however, hasten to the consideration of events more closely connected with ourselves and with the progress of the Gospel in this land. Of these, the most prominent would be our own temporary absence, the commencement of the Mission on the Mackenzie River, and the anxiety of the Chipewyans for the permanent ministrations of our church.

"For our own absence some reasons were given before leaving you—reasons which justified the step to ourselves, and made it in some degree necessary. In addressing you to-day, I would say unhesitatingly that the expectations I then formed were very fully realized. The spiritual refreshment, from intercourse with Christian friends, I found, and found abundantly. It is the compensation which God has graciously provided for a sojourn in a distant wilderness; it is a part of the 'manifold more in this present time,' which the Saviour holds out in promise, and will ever give, to those who forsake home and kindred. If the visit be at sufficiently long intervals, and the land of adoption be kept as the one object uppermost, it is then, I think, alike beneficial to yourself, to the land from which you are for a time an absentee, and, as I was repeatedly assured, to the land which you visit. It renews half-severed links, it revives connexions, it kindles fresh interest and sympathy; in a word, it readjusts that electric chain of communication along which mutual spiritual blessings flow.

"In looking back upon the period, how many the tokens of God's peculiar and providential care! Surely it was his hand, in answer to the prayers of many here and elsewhere, which, on our homeward voyage, interposed to deliver from a disaster which might have been attended with much trial and suffering. It could only be his hand which brought me back to the very Sabbath of appointment, strengthened both in body and mind. And, to take but two intermediate cases, it must have been the good hand of God which, without concert or pre-arrangement, brought from China and Rupert's Land those who had been sent forth to their work together, and placed us so often on the same platform, the visible representatives of the churches of the East and the West. It was the same hand which carried me to England in sufficient time to be present at the consecration of a beloved friend and companion of early youth to his high and weighty office, the charge of what he has truly designated as 'the greatest diocese in the world,' the metropolitan see of London. These, brethren, are the way-marks to be set up—the never-to-be-forgotten causes of gratitude which sweeten the pilgrimage of life.

"It was not, as you well know, a period of rest and activity: it was one of more unceasing employment and greater mental strain than when among yourselves. The preaching and speaking in public were, indeed, without intermission. But the occasions of preaching gave to the labour an agreeable variety. It was no little pleasure to preach, soon after arrival, the ordination sermon before my own University; to lay, by invitation, the foundation-stone of the new chapel of my own college. It was pleasant to preach, as it happened, on successive Sundays in St. Patrick's and St. Paul's cathedrals; and, not least of all, it was pleasant to ordain a labourer for this land in the very church which I had left on coming out hither.* Nor was the public speaking less diversified. Whether it were the village gathering in the parochial schoolroom, in the spreading tent, or on the green turf, or the crowded assembly of those of quicker intelligence and more sharpened powers in the hall of town or city; whether it were the University meetings, now so fully attended, where one longed to be able to discern a Martyn or a Fox, a Ragland, or a Tucker, among the youthful throng; or whether it were those largest meetings of a more mixed and general audience which mark the months of April and May; there was always that eagerness to hear, that anxiety to receive tidings from afar, which at once carries forward the speaker, and makes the effort comparatively easy.

"But there was much of detail beneath. In the way of necessary business, I would assign the highest place to conference with those great Societies which bear up and sustain our work. They are the fountain-heads from which the rills flow over our land. They are the wonderful agencies of this century; for though some of them existed a century

* The Rev. T. H. Fleming, Church Missionary, at All Saints', Derby.

before, their sphere of operation has mor than doubled during it. On their practical wisdom, on their prayerful zeal, on their being guided in each deliberation by the Holy Spirit, would depend, in no ordinary degree, the welfare of the colonial and Missionary church. One to whom the Missionary church at least, and, consequently, our own diocese, owes a large debt of gratitude, has lately given up his position of very extended influence; one whose instructions are treasured up and remembered at many a lonely station, the respected Principal of Islington College. I am sure that I am but giving expression to the feelings of those here present who were trained by him, in saying that our best wishes would go with him on his retirement; that our prayers would accompany him, that, while blessed in his parish, he may ever retain the happy consciousness that the seeds of truth scattered by him are bearing good fruit in many a distant clime. God, we doubt not, has filled up his place, and, to his devoted successor, who had, even beforehand, furnished an unusual number for the Mission field, one looks with unabated confidence for a supply of duly-qualified Missionaries, men of God, full of faith, and wisdom, and prayer.

"To thank for the sums collected is far beyond my power. With the fulness of a grateful heart, I always find words but feeble to express such feelings. Very various were the donors. Some gave, and gave, we fear, almost beyond their ability; very many, the fruits of much self-denial and self-sacrifice; some, 'whose hearts the Lord stirred up' from simply hearing the tidings, although previously unknown to ourselves; others from personal regard and affection; some, anxious that their names should be concealed, content to lay up treasure in heaven. Not a few are already gone to their rest, and, as we trust, to their rich reward—to that Saviour who remembereth the cup of cold water given to a saint in his name. How doubly sacred their legacy and parting gift! The amount collected might have been more had I made this my only object, but this I could not think of doing. As we are still a Missionary church—as every ministerial income, except the endowment of the bishopric, comes from home—I placed my services, in a great measure, at the command of those Societies which feed and support us. To all of them, I trust, some services were rendered in pleading their cause; nor did I willingly decline to undertake labour in any direction for them, but, most of all, as the Church Missionary Society furnish so large a proportion of my clergy, I felt that all I could do for them was but little in return for the past; and, on this occasion, I would say that my admiration of the wisdom of their Committee, my affection for their office-bearers, has much deepened from those months of unreserved confidential intercourse.

"On my way out I had an opportunity of seeing, and that for the first time, our church in Canada and in the United States. In the former I was welcomed, on arriving, by him who made the first episcopal visit to Rupert's Land, and was in a manner its first bishop. It was delightful to notice the warmth with which he made minute inquiry after many here, and the deep anxiety which he manifested for the progress of the church in this land. The recollection of his wanderings in the western wilderness is, he seems to feel, a bright and sunny spot in the memory of the past. He was the only Canadian bishop at home as I passed through. From the Bishop of Toronto I have since heard, having received a letter of commendation on behalf of one who has come amongst us. For it I feel grateful, as the intercourse now opened will, doubtless, rapidly increase. I hope that all my brethren, as well as the clergy generally, will send such introductions with those of our own church who may come in, whether to visit or to settle.

"In the sister church of the United States I saw also but one bishop, it being the season when most were absent from the larger towns on their visitations through the country, but he was (if I may say so) the one whom I most wished to see, the bishop who, for four-and-twenty years, has been the Missionary bishop of the north-west, and who, after organizing six new dioceses, has now retired, as he well deserves to do, from the wider field, and will henceforward limit his labours to the diocese of Wisconsin. He has thus been a standard-bearer, carrying forward the banners of the cross for nearly a quarter of a century, and yet he has still an undiminished freshness and activity. At his request I preached the opening sermon at the annual convention of the diocese of Minnesota, and remained with them throughout its session. We cannot wonder that the late triennial convention should have tendered to him their warmest thanks, and should have felt unwilling that the office and title should disappear. They have elected in his room another bishop of the north-west—an unattached bishop, if we may use the term—or, rather, a purely Missionary bishop. He would, in strictness, make a fourth new diocesan, if not a fourth new diocese, adjoining us, and our best prayer for him would be, that on him might fall the mantle of Bishop Kemper.

"Having thus carried your thoughts to

others, and spoken much of them, it would be very ungracious and ungrateful were I not to thank you from the very depth of my heart for the very cordial welcome which you gave me on my return. Often had I spoken, when away from you, of my possessing, if ever bishop did, an affectionate body of clergy; and on my arrival I found that I had not overestimated the personal attachment to myself of either laity or clergy.

"Ready as I was myself for travel, if necessary, the following summer, the task seemed naturally to devolve in turn on others. In the winter the proposal came from one among you: a plan for a very long and distant enterprise, to plant the Cross in a new territory, and penetrate towards the Arctic Sea. He came, not sketching a plan for others, but willing to start himself, wanting but an answer to his offer, 'Here am I, send me.' We have surely reason to thank him to-day for the commencement of a good work there, and however difficult its continuance may be, ours will be in great measure the blame should the station be abandoned, and the citadel, thus gained, be given up. With the results of the Mission, so far, we have much cause to be satisfied. It has been hailed by all the officers of the Hon. Company, and it will tell, I hope, happily hereafter on some of the poor scattered tribes. The Archdeacon has returned among us in the fulness of God's blessing, and will, by his presence, tend to keep alive the interest in the work. He has seen what we only hear of; he feels as one yearning for souls without a shepherd. To him, therefore, peculiarly, do we commit the work, and trust that he may yet live to see the pleasure of the Lord prospering in that bleak and barren portion of the earth. One has gone to relieve him, to occupy the advanced post, and we await with eagerness the tidings from him which may reach us in a few weeks. May they be, that, undeterred by difficulty, he is willing to continue and abide there, scattering the seed of life.

"During the last summer I have myself gone in the same direction, but only about a third of the distance. Anxious as I was to stand on the height of land, and meet the gentlemen of the district, according to their wish, at Portage la Loche, I felt that the time was not yet—that my presence at a future day would do more good. And the event proved to my own mind that I had judged rightly, from the very favourable journey which God gave me. It was the lightest and easiest trip I have yet made in the country—seven weeks, and not wind-bound one whole day! My object was to visit the stations at Christ Church and the English River, and I confess to have started with a greater measure of despondency than usual. These stations have been passing through much trial for some winters. To them may indeed be applied those pregnant and forcible words of the Apostle, 'pressed out of measure, above strength.' I found all, however, more encouraging than I had expected, and I then fondly trusted that I had passed through the worst. But I would scarcely say this now. The non-arrival of the supplies from England, through the loss of the ship, will, I fear, renew and aggravate their difficulties, and throw them back again. The brightest and most cheering sight was that of the canoes and tents of the Chipewyans, on the bank of the English River. Their naturalness of manner, and frank and open cordiality with Mr. Hunt, left on my mind the most pleasing remembrance. They seemed the first-fruits of a tribe. With pain I declined to admit to baptism many who importunately sought it. I took their little ones as a pledge, and promised that, God willing, they should soon have some one to preach among them in their own tongue.

"For the two spheres—the Mackenzie River and the Chipewyans—I have written for help, pleading for two able and active men; the one to relieve Mr. and Mrs. Hunt (for in speaking of Missionary labour they must always be named together), and then to direct his efforts to the Chipewyans; the other to assist in carrying on the work on the Mackenzie River. The burden of secular care is still felt at the stations which I visited, so as to weigh down almost beyond the power of endurance. I found in the United States, that in their Missions among the Indians (and I believe it is the case also in their Foreign Missions), they have an officer called an Economos—a layman entrusted with the pecuniary and wordly concerns, the household and the farm. This, doubtless, tends to lighten care. But if the office were created among us, the difficulty would be great to find the man, or rather the men, as they must be multiplied for the several stations. The conviction, too, I found gaining ground in the north, and, I think, probably among us all, that more must be attempted by itinerating; that in districts where distances are counted by thousands of miles, we cannot cover the surface with large and expensive stations; that we must rather take a centre, and, from it, carry the truth in diverging lines. Such is the nature of the work at Moose and in the Eastern District, and such must be the aggression on the Mackenzie River and in the north-west.

"As the result of such a general survey,

you want, brethren, some actual statistics, and to see the sum in intelligible figures. We have, then, held nine confirmations since our return, and confirmed in all 331, giving what is a very fair average in each church of thirty-six, or very nearly thirty-seven. We have still to confirm at La Prairie, if God permit, in March, and at Moose in July. We have held four ordinations (including that already referred to in England), at which three were ordained deacons and two priests. Two additional labourers came out the year of my return—one for each district—one of whom is at present at York; the other has already traversed the greater part of the Moose quarter. A third, whom I cannot forbear to mention, offered her gratuitous services for the work, and, with all the heart and devotedness of a Missionary, came out at the same time. She is now labouring assiduously at Fairford, as a fellow-labourer in the Gospel. A candidate for ordination is, we hear, on his way; and another has already reached the land, under circumstances which call for much sympathy and prayer—one of our own party, as one of my own children, for years previously under my care.* He had gained the love and affection of all at the Missionary college, when the hand of God laid him aside, and he returns weakened in body, but, I trust, much ripened in spiritual things. Happy should I be if, through the Divine blessing, his native air should restore him during the winter, so that I may yet lay hands on the son as I have done on the father, and that the name introduced among us may pass down to yet another generation, and become rooted among us.

"We are thus in all twenty-one to-day—one, and one only, in deacons' orders. We have lost one since our last visitation, who has recently been appointed to a living in the diocese of Norwich. I have an additional grant from the Colonial Church Society, and only regret that they have not yet succeeded in finding one to relieve me in some measure of the heavier parochial duty. The work of translation is still going on. The only labourer absent from the country is actively employed in carrying through the press the Syllabic Bible, at the joint expense of the Bible and Church Missionary Societies. He is at the same time superintending two editions of the Prayer-book in the same character, the one the translation of Archdeacon Hunter, for York and the Saskatchewan; the other that of Mr. Horden, for Moose and the East Main. For both of these we have to thank the Christian-Knowledge Society. The work not having been fully completed, the Parent Committee of the Church Missionary Society determined to keep Mr. Mason a year longer in England, and, as the event has proved, most providentially. The large supply of copies for York has, we fear, been lost; but he is on the spot to continue the work, and to throw off additional copies to repair in some degree the loss. On his return, Mr. Gardiner will, we hope, pass on to a new station, and occupy Fort Churchill."

We conclude with one extract more

"We labour in a land of difficulty and paradox. Our double trial is, its vastness and its smallness. Its vastness—so that we often strain the eye until lost in the contemplation of the untrodden soil to which no messenger of peace has yet penetrated, and for which we are in a measure accountable, The bold and daring mariner braves the peril of the Polar Sea in search of those who have perished; and there, from time to time, he meets with some living men. How emphatically may such say, 'No man careth for my soul!' Its smallness, too—so that we often ponder over the thinness of its population and our inability to produce mighty results, or work on a large scale, until we are almost tempted to relax our energy, and cry, 'By what shall Jacob rise, for he is small?' We cannot traverse the land in its length and breadth; and if we could do so, over hundreds of miles, we should not meet a fellow-creature. We cannot plant the wilderness with settlers and thriving villages, for this is not our vocation, and would require far mightier resources. Our best support would be found in the ever-present recollection, that each single soul saved is a gem in the Redeemer's crown, and that each such soul, effectually rescued from Satan's grasp, is a magnet to draw other souls, to increase the ever-widening circle on earth, and add to the number of the redeemed in heaven."

* Mr. H. Budd, son of the Rev. H. Budd.

CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

(*Continued from* p. 120)

"I PROCEED to relate some Indian customs regarding births, marriages, and deaths.

"*Births.*—The customs prevalent among the Hindus on the occasion of a child's birth are not very remarkable, but are characteristic of their bigotry and superstition. When the mother has ascertained that such is to happen, she devotes a great portion of her time to looking at herself in the glass, in the certain belief, as told her by the 'wise women' amongst them, that this will occasion the infant's resembling her. This, in common with women of most countries, she most anxiously wishes for. She almost always is possessed of a thumb-ring, in which is set a small looking-glass: in this glass she is perpetually gazing. It is called in the native language an *ursee*.

"At the time of the birth the parents distribute a great quantity of sweetmeats amongst their friends; and they pour down the infant's throat a medicine composed of spice, called *umultas*, a grain called *ujwaeen*, and sugar. These are mixed together in water: it is called the *jinum guttee*, or birth-draught. They then bathe the child in warm water. The fifth night is the time fixed for the pundits and astronomers to assemble at the house. When they have all met and saluted each other, they go out into a court together to look at the stars, and, agreeably to their decision, after a long contemplation of them, the child is given a name. The pundits make then what they call the *jinum puthur*, which is a paper on which is written the names of the child's parents, its grandfathers', grandmothers', and the date, hour, minute, and instant, in which its birth took place. This costs the lower orders a rupee and a quarter; but the higher in rank and the richer pay according to their means. The first name of the child, which is given to it by the pundits, is usually after one of their gods, such as Ram, Luchmun, Sheo, Gunesh, for a male. The women are also named after some of Krishna's mistresses, or some Hindu divinity who is a female. But with regard to the other name which the boy receives from his father, it is usually the name of some idol, tree, river, or remarkable person or animal; but the girl seldom receives more than one. There is a *jinum puthur* also written for a girl, which, as well as that which is written for a boy, is treasured up by her parents with the greatest care. After the boy is born, they take the most especial care that it may not be seen by a cat, as they consider such to be the most unfortunate thing that can betide it; but if a girl, they do not care for cats.

"*Marriages.*—But the mode of life, and the absurd and abject superstitions of the country, is nowhere more shown than in their forms and the bridal processions attending the union in marriage of their boys and girls. The bridegroom and the bride, at the time of these ceremonies taking place, are not more than nine and seven years old respectively: they are sometimes even younger. When a marriage between two families is in contemplation, the parents of both parties take their *jinum puthurs* to the astronomers, and ask whether their stars of destiny are conformable. If the astronomers decree that they are so, then the affair is settled; otherwise they give it up. In the event of their not being propitious, even the astronomers who are pundits receive a present of two or three rupees; but if, as is almost always the case, they consider it advisable, then the parents also give them a present, and go home, taking with them the *jinum puthurs*. Then first the father of the bride sends the bridegroom's father a present of rupees and a large quantity of sweetmeats, called a *tuka*. Then both families remain in the habit of giving and receiving presents, until the time for the commencement of the *beah*. This ceremony begins by the boy's going to the house of the girl, and he there finds prepared for him a small chair, placed upon a throne. Around this are seated his *marriage brothers*, as they are called, and his family priest. On his arrival they welcome him, and place him on the throne. They then, when he is seated, ask him to repeat some appropriate verse, poetry, or ode, for the occasion. He does so, and then all the relatives of the bride perform the *arta*, which consists in circling a plate round his head, in which is a lamp, and give him presents, in amount from one to one hundred rupees. Then the boy-bridegroom asks his father-in-law and mother-in-law for presents, and they give him in money, according to their means, from two to one hundred rupees; and, if they can afford it, presents of elephants, horses, and jewels. After this they

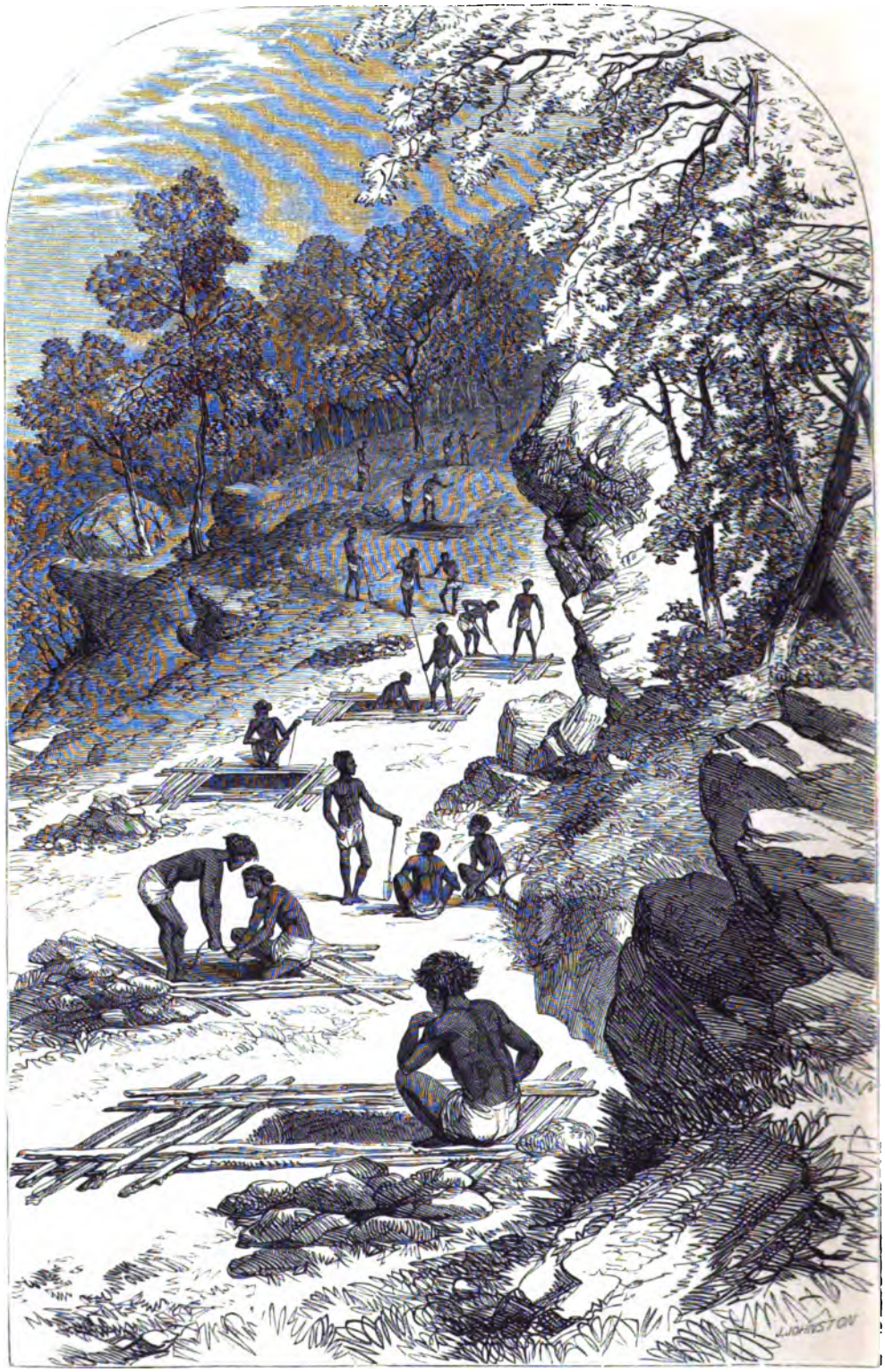
make him open his scarf, and they throw therein sweetmeats and cocoa-nuts; and the Brahmin, or family priest, puts a *teeka* on his forehead, and takes his leave. Then the Brahmin receives some presents; also the relatives of the bridegroom receive some, and they, in return, give blessings to the bride's relatives, their donor, and are bound to ask for more than they at first receive. They then (the relatives of the bridegroom), making a great clamour with cymbals and other musical instruments, take him away to his own house. Then, when he has arrived there, he calls the rest of his relatives who have not accompanied him, and the Brahmins who are his acquaintances. The latter, when they have sat down together in a room, begin singing the Shasters with a loud voice. Next one of them draws a good many figures on the ground with coarse flour, and on each makes the boy place pawn-leaves, fruit, betel-nuts, and pice; and in this way they generally make out about twenty figures. The relatives, when the figures are finished, make a reverential salutation to them, which is called a *dundwut*, and place over each some wet rice. This form is considered as an offering to the star of his destiny. The young bridegroom then gives them some rupees, and the Brahmins take the pice from the figures. The Brahmins then begin to congratulate him on the occasion, and they, together with the barbers, who are generally used as Mercuries between the different families, make solicitations for more money. They receive a further donation of some pice. The next night, when it is quite dark, the boy gets on horseback, and puts on a sword, a red turban, and a yellow cloak, and, taking his relatives with him, goes to the door of his father-in-law's house. He finds that inside are assembled a great number of the bride's relatives making merry with mirth, music, and dancing. Then the father of the bride and all his relatives collect a sum of from fifty to two thousand rupees, according to their means, and the jewels sufficient for one girl—which in this country amount to a large sum—her slaves, her elephants, and her horses, and present them to the bridegroom. They also give presents, sweetmeats, and clothes to his relatives; and these they send to his house. He is then conducted by Brahmins into the girl's house, and they make him sit on a chair, and begin several prayers and forms of mummery. After this the Brahmins select a place near the house, generally an adjacent court, and plant therein four trunks of a plantain tree (the tree which is considered by the Hindus to be emblematic of fecundity, from its producing so many bunches of fruit), and place over them a red-coloured cloth, so that this has the appearance of a canopy, or small tent. They then put underneath this a cocoa-nut and some small almonds and dates coated with silver. Then ensues the time for inviting a very large concourse of people, dressed in their holiday attire, friends of both parties. The men sit in the outer rooms, and the women, hidden from their gaze, are inside, either in the interior or in some upper rooms, from which they can view what is going on. The women sing and play on their numerous instruments, and call out loudly their jokes, songs, and ribaldry to the male exclusives. After this the Brahmins assemble in the small canopy, which is called a *mundha*. They then go into the apartment where the girl is, and bring her out entirely concealed with clothes. They afterwards go and bring the boy, dressed in his ordinary clothes. They make the young couple sit inside the *mundha*, and say prayers. After this the Brahmins make a great many figures on the ground with coarse flour, kolee, pawn, betel-nut, and rice; and they cause the girl to urge the boy to place wet rice on those figures. Then they kindle a fire, and sing the Shasters, making a great clamour. They pass the night in singing, and when it is near dawn of day, the Brahmins give the girl leave to make her agreement of marriage. She then solemnly promises before them that she will remain obedient to her husband all her life; that she will never allow another man to see her face. This is kept true to the letter. She adds some other expressions indicative of her state of submission. The boy then makes his agreement to the following effect—That he will make all his property subservient to his bride's welfare; that he will protect her; that he will always endeavour to please her, and conduct himself in no way contrary to her interest. After this the Brahmins tie their clothes together, and drag them four times round the *mundha*. During the whole time of dragging them round, they roar out the Shasters at the highest pitch of their voices. After the fourth turn, the marriage ceremony is completed. Her relatives then take leave of her with much weeping. The Brahmins send for a palanquin, and having concealed her well in it, they make the boy get on a horse, and, sounding all manner of instruments, he, together with her male relatives, departs to his house. He there lives with his mother's friends, and when she is about thirteen, and he fifteen, they commence keeping house together. But in this country a girl of thirteen is as much consi-

dered eligible for marriage as one of eighteen is in England, and this precocity seems to obtain all over the East. They look on girls of twenty-two as if they were old women. Boys seldom learn or get taller after seventeen, and at thirty seem past the meridian of life.

The first marriage which a man makes is called the *beah*. Should he die and leave a widow, the poor woman, in former times, was urged to burn herself at her husband's funeral; but now that horror is done away with, she is obliged to live with her husband's brother. This occasions a great deal of immorality, and the expenses attendant upon a marriage is another source of the same. It is almost incredible the sums which are laid out in the wedding ceremonies: parties think nothing of expending three or four years' income on them. If a woman, after her husband's death, marry another man, it is considered a great degradation: in fact, she loses caste by doing so, and sinks to the lowest grade. The husband whom she marries is called a *deraychu*. None of the disgrace consequent upon a woman's doing so can fall upon a man when he is placed in similar circumstances; but, on the contrary, if his wife dies, he may marry a virgin. They also attach not the least blame to him if he takes a maid and makes her the resident of his *rungwas*, or seraglio. This is called *butt ke kurna*, or *ghur men daltena*, but he is bound to support the person whom he thus makes his inmate. There is a proverb in the country to the effect that a man of high caste who has daughters has a fortune, because of the very large sums he gets from the bridegroom at the marriage of each. There are many instances, on the other hand, of Brahmins who, by marrying girls, the daughters of people beneath them in caste, have made their own fortune.

"There are many stories told of the extravagancies which are committed by people of high caste when one of their number takes a bride from the daughters of one whom they consider beneath them. I recollect one which came under my immediate notice. The case was of a man of the rajpoot, or military caste, who had gone to the house of some low-caste man to seek a bride. This had been without the consent of his elder brother. In conformity with the customs which I have mentioned above, the bridegroom was seated in his father-in-law's house when his elder brother heard of the news. Having listened to the recital of it, he ate a quantity of bhang, or intoxicating hemp, and, taking his sword, he ran furiously to the house where his brother was seated. When he arrived there, in frantic passion, he drew his sword and cut indiscriminately at all whom he saw. Before he could be disarmed by the police he had severely wounded thirteen people, seven of whom died afterwards. He was brought bound to the English magistrate, who asked him where he had procured a sword which could wound so many in such a short time. His answer was, 'Lord of my life, unbind the arms of your slave, and, by the waters of Gungoutrie, I will show you what the same sword can do.' He did not evince the slightest remorse, either then or at his execution, which took place some time afterwards. I was witness also to the following circumstance, which shows the jealousy with which they regard their wives: it was on a court of inquest of which I was interpreter. The inquest was upon the body of a woman who had been murdered in the most inhuman manner. Her hand, the smallest I ever remember to have seen, was lying beside the body. It had been severed when she raised it to avert the cut of the sword which had been first aimed at her. On her neck had been inflicted three deep gashes, any one of them sufficient to bring on death. The face was beautiful, and the figure symmetrical. After examining several witnesses, apart from each other, it was ascertained that the murder had been committed in open day by her husband. I asked the magistrate for leave to speak to him, which was granted, and then asked him how he had been so inhuman in his conduct. His answer, which was delivered with coolness and self-possession, was to this effect, 'Sir, what would you have a man of my caste do when his wife is known to be unfaithful?' He was of the Bunneah caste.

[*To be continued.*]



A MICA MINE IN BEHAR (*See page* 150.)

GONDWANA, AND ITS ABORIGINAL TRIBES

Between the Vindhya range on the north, the eastern chain of ghauts, and a line connecting these drawn from the mouth of the Godavery to the centre of the valley of the Nerbudda, lies a vast territory, very dissimilar to the great plain country of the Ganges—a region composed of lofty and rugged mountains, impenetrable forests, swampy woodlands, and arid wastes, interspersed with extensive tracts of open and unproductive plain. It abounds, too, in varieties of climate as well as of physical aspect.

There are mountains covered with forests, grass-clothed uplands, spring-watered valleys, and low alluvial lands, fertilized by tropical rains. In some places there are winter frosts, and in others, heat that is at all seasons oppressive. This vast plateau, which overhangs Bengal and Orissa, and to the south forms the northern extremity of the Deccan, is usually designated Gondwana. So imperfectly is it known, that, in the best maps, large blanks occur, of districts which have never been explored, and where civilization has not yet penetrated. Within its limits are comprised the British districts of Saugor and Nerbudda, and also the states, British and native, which are known as the South-Western Frontier agency, the Cuttack Mehals, and the greatest portion of the northern part of Nagpore. Its great elevation may be concluded from the fact, that the rivers which have their sources in these uplands flow down, some with a northward course to meet the Ganges; others, as the Mahanuddy, eastward to the Bay of Bengal; and others westward, as the Nerbudda, and Taptee, with their tributaries, to the Indian Ocean. In these regions the Vindhya system appears to centralize, and to send out three ranges to the west, the most northern of which only is called by Hindus the Vindhya; the next being the Satpara mountains, which divide the Nerbudda from the Taptee; and the most southerly being the Mahadeo hills.

The south-west frontier agency of Bengal comprises a considerable portion of this rugged section of the peninsula. Here lie the divisions of country designated as Chota Nagpore, Lohardugga, Manbhoom, Singbhoom, Ramghur, or Hazareebagh, and Sumbulpore; besides the native domains of Sirgoojah, Sonepore, Korea, Nowagurh, and many others, which extend until they terminate in the independent tracts of Orissa. Many of these petty chiefdoms are wild and rugged in the extreme. Sirgoojah, about 90 miles in length from north to south, and 85 in breadth, rises 500 or 600 feet above the adjoining district of Chota Nagpore, itself a table-land, the general level of which is between 1200, and 2000 feet above that of the sea. The Damooda river flowing south-east into the Hoogly, and the Sooburno Rekha and Bamunee flowing more southerly into the Bay of Bengal, have their sources within a short distance of the station of Chota Nagpore. "The table-land extends in a north-eastern direction from Ruttunpore (1539 feet above the sea) of great Nagpore through Jaspore, the north-west extreme of Singhbhoom, Tamar and Pachete, to the trunk road east of Parusnath. The southern termination is generally rather abrupt from Ruttunpore to the neighbourhood of Singhbhoom, where lofty ridges stretch south from it." About 100 miles due west from Chota Nagpore, lies Jumeera Pat, the most elevated spot of an extended table-land, being 3200 feet above the level of the sea. From the brow of the hill a beautiful view of the Koosmee valley is obtained, beyond which are the hills of Koorea and Sirgoojah, the country in that direction being very beautiful from the intermixture of extensive and fertile valleys, and well-wooded hills. And such is the general aspect of these districts: picturesque groups of hills, deep groves, clear and rocky streams, all things that are graceful in landscape, in varying succession, meet and charm the eye at every turn. The products of the country are manifold: of metals, gold, copper, and iron; of precious stones, the diamond; and here are ample coal mines, from which, in time to come, unlimited supplies will be drawn.

These mountain-fastnesses have been the home and shelter of wild tribes, remnants of the aboriginal population, whose forefathers fled hither when the successive waves of Aryan invasion swept over the plain country. Here they sought and obtained a refuge and a hiding-place, and here their descendants are to be found at the present day. They are split into manifold tribes, and are known by various names—Kōls, Santhals, Gonds, &c. &c. Portions of the aboriginal races may be found dispersed over the face of the peninsula, wherever an isolated mountain group or an inaccessible forest afforded them security. But they appear to have made Gondwana, with its mountain fastnesses and inaccessible forests, their chief home.

Are these wild tribes to be deemed altogether unworthy of our notice, and our atten-

tion to be entirely concentrated on the Hindus and Mohammedans of the plains, while these are passed by? Is such a course in harmony with the prescribed action of the Gospel? Surely "these outcasts from the general family well merit the attention of the Christian Missionary. The very genius of the Gospel bids him condescend to men of low estate, while the number of these tribes, their political condition, their freedom from shackles which bind the orthodox Hindu, their evident capacity for improvement, the bearing which their conversion must have upon the evangelization of the whole people of the land, point them out as deserving of serious attention." There are probably not less than eight or nine millions of this people, which occupy the most secluded portions of the Indian peninsula. Their religion is "a simple system of superstition, resting as much on the natural and suggestive fears and desires of the human mind, as on traditions which are handed down from sire to son, alike without the embellishments of song, or the precision of the established chronicle or exciting romance. Their imagination fills their gloomy forests with malevolent spirits, human, superhuman, and infrahuman, and particularly the ghosts of their own ancestors, and of the divers beasts of prey, which were their quondam companions. Their worship is principally a deprecation of evil, conducted by bloody sacrifices and peace-offerings to the beings, seen and unseen, from whom they apprehend injury. When they rise above this devotion, it is principally to take cognizance of the multifarious powers which they suppose direct and control the various objects of nature, and occurrences of Providences, and occupations of savage life, with which they are most familiar."

We shall refer briefly, as we pass along, to some of the wild tribes inhabiting the various sections of this vast area of territory, that their condition and need of the Gospel may be better understood.

And first

THE GONDS.

"The Gonds inhabit the hill districts on the borders of Orissa and Ganjam. Their country naturally divides itself into two parts; lying as it does partly above and partly below the Ghaut range. In the lower districts the hilly wastes, clothed with deep woods and interspersed with extensive valleys and undulating downs gradually come down to the level plains of Orissa near the sea. From these the higher districts are separated by the steep and precipitous ghauts; and form an extensive plateau above them, somewhat similar to that of Mysore, stretching far away into the territories of Central India. These hill regions, termed Máliás, are distinguished by different names. Bordering on the Orissa territory and the river Mahanuddy, lie the *Boad* Máliás; next toward the south the *Goomsur* Máliás, including *Hodzoghoro*, the the *Bara* and *Atháro* Mutahs, and *Chokapad;* south of these are the *Surádá* and *Corada* Máliás; and west of these, the extensive Máliás of *Chinna Kimedy*. These are the chief divisions of the Gond country. Of these only the Surádá Máliás entirely, and Goomsur partially, lie below the ghauts: the rest are entirely above them.

"The country thus divided presents a varied aspect to the traveller's eye. Below the ghauts, the villages are somewhat scattered; the valleys appear poor, bleak, and barren; water is less abundant than in the higher lands; the country displays no varieties of scenery; and the hilly slopes under the great range are thickly covered with the dammer tree and the bamboo. The districts on the plateau above are far more picturesque. The tableland is much broken by valleys, sometimes deep and rugged, and is crossed by ridges of hills of varied height, some being 4000 feet above the sea. Many parts are bare of wood; in others are groups of forest trees; in others a jungle rich in flowers; the valleys and glens furnish sites for the villages and fields for culture; while in the higher and deeper recesses of the hills thick forests grow, inhabited by the tiger and the bear. In the Máliás of Chinna Kimedy a thick forest of timber trees covers the whole surface, and extends westward without a break for more than a hundred and forty miles. Portions of this forest have been cut down by the people, and the cleared land in the valleys cultivated. The soil is everywhere fertile; and if the land were all cleared, and the numerous waterfalls and springs properly turned to account, it would yield the most abundant harvests. Numerous vegetable products are raised, which furnish materials for traffic in the plains.

"The people are in general divided into two great classes; those living on the lower ranges of the ghauts, and those in the districts above them. The former are called *Bennia* Gonds; the latter, the *Máliá*, or highland Gonds. The Bennia Gonds were apparently permitted by their Hindu conquerors to retain their lands on a rent tenure, or on that of feudal service to their zemindars. Living nearer the plains, and in subjection to Hindu governors, they have of course been brought into constant intercourse with the Hindus who people them: they attend the markets

and bazaars, and witness much of a life and habits different from their own. The consequence has been a partial adoption of Hindu manners. The most changed among the Bennias are very like the Hindus; and between them and the pure Gonds may be seen all grades in the change from the habits of the latter to those of the former. They wear the Hindu dress, speak the Oriya language, build houses after the Hindu plan, use the Orissa plough, refuse to cultivate turmeric, drink milk, eat ghee, and abstain from the barbarous practice of dancing, of which their less refined countrymen are extravagantly fond. They have even adopted *Káli* as one of their deities; while the Hindus in the same districts have adopted the Gond god, and call him *Gondini*. In the worship of the deity both people unite together; while the Gond priest and the Brahmin serve together at his altar.

"The *Máliá* Gonds, on the other hand, living on the plateau and in the valleys above the ghauts, exhibit all the characteristics of Gond society in their purest form. They have, it is true, always been in intercourse with the zemindars of the lower country; sometimes making a raid or foray into their territories to levy black mail, but acting usually as independent allies and friends, never as subjects. Separated from the Hindus of the plains by the broad belt of hill zemindaries, filled with men like themselves, and shut out by their inaccessible hills and jungles from all attempts at conquest, they have remained the same people in manners and pursuits for many hundreds, it may be thousands, of years.

"The dress of the Gonds, both male and female, is very scanty, and resembles that of the poorer Hindus. The men wear their black and shiny hair in a knot fastened by an iron pin above the forehead or on the side of the head: both men and women wear ornaments of iron or bone, or of dyed wood. Agriculture is considered the only honourable employment, and, drawing to itself the people's greatest energy, is exceedingly productive. The land of every community is apportioned into a great number of petty freeholds, and each proprietor cultivates for himself. Several kinds of rice, yams, millet, turmeric, tobacco, and mustard, are the staple produce. They possess large herds of buffaloes, bullocks, and swine, numerous fowls, and flocks of goats. But the people are also warlike: from early youth they are trained to use the sling, the bow and arrow, and the tangi, or hill-axe; and so constant are their quarrels as almost totally to suspend cultivation at some periods.

"Intellectually the Gonds are rather quick in perception, firm in their resolutions, and good-humoured. They have an unconquerable love of personal freedom, and are very impatient of restraint. They are faithful to their engagements when made; but have no idea of any rights except their own. Hence their readiness, both singly and in bands, to make a foray on others' territories or districts, and seize 'whatever they like best' (as they term it); which means, the most valuable property of others. They are selfish, ferocious, and dreadful drunkards. Like the Arabs, they are remarkable for their hospitality, and rather suffer loss and danger than violate its sacred rites. Marriages only take place between the members of different tribes. The women, though they do not eat with their husbands, are yet treated with some respect: they attend to domestic duties; hold ammunition for their tribe on the battle-field; and, by their advice, exercise much influence on their councils."*

Their religious notions, and the sad results to which they lead, may now be referred to—

"There is one Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of good, and the creator of the universe, of the inferior gods, and of man, This divinity is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are the chief seats of his presence.

"Boora Pennu, in the beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the source of evil. He afterwards created the earth. As Boora Pennu walked upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate compliance and attention as a wife, and resolved to create from its substance a new being, man, who should render to him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life necessary to man's existence.

"The creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. Men enjoyed free intercourse with the creator. They lived without labour upon the spontaneous abundance of the earth; they enjoyed every thing in common, and lived in perfect harmony and peace. They went unclothed. They had power to move not only on the earth, but through the air and the sea. The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous.

"The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the lot of his new creature by the introduction into the

* Mullens' Missions in S. India, pp. 143—146

world of every form of moral and physical evil. She instilled into the heart of man every variety of moral evil, 'sowing the seeds of sin in mankind as into a ploughed field,' and, at the same time, introduced every species of physical evil into the material creation—diseases, deadly poisons, and every element of disorder. Boora Pennu, by the application of antidotes, arrested and held in abeyance the elements of physical evil; but he left man perfectly free to receive or to reject moral evil.

"A few individuals of mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of universal disobedience to the deity, and fierce strife with one another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without their suffering death, saying to them—'Become ye gods, living for ever, and seeing my face when ye will, and have power over man, who is no longer my immediate care.' Upon the corrupted mass of mankind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties; and let loose the myriad forms of physical evil by the withdrawal of the antidotes which had arrested them. He entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship from mankind. He made all who had fallen, subject to death; and he further ordained, that, in future, every one who should commit sin should suffer death as its consequence. Universal discord and war prevailed, so that all social and even family ties were broken up. All nature became thoroughly tainted and disordered. The seasons no longer held their regular course; the earth ceased to bear spontaneously fruit fit for the food of man, and became a wilderness of jungle, rocks, and mud. Diseases and death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous; many flowers and fruits grew poisonous; and many animals became savage and destructive. Man now went clothed, lost the power of moving through the air and the sea, and sank into a state of abject suffering and degradation. Thus the elements of good and evil were thoroughly commingled in man, and throughout nature. Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority in fierce conflict, their terrible strife raging throughout the earth, the sea, and the sky; their chief weapons mountains, meteors, and whirlwinds.

"Up to this point, the Gonds hold the same general belief; but from it they divide into two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the issue of the contest between Boora and his rebel consort, involving the whole subject of the practical relation between the two antagonist powers with reference to man, the source and subject of their strife. . .

"Boora Pennu, say his sect, resolved that, for his own honour, his work should not be lost, but that man should be enabled to attain to a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to rise after death, through the practice of virtue, to a state of beatitude and partial restoration to communion with his maker. To accomplish these purposes, Boora created a subordinate divine agency, in addition to that of the first sinless men, who, when deified, were made guardians of man; and he appointed all the inferior gods to carry out the first object, one excepted, to whom was assigned the duty of administering justice to the dead. It was the office of all these gods to regulate the powers of nature for the use of man, to instruct him in the arts necessary to life, and to protect him against every form of evil."*

In these statements will be found indistinct traces of the belief transmitted by Noah to his descendants; the original innocence and happiness of man; his fall through the temptations of an evil spirit; the penal consequences of his sin, and the need of a divine interference for his recovery. At that point, however, the human mind, uninstructed by the light of revelation, goes astray, and loses itself in a gloomy forest of superstition. Tari required human sacrifices. "See," she exclaimed, "what hills, and waste lands, and jungles are here: worship me with human blood, and the whole shall become a cultivated plain, and you shall have vast increase of numbers and of wealth."

Victims, called "Meriah" by the Oriyas, and Tokki or Keddi, by the Gonds, were persons of any race, or age, or either sex, either kidnapped or otherwise procured. Sometimes they were Gond children, whom the parents had sold under pressure of distress. They were not unfrequently permitted to live until they had attained years of maturity, being regarded by the people as consecrated beings. But when the appointed moment arrived, and the Meriah victim was made fast to the post, none spared him, nor were they satisfied until their fields had been sprinkled with his blood. Then Tari was with confidence invoked—

"O Tari Pennu! You have afflicted us greatly; have brought death to our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn;—have afflicted us in every way. But we do not complain of this. It is your desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and

* "Account of the religion of the Khonds in Orissa," by Capt. S. C. Macpherson, pp. 13—16.

them to raise up and enrich us. We were anciently enriched by this rite: all around us are great from it: therefore, by our cattle, our flocks, our pigs, and our grain, we procured a victim and offered a sacrifice. Do you now enrich us. Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed; let children so abound, that the care of them shall overcome their parents, as shall be seen by their burned hands; let our heads ever strike against brass pots innumerable hanging from our roofs; let the rats form their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk; let all the kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every day. We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us!" *

It is with thankfulness and gratification we refer to the energetic efforts put forth by the British authorities for the suppression of this rite, and the great degree of success with which they have been crowned. A mode of procedure was adopted at once decided and conciliatory. The despotic plan of crushing the system by bullets was rejected as impracticable and cruel. Simultaneously with the efforts to put down the Meriah sacrifices, measures were adopted for the suppression of female infanticide.

These were necessary measures; yet enforced by authority, and, carried out against the customs and wishes of the people, they were resisted. An armed intervention became requisite, and blood was shed. In this the Gospel procedure stands pre-eminent. It accomplishes wondrous changes in the customs of races, without the necessity of resorting to carnal weapons. It is by a gentle persuasive influence on the man, enlightening his understanding, and so correcting his views and feelings, that such changes are effected. The man becomes convinced of the enormity of his old practices, and of himself abandons them.

On the restoration of tranquillity the British authorities resumed their efforts for the suppression of the barbarous practices which had so long prevailed amongst this people, and with increasing success. Tribe after tribe yielded obedience. Since the first war in Goomsur upwards of 2000 Meriah victims have been saved, and female infanticide has greatly diminished. In the infanticide district of Suradah, containing 2150 families, there were, in 1848, less than 50 female children. In the beginning of 1853, in the same district, there were 900 girls under four years of age.

Barbarous, however, as were the customs of the Gonds, there are portions of these wild tribes to be found in a still greater depth of social degradation. Such is the forest race called Puttoos, inhabiting the jungles of the tributary mehals to the south of Singhbhoom. Their stature is diminutive, not exceeding five feet two inches in the men, and four feet three inches in the women. The latter are the household drudges, their spare and emaciated condition bespeaking forcibly the hardship of their daily life. Their costume is such that they have obtained from their neighbours the name "Puttoos," or the people of the leaf. Their villages are small, seldom containing more than six or eight families; the houses are mean thatched huts of wattle and dab: the site selected is generally some opening in the forest, some pretty spot on the skirt of a jungle, where the eye wanders over a small cultivated valley—the out-fields of a distant Orissa village—to the huge mass of the Satusjea mountain, its peaks rising to an elevation of 1800 feet.

Their pursuits are chiefly those of the chase. They use the bow and arrow, and hunt with dogs, killing deer, hogs, and not unfrequently snakes, of the flesh of which they are very fond. Their usual food, however, consists of roots, and the seeds of jungle grapes. Their religious homage appears to be confined to the nameless spirits which they believe inhabit the woods and mountains. "When they find a wild grape-vine or wild plum-tree more than usually fruitful, or when they chance upon a spot rich in the roots and grapes upon which they subsist, they make an offering to the *genius loci* of a fowl, a goat, or a little rice and spirits, and address to him a prayer, in which the terror which overshadows the lives of this forest race finds touching expression—'Lord, let the bears and tigers flee when they see us: let them not meet us.' The only festival of a religious character, which they appear to have, occurs in the month of Bysakh, when they offer sacrifices, and pour out libations to the manes of their dead ancestors."

On the northern face of the Vindhya hills, where the three districts of Behar, Monghyr, and Ramghur meet, are situated the principal Mica mines of Behar. "The most westerly-situated mine is thirty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Gya, and is in the district of Behar; the most easterly mine is about sixty miles distant in Zillah Monghyr; the whole of the intermediate sixty miles being more or less productive of the mineral. The average distance from the Ganges of the whole aggregated group of mines is sixty miles.

† Macpherson, p. 47.

"Rajowlí, a small village, in Pergunnáh Jarráh, of Zillah Behar, is the great mart for the mineral, and the spot whence it is dispersed to all the great markets on the Ganges: this village is situated on the left bank of the Dhunarjeh Nullah, which stream, together with the Tillyá Nullah, unite four miles south of Rajowlí, flow from the southern hills in deeply-wooded valleys, and completely intersect the mines. The beds of these streams, the roads through the passes and valleys, and indeed the whole surface of the country around the mica formation, sparkles with the bright mineral.

"Leaving Rajowlí, and proceeding four miles in an easterly direction, a deep-wooded valley is entered, situated amongst and surrounded by quartz hills: through this valley, in the rainy season, a mountain torrent descends with great violence, bringing with it great quantities of mica. After ascending the course of the torrent for about a mile, the valley terminates in an amphitheatre of low jungle-covered hills; the soil forming the superficial covering of the country is composed of a harsh dry gravel, composed of quartz, schorlaceous schist, detached and silvery mica; through which soil are seen protruding huge naked masses of quartz and gneiss, the latter both plain and garnetiferous. In the beds of the torrents, bushels of minute garnets may be gathered, but, from their very insignificant proportions, they are quite useless. A very beautiful schorlaceous schist, consisting of crystals of schorl of a delicate fineness, embedded in mica, as well as larger crystals of raven-black schorl, varying in size from that of a finger to that of a man's arm, embedded in a bright glassy quartz, and affording, by the contrast of the two minerals, a very beautiful object, are found in great abundance: such is the nature of the minerals in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines, which are always opened in low detached hills. The mica appears in amorphous masses, varying from a few inches square, to four feet in length, embedded in an incoherent soil composed of schorl and comminuted silvery mica, the whole mass filling up extensive interstices between large and widely-separated quartz rocks.

"The mode of opening a mine is as follows: a small and convenient hill having been chosen as the spot for commencing operations upon, a party of the wild hill tribes, named Bandá-this, the members of which party have freely propitiated the local tutelary god or goddess, both by sacrifice and by getting very drunk, ascend to the top of the hill, and commence sinking a series of pits, the whole way down the profile of the hill, about three feet in diameter each, and a few feet apart. These pits are not continued vertically downwards, but in a zig-zag shape, but nevertheless not so much out of the vertical proper, as that a basket containing the mineral cannot be hauled up from the bottom of the pit to the top; the zig-zag shape of the shaft being formed by sinking the shaft, first inclining to the left a few feet and then to the right a few feet, the head of each cut or notch forming a landing-place or step, and thus the necessity of ladders is obviated; the projecting of salient angles of the notches forming a perfect flight of steps from the top to the bottom of the pits, which seldom reaches to a greater depth than forty feet, when darkness interfering with the workman's progress, the pit is forsaken, and another commenced upon a few feet further down the hill. A slight frame-work of faggots cut from the neighbouring trees is placed over the mouth of each pit, upon which a man sits, waiting till the signal from below is given to haul up the basket containing the mica and rubbish, which has been dug from the sides of the pit by the aid of a rude pick. On arrival at the surface, the good and bad materials are separated; the earth and rubbish are shot down the precipitous side of the hill; the good mica which arrives at the surface of the pit in ragged masses about one foot six inches in length, six inches broad, and three inches in thickness, after having its ragged edges trimmed off with a reaping-hook-looking instrument, is placed by itself in a heap, and the bad or refuse, that is, the softer kind, is also placed aside in a heap by itself.

"The mica reaches the surface in three different states, viz. the good, hard, and serviceable mineral; the soft, wet, and flimsy mineral; and the chipped and powdered mineral.

"The plates of the superior kind are used in all the large Gangetic cities and towns, by the native draftsmen, whose beautiful productions in body colours must be familiar to most people; by the lamp and toy-makers; by the Mohammedans for ornamenting their tazias; as well as for ornamenting umbrellas, boots, and for making artificial flowers.

"The second and third kinds are pounded and used for ornamenting toys, pottery, the inside of houses, for sprinkling over clothes and turbans at feasts, the sparkle from which by torch-light resembles diamonds: but the great consumption of the inferior mineral takes place during the Hoolee festival, during which period the 'ábeer,' or pounded mica, mixed with the flour of the small grain, '*Kodo*' and coloured with some red colouring matter, is freely sprinkled over the maddened and

intoxicated votaries of those bacchanalian orgies.

"The mines are worked by Mahajans or native merchants, who reside at Patna and depute agents to the spot to superintend the mining. The excavators or miners are Bandá-Khis, or inhabitants of the hills, a race allied to the Kōls, Bheels, and Santhals: they are a wild-looking set of demi-savages, slightly clad, the forepart of their head shaved, the rest of their hair standing up in wild curls: they have the high cheek-bones, thick lips, nd small eyes of the Vindhyan races; they are also a hard-working and merry race. The miners receive as monthly wages one maund (80 lbs.) of rice, and a piece of cloth, the whole valued at two rupees.

"The mines are worked during the months of January, February, and March only; for during the hot months, or from the latter end of March or June, the great heat dries up all the water for many miles around the mines, and during the rainy season the pits fill with water; and subsequent to the rains the unhealthiness of the dense miasmatic jungles in the neighbourhood prevent the work commencing before January."*

Hitherto these tribes have been greatly neglected, nor have they been permitted, in any considerable degree, to share in the efforts which British Christians have put forth for the evangelization of India. Perhaps we should have forgotten their existence altogether, had we not been unpleasantly reminded of it by various outbreaks and incursions on the more civilized districts, inflicting extensive injury on life and property, and requiring, in order to their suppression, the interference of an armed force. Such has been the Santhal outbreak, that of the Khasias of Jyntiapore, which has been just suppressed, and the recent disturbances in Cutch and Guzerat. And such occurrences precisely what might be expected. As a Christian nation, scriptural, and Protestant in our profession of Christianity we shall never be permitted to settle down quietly on our lees in the presence of heathen tribes, for whose evangelization we are doing nothing. They will continue to be scourges in our sides, and thorns in our eyes, until we become convinced that they are restless because they are without the great corrective which it is the office of Christians, and especially in this case, of British Christians, to supply.

All recent events in India have urged upon us this lesson, if only we be teachable enough to receive it—that if we would rule in peace over the heathen entrusted to our charge, we must give to them the Gospel. Neither by the Government, nor by private individuals should any thing be done which tends to the disparagement of Christians in the eyes of the natives. Like the Queen in her royal proclamation, our authorities should avow their personal conviction of its truth, and recognise it as that true religion which can alone reach the heart, renew the character, and secure the domestic and social happiness of man; while private Christians, in well-considered organizations, heartily and munificently sustained, should give themselves to the direct work of Gospel propagation.

We indulge the hope that Christians at home will feel more strongly than ever the duty, the wisdom, and the charity of Missionary exertions, and that amidst the increase of effort, the hill-tribes of Gondwana will not be forgotton. These elevated plateaux, the strongholds of aboriginal heathenism, are even now being approached from different directions. The Missionary force is beginning to compass it about; and although the operations be yet incipient, yet from the very nature of the work, which possesses in itself an inherent self-sustaining energy, independent of external circumstances, they will increase, until upon the highest hill-tops, and in the midst of the most secluded valley, the standard of Gospel truth shall be raised triumphantly.

On the Orissa side we find Baptist Missionaries in the Ganjam collectorate, which comprises the most southern extremities of Orissa, and large portions of the Gond territory; and also at Sumbulpore, a large populous town, situated in the hill districts of Orissa, and lying in the dâk or post route from Calcutta, *via* Midnapore, to Bombay.

We soon hope to see the Missionaries of our own Society amongst

THE HILL TRIBES OF THE UPPER GODAVERY.

Colonel Cotton, who has taken a deep interest in the adoption of this new field of labour by the Church Missionary Society, is particularly anxious that the upper country should be occupied. The reasons may best be given in his own words—

"Two Missionaries having been nominated to the Telugu Mission, the first question seems to be between the Delta and the Upper Godavery: the first would be to Hindus, the latter to aborigines.

"If only a small addition can at present be made to the Church Missionaries on the Godavery—so that the question is between the country on that river, west of the hills,

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851, pp. 295—7.

and that near the coast—I am of opinion, that for the following reasons the Missionaries should rather be sent to the upper country—

"Because the people there are aborigines. The great success has certainly hitherto been among those races, as the Shanars, the Kavers, and the Kōls in Chota Nagpore. It seems to me that God thus points out the way to the Mission Societies. The freedom of those races form an established and deeply-rooted system of false religion, and still more their freedom from caste does certainly leave them much more open to the truth. Three men, who have visited the Koiys, all bear testimony to the complete difference between these Koiys and Hindus, as to the teachableness and friendliness of the former, and their being sensible that they need instruction.

"The Koiys have no written language, and consequently no literature: whether they have any forms of religion at all among them I am not certain, but I saw none in their villages, though those that are near Hindu pagodas sometimes go there on festival days.

"They thus offer, as far as possible, a *tabula rasa:* the Missionaries can introduce the Roman character, and supply them with a pure literature. They will thus have the greatest advantage in commencing a Mission among them.

"No other Missions are established among them. There are at present no Missionaries in all Gondwana, from the Godavery to Chota Nagpore, and from Nagpore to Cuttack. There will thus be no interference with the Missions of other bodies.

"The works of the Upper Godavery, which, however, are not yet extensively taken in hand, will no doubt draw to them workmen from every part of Gondwana, as well as from the Telugu districts of Hydrabad, and the Mahratta people of Nagpore, and the assigned districts; so that there will be good opportunities of dispersing the truth over a wide expanse of country, and especially over Hydrabad, as yet untouched by the truth. Budrachellum, especially, is a place of pilgrimage, to which people come from every part of the country.

"The distance of the first barrier, from Rajamundry, is 120 miles. This is the spot where the first works will be constructed, and where, consequently, the head-quarters of the engineers' officer will be established. And most probably it would be the most eligible place to establish the Mission on the east bank of the river. This bank is indeed, as well as the opposite, in the Hydrabad country, but orders have been sent to this Government to see what arrangements can be made with the Nizam to exchange it for other territory. It is only a narrow strip, and I was told that in one place, near the first barrier, it is only one mile wide, and, if that is the case, the Mission might be established on British territory, without being too far from the bank of the river. There can be little doubt, however, that arrangements will soon be completed for transferring this bank to our Government.

"There are already five steamers on the Godavery, and two or three more are now being put together at Dowaleshwaram, so that there can be no doubt that this year there will be constant communication between the first barrier and Dowaleshwaram. The first barrier is fifteen miles above Budrachellum.

"On these grounds I would strongly urge the occupation of the Upper Country rather than the Delta, where the people are Hindus, and where there are already some Missionaries.

"In occupying this ground, two languages will at first be required—Telugu, which is the language spoken all along the banks of the river, and which is generally understood even by the Koiys there, and the Koiy language, which appears to be spoken for a considerable distance to the northward. Beyond, in that direction, Goundu seems to be the language spoken almost throughout the upper basin of the Mahanuddy. As the Mission spreads to the northward, of course the latter language must be acquired. I conclude that there must be considerable similarity between it and the Koiy, but I do not know this. From the small vocabularies of the Koiy obtained, it appears that there are more Tamul than Telugu words in it; and Mr. Walter Elliot says that this is the case generally in the languages of the aborigines.

"If one of the present Telugu Missionaries, who has already mastered that language, were to go with one of the new Missionaries, in the first instance, the latter might give himself up to the acquisition of the Koiy, for which he would require the aid of one who could talk Telugu, as that would be the only medium of communication with the Koiys in the first instance. It would, of course, be a work of great labour and patience to acquire the Koiy, as the people are astonishingly ignorant, and no doubt it would be very important to select a man, if possible, who had a natural talent for such work. But no doubt, on looking about, he would find some Koiy man, above his countrymen in intelligence, who, after a little training, would understand how to give the information

about the language that was required. In the mean time the other new Missionary might remain at Ellore, to study Telugu.

"The country northward has been very little explored. It is a forest country chiefly, and very thinly inhabited. Mr. Heles, of the Plymouth body, has gone up the Savery, the northern feeder of the Godavery, the confluence of which is thirty miles below Budrachellum; and the Government are now establishing a salt dépôt at the first British village on that river, about twenty-four miles from its mouth. The country, from the first barrier to near Raipore, has scarcely been seen by a European. It is traversed by the Indrawutty, flowing from the north-east, and entering the Godavery not far from Mahadupore, at a point about eighty miles above the first barrier, where the British territory comes down to the bank of the Godavery, and where also the Government have ordered the establishment of a salt dépôt. How far the Indrawutty is navigable has not been ascertained. Another smaller feeder, the Tal, falls into the Godavery about ten miles above the first barrier: its navigability, also, has not been ascertained.

"All this part of the country has been hitherto in the most lawless state, oppressed by the petty rajahs subordinate to Hydrabad and Nagpore, and the Koiys have been terribly oppressed, so that there can be no doubt that the people generally will appreciate the establishment of Europeans among them, and be prepared to treat them as friends, just as the Karens did. When Point Tavoy was taken, and some Karens ventured into the place, they were brought before the General, and were astonished at their friendly treatment, and at presents being made them, so different from what they had been accustomed to, and a great impression was thus made throughout the Karen tribes, which no doubt prepared the way for a willing hearing of the European Missionaries.

"The whole tract, from the Ganges to the Godavery, is, I believe, occupied by aboriginal races, viz. the Santhals, Puharis, Celes, Gonds, Koiys, &c. Considerable numbers of the Koiys, I am informed, also live south of the Godavery.

"Why may we not hope that these people, if converted, may show as strong a Missionary spirit as the Karens have done, and so the truth be rapidly conveyed throughout the whole of this tract, and spread to the Mahratta, Telugu, Orissa, and Bengalee countries which surround it.

"The Cuttack Missionaries showed me a Gond ordained Missionary, who had been throughout one of their most satisfactory converts and powerful preachers.

"I feel persuaded myself that this appears one of the most promising fields of Missionary enterprise, though no doubt there are great difficulties, such as the extreme ignorance of the people, the unopened state of the country, the feverishness of some parts of it, the want of grammars and dictionaries of the language, &c. Ignorance, however, is a far less obstacle than false learning, and no religion than false religion. The Godavery forms a grand highway, superior to any thing in other parts of the country, and probably the other rivers will be soon navigated.

"The neighbourhood of the first barrier has been found extremely healthy, both to natives and Europeans, though very hot for about two months. It is a fine pasture country, and very fertile. The population is considerable on the banks of the river; and it appears to have been kept down solely by the want of protection of life and property.

"*P.S.* I am told that there is a grammar of the Gond language, in English, and that the Koiy language is, in fact, the same as the Gond. If so, it will save a great deal of time."

Again, at Nagpore, there is a Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. They have the Mahrathi language on the west; a corrupt dialect of Hindi on the east; in the south, a sprinkling of Telugu; and, in the jungly tracts, various aboriginal dialects, which, with the exception of that spoken by the Kurkus, or Moosis, may all be classed as Gondi, and bear a close affinity to Tamil. And may not Tamil evangelists be permitted to share in the evangelization of Gondwana? Have not the Tamil churches entered on the great work of direct evangelizing efforts among their conntrymen? and are they not preparing themselves for future usefulness in the Missionary field?

At Jubbulpore, 156 miles N.E. from Nagpore, we find Missionaries of our own Society. The hill-tribes are in the neighbourhood, and Gonds and other aborigines are occasionally to be met with in Jubbulpore. At Chota Nagpore, occupied amongst the Kōls, and penetrating into the very heart of these fastnesses, we find the Missionaries of the Berlin Evangelical Society. The chief station of the Mission is at Ranchi, from whence branch-stations have been thrown out to Lohurdugga, Hazareebagh, &c.*

Looking north-west, in the direction of the Ganges, the eye rests on another Mission

* For a full account of this interesting work, we must refer our readers to our volume for 1859, p. 18, &c.

station, one belonging to our own Society, from whence energetic efforts are being put forth for the improvement of the hill-tribes in its vicinity. We must pause here, and endeavour to present to our readers a correct view of this field of labour.

BHAGULPORE.

"The district of Bhagulpore, comprising 7801·04 square miles of territory, is situated in the fertile valley of the Ganges; which river divides the district into two unequal portions, the larger portion lying to the south of the river.

"The district lies between the parallels of North latitude 24° 02′ and 26° 27′; and meridians of 86° 13′ and 88′ of East longitude. The length of the district is 168 miles, or, from the southern boundary of Nepal on the north of the district to the northern boundary of the district of Beerbhoom in the south, the average width south of the Ganges is 112 miles, and north of the Ganges it has an average width of 20 miles.

"Under the Mohammedan kings, the district of Bhagulpore formed the most eastern portion of the Soubah of Behar; its southern and eastern boundaries abutting upon the province of Bengal Proper, of which territory the districts of Beerbhoom and Moorshedabad form a part, and where the official accounts, fiscal and judicial, are kept in the Bengali language; whereas, in Bhagulpore, the accounts are kept in the Hindustani or Urdu.

"The climate of Bhagulpore is peculiar to itself: situated between the parching hot winds of Western and Central India, and the damp soil of Bengal, it appears influenced by both. The heat is not so great or so parching as it is a few degrees to the westward, nor so damp as its neighbouring districts, Moorshedabad, Purneah, and Maldah. The heats of summer, or from April to June, are, nevertheless, very great—too great to allow the natives themselves to be freely exposed to the direct rays of the sun: to the European, such exposure would most likely be fatal in a few hours. During the hot weather, the thermometer ranges from 80° to 100° during the day: a steady west wind generally sets in at nine A.M. and continues to blow till sunset; this wind is warm, approaching to hot, but cannot be compared to the true hot wind of North-Western India. The weather from June to September, or what is styled the rainy season, is much more pleasant to the feelings, from the immense quantity of moisture suspended in the air but the sun being unobscured by dust as it is in the hot weather, strikes down its rays in a peculiarly dangerous manner; especially when an assemblage of clouds favours the formation of a focus for the rays to descend in a concentrated manner, such a sun has the power of blistering the skin as if actual cautery had been applied. During the rainy season, an east wind generally prevails. During the cold weather, or from October to March, the weather is peculiarly fine and well suited to the European constitution: a steady light westerly or easterly wind blows, the air is cool, and the thermometer in December descends as low as 33° during the night.

"A spectator, standing at mid-day during the hot weather in any of the Pergunnahs that lie to the eastward of the Rajmahal hills, may distinctly observe the termination of the hot winds, and the commencement of the humid atmosphere of Bengal. The hot wind is seen on a level with the highest peaks of the Rajmahal hills, which rise to 2000 feet, and up whose western flank the hot wind has been driven from the plains of Monghyr and Bhagulpore; and is represented by a huge, yellowish-brown stratum of heated air, highly charged with minute particles of dust, and peculiarly electrical; this bank, or stratum, extending to near the base of the Himalaya mountains, never descends again, but, lifted up and there retained by the damp atmosphere of Bengal, is lost or cooled in the upper regions of the air: the mark of separation between the heated electrical, and dust-charged atmosphere of Western and Central India, and the damp air of Bengal, is so defined and so nearly stationary during the day, that its height, limits, and rate of progression, are all capable of measurement. The climate of Bhagulpore is peculiarly suited to the growth of rice, which forms the staple agricultural produce of the district.

"The aspect of the district is pleasing, from the great abundance of mango plantations and palm-trees that are scattered over the whole surface of the country, and from the numerous detached hills, and connected ranges of hills, that break the monotony of an otherwise level country. The principal hills are the Rajmahal range, a fine mass of basaltic and carboniferous hills, lying meridianally near the eastern boundary of the district, shutting out the fertile but dry kunkurferous plains of Bhagulpore from the pure alluvial soil of Bengal. This range extends from the Ganges river on the north to the Brahminee river on the south, (and which river forms the boundary between Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, and Bhagulpore), a distance of seventy miles, with an average width of twenty miles. These hills occupy 1366 square miles; their greatest height does not exceed 2000 feet.

"From near the south-western extremity of

the Rajmahal hills, a tract of elevated land sweeps across the whole district, with a bold curve to the west and north-west, until it unites with the Kurrukpore hills, which terminate in the bed of the Ganges at Monghyr, and which range of hills separates Monghyr from Bhagulpore.

"The mass of low level country thus shut in by the Kurrukpore hills on the west, by the Rajmahal hills on the east, the Ganges river to the north, and by the great curve of high land to the south, consists of a mass of rich, cultivated, and highly productive land, amounting to about 3125 square miles: this is the finest portion of the district, the most densely populated, best cultivated, because it has the finest soil, is level, well watered, and is free from rocks or unproductive ground. The upper or high land, which consists of highly-contorted gneiss rock, is about 500 feet above the Ganges, and is rocky, hilly, broken into deep ravines, covered with forest, or is so dry as to be generally unproductive, and is consequently in a state of nature. This high land is nevertheless not without its uses and benefits to the district, and that to no small extent: it serves as the grazing ground for cattle during the hot weather, when every particle of vegetation is scorched up in the plains; it produces an abundance of wood for ploughs, for building purposes, and for firewood; it produces bamboos, grass, barks, gums, tusser silk, slates, building stone, honey, copper, lead, antimony, silver, iron and coal, besides numerous sorts of grain, but these latter in very limited quantities. The mahooa petal (*Bassia latifolia*) is largely collected and used in the distilleries; catechu is also manufactured from the mimosa catechu, and is exported to Europe."*

Bhagulpore, the principal town of the district, situate on the right bank of the Ganges, is a miserable straggling collection of huts, extending over four miles of ground, cut-up, and divided by fields, gardens, plantations, and numerous roads, "the whole place resembling an inhabited forest rather than a town. Chumpanuggur and Luchmeegunje, two large contiguous towns, lie immediately to the west of the old Kurrungurh fort, and form a portion of the town of Bhagulpore: these towns are filled with weavers, traders, and dyers, and have numerous markets; Nathnuggur, another large town, lying a little to the south of the two former towns, is also full of gram-dealers, traders, and markets, and is highly populous; Kurrungurh, a high raised mound nearly two miles in circumference, is the site of the cantonment of the Bhagulpore Hill Rangers: it is a high, dry spot commanding a fine view of the river Ganges: it appears to have been originally built upon a kunkur bank, though much raised by rains, rubbish, pottery; and a section lately cut in making a road up to the fort showed remains of pottery to the depth of ten or twelve feet: according to Buchanan, the fort appears to have been built by the Kurna Rajahs. At Chumpanuggur, which is at the extreme west of the town, are the remains of Jain temples."†

Near the southern boundary of the pergunnah lies the Mundar hill, named also Mudsoodun, a mass of naked granite, about 800 feet in height; "the summit of which is gained by a flight of steps cut in the solid rock. Remains of tanks, temples, walls, statues, fortifications, inscriptions, and other marks, show this to have once been a place of note: at the present day a modern Hindu temple stands on the summit of the hill, overhanging a fearful precipice, from the summit of which the base is not visible by reason of the bulging-out of the polished granite rock. The temple is dedicated to Mahadeva. It is visited every year during the month of January, during which period there is a fair held at the village of Bowsee, three miles south of the hill, at which village there is a collection of temples. The most remarkable image on the hill is an Egyptian-looking figure of a gigantic size, cut from the solid rock, but is in an unfinished state: it measures eight feet four inches across the forehead, and is fifty-two feet eight inches in height.

"On the summit of the temple is a Trigonometrical Survey station, and from this spot a fine view of the country is obtained. Looking to the north, or towards the Ganges, the eye wanders over the fertile plains of Bhagulpore, one mass of cultivation extending for hundreds of square miles, prettily varied with villages and mango plantations; but to the west and to the south, looking over Pergunnahs Chundweh, Pussye, Chandun Kutooreea, Danra Sukwara, and Hendweh, far into the Beerbhoom district, is seen an uninterrupted region of jungle, occupying gently undulating and rising ground, here and there broken by detached hills. To the west, the Rajmahal hills are seen, extending in an unbroken line for seventy miles north and south, up to the foot of which this Pergunnah extends." ‡

To these elevated tracts we invite the attention of our readers. They are the northernmost spurs and outlying projections of the

* Captain Sherwill's Geographical and Statistical Report of Bhagulpore: Calcutta, 1854, pp. 1—3.

† Sherwill, p. 14. ‡ Ibid, p. 15.

great Vindhya range, and in their recesses we shall find portions of aboriginal tribes similar to those which we have already traced on the eastern, southern, and western confines of the great central fastness, Gondwana.

We shall commence with the Kurrukpore hills. This group of hills, lying immediately to the south of the station of Monghyr and named after the town of Kurrukpore, which is situated to their east, is an offshoot from the northern face of the Vindhya range, and measures 30 miles in length, with an average width of 24 miles. The greatest elevation does not exceed 1100 feet, which is the height of the table-mountain, Maruk, thirteen miles to the south of Monghyr. In the interior are extensive valleys, forests, precipices, hot wells, mountain torrents, &c. Ascending through deeply-wooded valleys of great beauty, and dense forests of fine trees, with ferns growing parasitically on them, the traveller reaches the summit of this table-topped hill, from whence he has extended before him a splendid view of Monghyr station; the Rajmahal hills, seventy miles to the east; some one hundred miles of the course of the Ganges, winding through the highly-cultivated districts of Patna, Monghyr, and Bhagulpore, and beyond, if clouds do not intercept, the Himalaya mountains spread out in one vast panoramic view. The inhabitants of these hills consist principally of Santhals. They collect the iron ore, which is common over all these hills, smelt it in the rudest of furnaces, and exchange the metal with the lowlanders for salt, tobacco, or rice.

To the south-west of the Kurrukpore hills lies the pergunnah of Purbutpara, the summit of a series of rocks connecting the Kurrukpore hills with the Vindhya range to the south. The larger portion of its surface is covered with rocks, hills, ravines or low scrubby jungle, which occasionally rises into fine timber-trees. The cleared spots are in the neighbourhood of the villages, producing rice, juneera, Indian corn, poppy, murrooa, muhooa petals, and mango-trees in abundance, the soil between the hills and rocks being a fine black kewal, a rich mould, mostly composed of decayed vegetation. The cultivators are Santhals, Bhoonyahs and Ghatwals, besides a race called Korah and Nyah, engaged in smelting iron, which the pergunnah yields in abundance.

The pergunnahs of Waseela, Chandun Kutoorea, and Danra Sukwara, all lying in a south-westerly direction from Purbutpara, and forming a portion of the great upland curve, which encloses to the southward that plain of Bhagulpore, are of the same character, cultivation being seen only in spots around the huts of the Santhals and other half-wild races. "The forest affords them wood, grass and bamboos for their dwellings. A few goats and cows supply them with milk. Their land yields rice, juneera, ahur dal, and mustard, the oil of the latter being used in their food. The berries of the byne, or zizyphus jujuba, and capsicums constitute their stock of condiments, and a little salt and tobacco their luxuries. Their clothes are either made at home, or are imported from the lowlands. They are mostly armed with bows and arrows, with which they kill bears, birds, and hares, the latter at full speed, the birds when on the wing, and the bears when brought to bay."

To the south-west of Danra Sukwara, and extending in that direction until it reaches the Rajmahal hills, lies the pergunnah Hendweh " (566 square miles), situated upon the high rocky land forming the water-shed of the series of streams flowing respectively to the north and south. About one-third of the whole area is cultivated; the remaining two-thirds are in a state of nature, being occupied by either hills, bare gneiss rocks, ravines, patches of unproductive iron-clay, kunker beds or sakua jungle. The cultivation, with the exception of large and extensive tracts on the north-east and eastern boundary, is generally confined to small patches around the village sites, which are exceedingly numerous though small; the population for so badly cultivated a tract is immense, and consists principally of Ghutwals, Santhals and Bonyahs. The principal villages are Noni Haut, a fine flourishing village with a weekly market, a thannah, a Hindu temple, a very fair bazaar, and some fine mango groves. It is situated on very high ground near the banks of a small stream which falls into the More river, three miles from the village. To this village numerous Santhals resort from their jungle homes to purchase salt, tobacco, beads, or grain, or to effect an exchange for those articles, giving in return, bamboos, wood, iron, gums, and barks, the produce of the jungles. This village, in former unsettled days, was probably the mart for salt for all the surrounding hill people and Santhals, whence its name Noni Haut, or salt market. The village is situated upon the high road leading from Bhagulpore on the Ganges to Soory the capital of Bheerbhoom: the road, being over hard and gravelly soil, is naturally good, though very tortuous, having constantly to avoid deep ravines and dense patches of jungle.

"The hills that lie scattered over the per-

gunnah no where rise into distinct ranges, except east of Noni Haut, where two small parallel and contiguous ranges are seen, the western one extending four miles north and south, the eastern one five miles north and south: the detatched hills are in general bare and rounded masses of gneiss penetrated by caves, and filled with numbers of the common black bears, who commit great devastation amongst the crops, principally devouring the juneera. The jungles swarm with jungle fowl, black partridges, peafowl, and bush quail."*

"The Rajmahal hills, the extensive and hitherto unexplored tract of hilly country, extending from the banks of the Ganges at Sikrigalli, in latitude 26° 10′ North, and 87° 50′ East longitude, to the boundary of the district of Beerbhoom, a distance of seventy miles, and known as the Rajmahal hills, form the most north-easterly shoulder or portion of the Vindhya mountains; which range, extending from near the mouths of the Nerbudda and Taptee rivers in Kandeish in longitude 73° 30′ and latitude 21°, and after having travelled 850 miles in an east-north-east direction, or quite across India to Sikrigalli, here turns to the south, passes through the districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Midnápore and Cuttack, and eventually merges into the ghauts or mountains running parallel to the Coromandel coast.

"The hills are inhabited by two distinct races, the mountaineers, or a race living on the summits of the hills, and who are, with rare exceptions, never found residing in the valleys; and the Santhals, who reside in the valleys. Both these races have distinct languages, neither of which are understood by the Hindustani man, nor are the two languages understood by the two races.

THE SANTHALS.

"The Santhal, or lowlander, is a short, well-made and active man, quiet, inoffensive and cheerful; he has the thick lips, high cheek-bones, and spread nose of the Bheel, Kōl, and other hill tribes of Southern and Central India: he is beardless, or nearly so: he is moreover an intelligent, obliging, creature, and an industrious cultivator of the soil, and as he is unfettered with caste, he enjoys existence in a far greater degree than does his neighbour, the priest-ridden and caste-crushed Hindu.

"The Santhal eats his buffalo-beef, his kids, poultry, pork, or pigeons, enjoys a hearty carouse, enlivened with the spirit 'Pachúi,' and dances with his wives and comrades to express his joy and thankfulness; and when the more substantial good things of life, such as meat and poultry are scarce, he does not refuse to eat snakes, ants, frogs, and field-rats. The cow is also eaten by the Santhal, as well as all other animals, whether slain or those that have died a natural death, or that have been shot or torn by wild animals.

"The women are fat and short, and although not pretty according to the European idea of beauty, have a very pleasing expression of countenance, with none of the affected or mock modesty of the Hindu.

"The working dress of the male Santhal consists of a mere strip of cloth: the women, on the contrary, are well clothed with an ample flowing cloth, one end of which is fastened round the waist, the other is passed over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder, part of the breast and arm, entirely free, and is allowed to hang down in front. When the women can afford it, they load their limbs with zinc and bell-metal ornaments: the men wear small zinc ear-rings, a few finger-rings, and occasionally an iron wrist-bangle: both male and female tie their long hair into a knot on the crown of the head.

"The religion of the Santhals consists in prayers, sacrifices, and religious dances, the whole of which are generally performed and attended to by the votaries whilst in a state of intoxication. The only prayer I have heard of amongst these people is a supplication to an invisible and powerful spirit for protection from famine and sickness; from disease amongst their cattle; for defence against wild animals, especially the tiger; and that their children may be defended from all dangers, amongst which are enumerated the attacks of wild animals, snake bites, scorpion stings, and all kinds of accidents. This simple prayer points out in a forcible manner the condition of the Santhal and his wants: he first prays for protection from famine; for as he is an inhabitant of the jungles, and generally cut off from all communication with his fellow-men, a failure of his scanty crops would be ruin and starvation to him. Their plough cattle being the grand instruments by which their crops are insured to them, and as a murrain or a total destruction of these animals would leave the Santhal in a starving state, his prayers are also directed to their preservation.

"That a portion of their supplication should be directed against the attacks of wild animals is not surprising, for the Santhal, being a denizen of the forest, as before observed, he is himself, as are his cattle, in constant danger from the attacks of tigers, bears, leopards, and

* Sherwill, pp. 18, 19.

wolves; and his crops are also in danger from the ravages committed by wild elephants, buffaloes, monkeys, and deer; and as the Santhal never manures his land, and as he generally occupies an indifferent soil, a constant change in his abode is necessary, and thus, in his onward move, he constantly comes in contact with these his great enemies. The Santhal, however, with a proper spirit, does not supplicate without endeavouring to help himself, and no opportunity is allowed to escape of destroying these animals, which is effected, with bows and arrows, poisoned and not poisoned.

"Children, being the Santhals' great pride, comfort, and assistance, are not forgotten in their short prayer. Santhals in general have large families, averaging perhaps eight children to each couple: the male children plough, herd the cattle, reap the harvest, build and repair the family houses, make the carts and ploughs; distil the spirit Pachúi from rice, and perform all out-door work; whilst the female children husk the juneera and rice, express oil from the mustard-seed, cook the household food, attend the markets when near one, look after the poultry, pigs, goats, and pigeons; and, when the parents are old and infirm, the children become their support.

"Almost all nations on earth, savage or civilized, appear to have an intuitive feeling or knowledge that blood is required to be shed for the propitiation of sins, nor do we find the Santhal ignorant of the fact; and in order to propitiate the invisible spirit, they freely sacrifice the buffalo, pig, goat, and poultry, the blood of which animals is sprinkled over the offerings made by the worshippers.

"The Santhals are governed by Pergunnites and by Manjis chosen by themselves from amongst their numbers: the Pergunnite has charge of perhaps twelve villages, from which he collects the rent and makes it over to the superintendant; the Manji has immediate charge of his own village and is answerable for all the misdeeds of his brethren; but as they are in general an orderly race of people, their rulers have little more to do than bear their honours and collect the rent."*

In the notes of a tour through the Rajmahal hills, Captain Sherwill introduces various notices of the Santhal people, which are graphic and interesting—

"Direction north, twelve miles to Burwa. The road over very broken and raviny ground, passes through numerous Santhal villages, around which were fine sheets of cultivation, comprising mustard, gram, cotton, and juneera, the latter cut and stacked. The views along this march are particularly pleasing, especially near the Bokraban bungalow, which stands on the banks of a small hill stream, and buried in a dense jungle, in which I observed some very fine sál and semul trees. The numerous pure and gushing hill streams met with on this march, have a most pleasing effect upon the Indian traveller, who is generally doomed to dry water-courses and drier roads.

"The village of Burwa, where I halted, is under a small gneiss hillock, which, together with its small patches of cultivation, are buried in a pretty forest.

"Observing a tuft of straw tied to a tree in the jungle, I inquired of the Manji the meaning or use of it. He informed me, that whenever a Santhal is desirous of protecting a patch of jungle from the axes of the villagers, or a patch of grass from being grazed over, or a newly-sown field from being trespassed upon, he erects a bamboo in his patch of grass or field, to which is affixed a tuft of straw; or, in the case of jungle, some prominent and lofty tree has the same prohibitory mark attached, which mark is well understood and strictly observed by all parties interested. . .

"In the afternoon I entered a thick forest of asan and chironji at the base of the Tatukpara hill: half an hour's sharp climbing by a steep foot-path brought me to the summit of the hill. The hill village of Tatukpara, which the year before had stood on the summit of the hill, had, consequent upon the death of a villager, been removed half-way down into the valley. From the old site there is a capital view to the eastward of a fine cultivated valley, which has been occupied and cleared by Santhals: this valley is backed by a range of hills, studded in every direction with hill villages, the sides and tops of the hills cleared and occupied by large sheets of cultivation, cleared by the indefatigable hillmen, and cleared in spots where it is barely possible to walk, as I had good proof in returning to my tents down by another road. From Tatukpara I counted thirty hill villages, perched either on the summits or on the slopes of the hills, whilst the villages of the bashful and quiet Santhals were seen far down in the secluded valleys. On this hill there is a fine collection of trees, of a very large growth, the principal of which are mango, fan-leaf palm, tamarind, kurm, pipal, al or moringa, asan, and cheronji: of crops there were the remains of tobacco, Indian corn, juneera, bora bean, and kahar dal: the level ground had been ploughed. . . .

* Sherwill, pp. 30—32.

"Direction, north.—Passed a bungalow at Chandna, and from thence struck in under the hills, through a series of wild jungly ravines, and amongst gneiss hillocks and over greenstone dykes to Sundari Kulan, a fine large Santhal village situate close under the hills, and surrounded by sheets of mustard cultivation. The village is about one mile in length, being one long street one house deep, with about one hundred family enclosures, each enclosure occupying from four to five log-wood houses. These enclosures are made with the green boughs of the sakua: planted in the ground and tied together, they keep each family distinct from its neighbours: they generally contain a man and his wife, several married children and their families, a pig-sty, buffalo-shed, and a dove-cot: a wooden stand holds the water-pots, the water from which is used for drinking or cooking: there is also a rude wooden press for expressing oil from the mustard-seed. In a corner of the yard there will probably be a plough, or a couple of solid-wheeled carts, whilst numbers of pigs and poultry are seen in every direction. Each of these enclosures contained on an average ten souls, thus giving a population of 1000 to Sundari.

"The street is planted on each side with the pungent sohajna, which tree is a great favourite with the Santhal. The numerous pig-sties, and great abundance of poultry in the village, proclaim the absence of caste amongst this free and unshackled and unpriest-ridden tribe."

In Captain Sherwill's narrative are found occasional notices of the hill-men, a race of people of whom a description is given in our volume for 1852, p. 107, &c. The following paragraph refers to one of their villages—

"In the evening I crossed the Gumani nullah, a deep hill stream, which has cut its bed through contorted gneiss, and ascended the basaltic hill, on which is situate the hill village Jola: the view to the north and east is very beautiful, every hill appearing capped by a village surrounded by fine mango and fan-leaf palm-trees: much jungle has been cleared away from all the hill-sides for the cultivation of juneera and Indian-corn.

"In the village of Jola I had much difficulty in making any of the women—who seldom understand or speak Hindustani—comprehend what we wanted: the men were all out, either hunting, cutting timber, fishing, or attending the markets. After having examined the interior of several houses, a young man at last appeared, to whom were presented a few trifles, such as German snuff-boxes, needles, thread, buttons, beads, bodkins, and lastly, a dram of brandy; this last gift opened his heart and set loose his tongue. Presents were then distributed to the women, who now flocked in numbers to the spot where I stood, the presents consisting of bead-necklaces, needles, and sewing cotton for the women, and bright metal buttons of all kinds of gaudy patterns for the children. The young man, at my request, showed me the interior of his house, and introduced me to his wife, who was busy cooking in the centre of the one room which constitutes the entire house. The hill houses in general are very neat, being composed of either matting, hurdle, or thin sticks, sometimes smeared with mud to keep out the wind, the whole supported by stout timbers, upon which rests a lofty hog-backed roof with very low eaves; the doors are in the gables, and are protected by verandahs; the roofs are pitched at a singularly obtuse angle, giving great width to the house. The rafters of the present house were covered with heads of Indian corn, juneera, and beans: against one of the mat-walls hung a pair of small antlers with four tynes each, serving as brackets for holding bows and arrows, and a few other light articles. A large drum hung in one corner: a fire was burning in the centre of the room, the smoke from which had blackened every rafter, beam, and bamboo in the house: across the hut was slung a grass hammock, in which the hill people sleep during the rainy and hot seasons; the hammock was twelve feet in length, six feet in width when opened, and was netted, each mesh being a foot in length. I examined the fabric, and found it to consist of the fibre of the Bauhinea scandens: a small fishing-net and creel hung in another corner, for the hill-men descend the hills and fish in the small torrents, but they never capture any thing larger than a moderate sized minnow. . .

"Direction north-east to Burhyte.—Passed through several fine Santhal villages, namely, Kusmah, on the banks of the Gumani, which stands at the ford; Kadmah, Gopladih, Hindoadih, and Sonajori.

"Burhyte, the capital town of the hills, is a substantial Santhal village, with a large population, and about fifty families of Bengali traders: there is a good bazaar, and two markets are held during the week.

"Burhyte is situated in the centre of the great valley, which extends twenty-four miles north and south, with an average width of five miles, and is surrounded on every side by hills, through which there are several narrow passes leading into the plains. Besides these regular passes, through all of which good

carriage roads have been cut, there are numerous footpaths leading over and along the hills.

"From Burhyte, large quantities of rice, bora beans Indian-corn, mustard, and several oil-seeds are conveyed away in carts by Bengalis to Jangipore, on the Bhagiratti; and in return for these grains, the Santhals are paid in money, salt, tobacco, beads, or cloth. The soil around Burhyte is the deep black cotton soil, producing luxuriant crops of rice, Indian-corn, juneera, beans, koorthee, tobacco, gram, and mustard.

"This valley, viewed from any of the surrounding hills, affords an admirable example of what can be done with natives, when their natural industry and perseverance are guarded and encouraged by kindness. When Mr. Pontet took charge of the hills in 1835, this valley was a wilderness, inhabited here and there by hill-men; the remainder was overrun with heavy forest, in which wild elephants and tigers were numerous; but now, in 1851, several hundred substantial Santhal villages, with an abundance of cattle, and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy the hitherto neglected spot. The hill-men have, with a few exceptions, retired to the hills, being either unwilling to be near the Santhal, whom the hill-man despises, or courting that privacy they could not enjoy in a cultivated plain, have yielded up the fertile plain to their more industrious and energetic neighbours.

"I attended the Friday market at Burkyte, which was established a few years ago. The amount of grain, the produce of the valley, exposed for sale was very great: numerous carts from Jangipore on the Bhagiratti were in attendance to convey it away towards Moorshedabad, and eventually to Calcutta, from whence much of the mustard that is grown in these hills is exported to England. Besides grain of various kinds, there was a fair display of sugar-cane; salt, lac, dammer or rosin, brass pots and bangles, beads, tobacco, sugar, vegetables, chillies, tamarinds, and spices, potatoes, onions, ginger, cotton, thread and cloth, the latter in great abundance.

"Two miles north of the village, and extending for a mile east and west, and immediately under a range of basaltic hills, is a bed of chalcedony, agate balls, cornelian and quartz crystals. The agate and chalcedony affect the hollow globular form, which globes, upon being broken open, display the quartz crystals pointing inwards: some of the crystals are of great beauty, resembling amethysts, being of a bright violet colour, probably owing to the presence of one of the oxides of manganese. The crystals vary in size from those of a microscopic fineness to several inches in length, and of a corresponding thickness. The Santhals have ploughed in amongst this curious collection of natural gems, any one of which would be an ornament to a geologist's cabinet; many of the globes have been fractured, displaying in the sunshine a brilliant assemblage of sparkling crystals. The agate balls are of all sizes, some only a few ounces in weight, whilst others weigh several hundred pounds. At the village of Khurwa, and underlying this bed of agates, is a bed of wacke enclosing small balls of chalcedony and stilbite: the wacke passes into a very beautiful clinkstone, of a homogeneous texture, of a pale salmon or dove colour, rings under the hammer, is easily broken, and fracture highly conchoidal: it is found in large slabs six and eight feet in length, also in small parallelograms and wedge-like splinters. If this stone could be found in any quantity, it would be a highly valuable discovery, as, from its natural fracture or stratification, the stone would be highly prized for many domestic purposes.

"A quantity of this stone was taken a few years ago to Bhagulpore for the purpose of ornamenting a tank, but at a fearful sacrifice of bullock life, many of which animals belonging to the Santhals perished from being overloaded. The Santhals have a bitter recollection of the transaction, as they say they were never remunerated for the loss of their cattle. . . .

"Buffaloes from their superior strength, are preferred by the Santhals, both for agricultural purposes as well as for draught, to the common grey cattle, which latter animals are readily exchanged with the Hindus from the plains, who import buffaloes for that purpose: all the solid-wheeled carts, if possible, are drawn by buffaloes.

"The Santhal, in the construction of his solid-wheeled cart, and in the mode of loading it, shows an utter contempt or ignorance of all rules of mechanics: the cart consists of two wheels, composed of two or three pieces of wood, each put together so as to form a solid wheel three feet in diameter: these wheels are supported at a distance of four feet apart by a wooden axle, on to which, and three feet apart, are pegged two long saplings or bamboos fifteen feet in length: these bamboos, forming the whole body of the cart, are, at the other extremity, tied together, and attached to the yoke that rests on the buffaloes' necks. The wheels being at one extremity of the poles, and the other end reposing on the buffaloes' necks as a fulcrum, leaves fifteen feet of unsupported length as the body of the cart, on which are imposed heavy burdens of rice,

packed in huge and ingeniously-made straw baskets, or rather straw rope-balls, five feet in diameter; and as the driver almost invariably adds his own weight by standing on the cart, a ruinous and cruel weight is thus thrown upon the necks of the draught animals and upon the body of the cart, which bends and springs under the weight; whilst the wheels which are at the utter extreme of the bamboos, are pressed outwards and backwards, and seem inclined to fly from their position, which they would do with great force if relieved of their retaining wooden pegs. When it is intended to convey grass, rice in the ear, or any other crop on these carts, a few sticks are interwoven with the two skeleton longitudinal bamboos, so as to form a temporary retaining body to the cart. No iron or other metal is ever used in the construction of these carts, wooden pegs and twisted-grass string serving all the purposes to which metal is put by a wheelwright.

"The plough in like manner is a simple but effectual instrument, consisting of a crooked block of wood, fitted with a still more crooked wooden handle, and a light beam, from six to nine feet in length: the share is a small bar of soft iron, a foot in length and one inch in width, one end of which is hammered into a wedge-like shape: this is the cutting part; the other, or blunt end, is shipped into a groove in the foot of the plough, where, with the aid of two small iron claps laid across the groove to prevent it flying upwards, it is retained by the pressure conveyed to it during its passage through the soil. The deepest furrow ploughed with these instruments is about four inches. Two buffaloes draw the plough, and one man guides it: after the day's work the Santhal shoulders his plough and walks home. . . .

"*Direction* west, about eight miles, through a very heavy forest of sal, sakua, asun, and dhow, over broken and raviny ground and low hills to Gowpara, the largest village in the hills, containing about eighty houses and 400 souls. The village is situated on the summit of a high range of hills, which here form the central or largest group. The village is surrounded by neat hurdle fences enclosing tobacco, mustard, plantains, date and palm-trees, and in the centre of the village, and around the houses, are numerous fine palm-trees, tamarind, peepul, mango, jack, clumps of bamboos and plantains: the houses are neat: numerous cattle-sheds, pigsties, and well-stocked granaries, bespoke plenty and comfort.

"My arrival seemed to have struck a panic into the minds of the whole population, for on entering the village I could not find a single soul to speak to: every one had fled to their houses and fastened their doors.

"Fortunately a fine old man, who was on the roof of his house, laying out tobacco to dry in the sun, and who was ignorant of our arrival, was caught; his trepidation at the appearance of myself, servants, and elephant, was most painful, and not without much persuasion could he be induced to descend from his house for the purpose of showing us the Manji's residence. A house was pointed out as being that of the Manji, but it was, as was every house in the village, closed. I took up my residence in the verandah, where hung bows and poisoned arrows, deer horns, wild-boar skulls, pea-fowl eggs, and the cocoon of the wild silk, or tusser. The Manji soon arrived from the jungle, carrying on his shoulder the produce of his morning's work, a log of wood. He was so alarmed at my appearance, that he was speechless; but after an hour's persuasion, talking and laughing, he gradually thawed, and told me that he had never before seen a white man, nor an elephant, nor had any one individual out of the 400 inhabitants of his village ever seen one or the other. The ice being now broken, and the reason of his timidity known, I endeavoured to prove to him that a mortal with a white face was not the dreadful creature he imagined: I presented him with an empty bottle, a quantity of beads, gilt buttons, bodkins, ornaments for the women's hair, and told him to assemble all the children of the village, to whom I presented in succession three or four strings of beads, and a handful of buttons. I now had the whole village with me, and, turning round, I perceived the Manji's house-doors wide open, and about fifteen females, old and young, standing behind me, into the midst of whom I threw a quantity of the hair ornaments consisting of tufts of tusser silk, dyed scarlet, and tied with black cotton: to the children in the Manji's house I distributed a quantity of copper money, bargained with the Manji with a quantity of empty bottles and money for poisoned arrows, bows, and grass hammocks, bade him good-bye, and strongly recommended him next time he met a European to be more at his ease, and not to be afraid of him, as no one had the most remote idea of doing any harm to any one in the hills; on the contrary, that we were all desirous of seeing so worthy a race happy and contented.

"I was amused at the Manji's repeated question, put to me in a most serious tone, as to whether I had, of my own free will, given him the empty bottle, my first gift to him.

Upon my assuring him that my gift, a most invaluable one to him, had given me as much pleasure in the making as it had him in the receiving, he seemed partly satisfied, but repeated the question at intervals during my stay at the village.

"The men of these central hills tie their hair much more on the back of the head than do the men further north; neither have they the flattened noses, nor such thick lips as their northern brethren; neither do they pay that attention to dressing their hair or ornamenting their ears or necks with beads and trinkets, which is so striking a feature in the northern tribes: the women, in the same manner, have scarcely any ornaments, are poorly dressed, and untidy in their appearance: their great distance from any market or bazaar may in a measure account for the difference of dress.

"At sunset I ascended the Sendgursa hill by a very steep ascent, from the summit of which I had the finest view of *coup d'œil* yet obtained of the hills. The hill is about 2000 feet above the sea, and from its summit I could see the following remarkable landmarks. The Monghyr hills to the north-west, distant eighty miles, with a Great Trigonometrical Survey Station on the hill Maruk, another on Mundar hill in Bhagulpore half way, or forty miles distant; the Ganges at Bhagalpore, distant sixty miles in N. N. W. direction; the long reach of the Ganges extending to Rampore Bauliah, seventy miles in an E. S. E. direction; the whole of the country lying between the foot of the hills and the military station, Berhampore on the Bhagaetti, extending over fifty miles; to the south another station, on the Satbor hill in Belputta, distant forty miles, appeared topping the whole of the Caticoond carboniferous range; to the W. S. W., distant fifty miles, the Teeur hill, another station, and all the small detached hills of Beerbhoom, as well as the hills of Hendweh and Pusseje appeared; amongst the latter are the Nugwan and Puchpuhar hills, both Great Trigonometrical Survey Stations. In a S. W. direction, the great Parusnath mountain is visible, distant one hundred miles. This mountain, in height nearly 5000 feet, has a station on its summit, and forms the culminating point of the rocks of the great primitive plateau, extending from Beerbhoom to the Dunwah Ghaut.

"To the S. S. W. the view extends over the Burdwan coal-fields, and to the S. S. E. over the whole of the eastern portions of Beerbhoom and Burdwan, with the whole of the southern Rajmahal hills and surrounding forests as a foreground, whilst the view of the hills at my feet was most complete: I could see into every valley, count every village, and trace the outlines of the hills and valleys." *

Missionary operations were commenced at Bhagulpore in 1850, and, amongst other classes of the population, attention was directed to the Puharis and Santhals: the hills were visited, and schools commenced. Then came the great Santhal outbreak, and Bhagulpore was for a time in great danger. A host of 8000 Santhals was encamped, for nearly fourteen days, about twenty-five miles distance, waiting for the subsidence of a small hill stream which, unusually swollen by heavy rains, prevented their advance. So strong was the current that the buffalos, which the Santhals repeatedly drove in to test the strength of the current, were all carried off; yet these animals swim well. Could they have reached the opposite shore the Santhals would have crossed on them. Meanwhile, troops arrived for the protection of the town.

On the suppression of this fierce insurrection, the local authorities felt how necessary it was that this wild people should be brought under some controlling influences: and what so safe and powerful in its action as Christian instruction? Indeed, the very facts connected with the outbreak pointed out this as the alone means of ensuring future tranquillity; the people of those villages of the Santhals, in which schools had been commenced, having been the last to rise in insurrection, and only doing so at length in being forced into it by the main body; and they first gave warning to their teachers to withdraw and secure their own safety in time, as the friendly villagers amongst whom they were living, were no longer able to protect them. An arrangement was made with the Church Missionary Society. The Missionaries were to commence schools, the Government guaranteeing Grants-in-aid, on the condition that the secular education given should reach a required standard, the Missionaries, as the managers of the schools, availing themselves of the freedom conceded by the Education Despatch of 1854 to carry forward, on such principles as they considered right, the duty of religious instruction. Nothing could be more simple or consistent with the principles of the Education Despatch than this arrangement. The paragraph 50 seemed expressly to provide for such cases—"In so far as the noble exertions of Societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilized races, such as those found

* Sherwill, pp. 41—61

in Assam, or the Coesya, Garrow, and Rajmahal hills, and in various districts of Central and South India, who are in the lowest condition of ignorance, and are either wholly without a religion, or are the slaves of a barbarous and degrading superstition, have been accompanied in their educational establishments: by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote." Here then was an opportunity of promoting "improved knowledge" among the Santhals. Missionary schools were to be commenced, which might become affiliated institutions in the Government schemes, and be periodically visited by the Government inspectors. Government was to aid the Missionaries by relieving them of the expense connected with secular education; and the Missionaries were to aid the Government by communicating to the Santhals the alone knowledge, which could effectually tranquillize them. But a despatch from home, dated July 22, 1857, crushed the project, and that on grounds the most feeble and unsatisfactory. "The Santhals, though equally debased in ignorance and devoid of rational religion with the races referred to in our despatch of 1854, differ from them in one important particular; they do not occupy separate regions or tracts of country, so as to form isolated communities, locally separated, as well as socially distinct from the Hindu and Mussulman populations. They are, on the contrary, employed freely by Zemindars, and speculators of land of all classes for jungle clearance, and for other agricultural purposes, and are thus often located in close vicinity with well-inhabited towns and villages, and mix with the general population in many of the relations and concerns of life." Now it is true the advanced stragglers of the Santhals have approached the cultivated districts; but the main body is yet behind, and is sufficiently isolated to be regarded and dealt with as a distinct people. Moreover, the Rajmahal *hills* are expressly mentioned in the despatch of 1854, and the Santhals occupy the valleys of those hills. But even this indirect recognition of the value of Christianity, in the ameliorating influence which it exercises on individual and national character, was alarming to the upholders of the *neutral* line of policy, and the scheme was disallowed.

Thus the Society has been constrained to carry on, single-handed, the work which it had begun.

The present aspect of Missionary effort among the Santhals may be collected from the subjoined diary of a tour by one of our Missionaries, Rev. T. E. Hallett, amidst the Rajmahal hills.

MR. HALLETT'S DIARY.

"*Dec.* 13, 1859—After prayers with our friends, I left Bhagulpore with Mr. Erhardt, at half-past nine P.M., to overtake our tents, which had gone on to Bounsee. May the great God be with me, and give his Spirit abundantly. The more I see of the dense darkness overshadowing this land, the more do I feel that, without his Spirit working with us, and his abundant grace preventing us, our labour is but in vain. But, thanks be to God, we have the assurance that 'his Word shall not return unto him void,' and the knowledge that 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.' Travelled all night, and, towards daybreak, came up with our carts. Pushed on to Bounsee, and was cheered by the affectionate greeting of some of my Santhals, whom we passed on the road. They asked the Palkee bearers what Sahib was passing, and being told that it was the 'Santhal Padree,' ran alongside my palkee laughing and talking for some time.

"*Dec.* 14—Reached Bounsee, and was most kindly received by Mr. M——, the deputy magistrate, who had his tent pitched for us, and did all in his power to make us comfortable. Our tents did not come up till six P.M., being delayed by having to cross two hill streams. The road is also very sandy and heavy, and, I am told, impassable during four months of the year, the whole country being a swamp. In fact, some parts of the road are, even now, quite soft and slushy. Bounsee appears to be a healthy spot, Mr. M.'s children being pictures of health; but I fear that it would not do for a Mission station, being too far from the hills: no Santhal village within sixteen miles.

"*Dec.* 15—Left Bounsee for Godda at six A.M.; Erhardt in his palkee, and I on horseback. The air was deliciously cold in the early morning, but the sun is hot towards the afternoon. About one mile from Bounsee we passed a Hindu temple, with a large rath standing in front of it. A mela is held here yearly, to which thousands come. Further on we came to a large village, Chundeedee, in which we stopped to rest for a short time, and were immediately surrounded by a number of Brahmins and others, who, in reply to our inquiries, told us that there was a guru in that part of the village which lay on the

other side of the Dakee Nuddee, as the hill stream is called which bisects the village, who taught some twenty-five boys to read and write. They use no books, his instruction being confined to making the boys write in sand—a very proper medium—the names of the gods over and over again. I asked them whether they would contribute to the support of a master, and build him a house in which to hold his school. They said they would talk it over, and give us an answer on our return. The village contains some 250 children, of whom the Zemindar's headman surmised about sixty would attend school. About two miles further on, came to another village. I stopped to try and buy a tattoo, or pony, for Hunnook, the superintending master of the first circle Santhal schools, who accompanies me. Was unsuccessful, but learnt the state of this and the surrounding villages with reference to education. There is one guru engaged by the Zemindar to teach his own son, who also, 'out of pure love,' as they said, teaches three or four other boys to read and write the names of their gods in sand. 11 A.M.—Found the sun getting rather hot, so rode on in advance of the palkee till I came to a village, most picturesquely situated on the banks of the Gerooa river. Pulled up and dismounted, and sat down on a log in front of the village cow-shed, and was soon surrounded by the village quidnuncs. I heard that Mr. B., who farms the whole of the Godda Pergunnah besides, and several large tracts of country in the Damun, and whose administration I hear everywhere spoken well of, was at the old bungalow of Godda, which was destroyed during the disturbances in 1853. The ryots opened upon me with a long tirade about the new settlement which Mr. B. is making, and which they do not understand as yet, but which is a vast improvement on the system of the native Zemindars. Mr. B.'s plan is to fix the rent each ryot is to pay for the land he occupies, and take neither more or less. The usual plan is—a nominal rent is fixed, which is frequently almost doubled by what are called 'cesses,' that is, certain sums are, by custom, taken as fees for marriage, deaths, festivals, and under twenty other different heads, and added on to the rent named in the lease. This, as may be imagined, is a fearful weapon for oppression in the Zemindar's hand. One man wanted to know whether I was going to the hills for coal; when I took the opportunity of addressing them on what was my mission—'to turn men from worshipping idols, to serve the living God.' One rather intelligent Brahmin, in the course of our conversation, asked the reason why we established schools for the Santhals, and not for them. I endeavoured to convince him that the Hindu villages could well afford to keep a guru for the instruction of their children, whereas the Santhals are a very poor people, and could but with difficulty scrape together funds for such a purpose. Furthermore, that our schools were different from the Government schools, that we had a higher aim than mere secular education, viz. the teaching of morality, and a knowledge of the true God; holding, as we did, that a pure code of morals can never be founded on an impure theology: that the Santhals did not object to our scheme of instruction, whereas the Hindu, or Government for him, did. But he either could not or would not see the force of my argument; his last remark being, that 'the Santhals would not have got schools unless they had fought for them.' It is truly lamentable to see the state in which education is left in places where no show can be made. It may be all very well to have schools for precocious boys, most frequently the sons of the court Umlah, in the large stations; but until some such system as that introduced by the late Mr. Thomason, Lieut.-Governor North-western Provinces, of regular village schools throughout the length and breadth of the land, is instituted in Bengal, but little has been done towards attacking the rule of the giant Ignorance who broods over the millions of the Lower Provinces—Behar in particular. Rode on through a country cut up by watercourses, and arrived at Mr. B.'s tent, where we were most kindly greeted, and, after partaking of some slight refreshment, pushed on for Mr. R.'s bungalow. Found Mr. R. out on tour with Mr. J., the Commissioner, but took shelter in his house until our tents came up, which was not until the morning of the 16th.

"*Dec.* 16—Carts came in at six A.M., having been delayed at the Gerooa Nuddee. Sent them on to Kurmatane at two P.M., and started ourselves at three P.M., leaving a note thanking Mr. R. for the use of his bungalow. I here engaged two coolies to carry a few necessaries, so that we shall not have to wait without food if the carts are unavoidably delayed on the road. We reached Kurmatane bungalow after dark—having to get guides from the last five villages to point out the paths, which lay across rice fields and swamps—very tired, and found that the carts had not come up. The Manji, however, made us as comfortable as possible, sending wood, straw, and two charpoys, or native bedsteads, for us.

The bhaagy came in about an hour after us, and after taking a cup of tea, and seeing the palkee bearers and other servants comfortably stretched on the straw, in a circle round the fire, thanked God for his mercies, and slept.

"*Dec.* 17—Carts not up by seven A.M.; so after breakfast, went into the village to see the Manji, and thank him for the things sent last night, and pay for the same. Two boys go from this village to the Soondermore school, one mile distant, where we hope to go after seeing our things fairly started. Heard the Santhal drums for the first time this morning, and pray the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ that I may, if it be his will, see the day when this people, who have so many noble and virtuous qualities, may sound their drums in Christian festivals and rejoicings, instead of the superstitious mummeries which stand in the place of a religion to them. Reached Soondermore, after passing through a small hamlet close to Kurmatane, in which we saw the roofed platform erected over the remains of some former Manji, generally placed before the existing Manji's house. When not in use for festival purposes, or occasional offerings, it appears to be the lounge of all the pigs, dogs, &c., of the village, and to possess no particular sanctity. It is a custom similar to that of the Mohammedans, of elevating the grave of some fakeer supposed to have died in the odour of sanctity, into a shrine, at which offerings are made, supposed to secure the intercession of the saint. Found the Soondermore schoolhouse, situated at the cross roads, under the shade of a fine kossum-tree, and the boys there present, twenty-five in number, reading aloud, according to the confusing custom of Indian schools. Buriar, the Pergunnite of the Pergunnah, with Dullah, the Manji of Soondermore, and Kharen, the Manji of Bulkal, a very old grey-headed man, were present in the school, and explained the cause of the falling-off in the number of scholars. Hunnook, the superintending master, was formerly master of this school, and, when removed, was succeeded by Soona Lull, a Bengalee, who, they say, does not come up to their ideal of a teacher; in short, that they will not have him. The Pergunnite told me straightforwardly, that unless I gave him a Santhal or Puharri (Hill) guru, the school must be broken up; so, after careful investigation, I promised to send them Dalloo, a Santhal, whose training is nearly completed, the Pergunnite and Manjis promising to bring the attendance of boys up to the old number of forty-one, and, if possible, higher. The school-house is also to be repaired as soon as the harvest is over, and labour obtainable. The boys who were present seem to be getting on fairly, and the two best, one the son of the Soondermore Manji, the other his ward, are to be entrusted to me for training as masters, and I hope to take them in with me to Bhagulpore, on our return.

"The road from Soondermore to Teleband, the next stage, is over a swelling jungly country, rising gradually to the foot of the hills which lie to the east. Soil, red earth, with sand stone, quartz, and basalt, cropping out in boulders at every step. Reached Teleband at half-past one P.M. Heat great, being reflected from the rocks. The road passes between the village and a circular grove of about fifty feet diameter, left standing by the Santhals where the surrounding jungle was cleared, for the devil to go to. In these groves sacrifices are offered to the spirits of evil, to avert danger from wild beasts, sickness, and famine. In speaking to some of the more intelligent of the people, I pressed upon them the absurdity of offering homage and worship to evil spirits, who were powerless for harm, unless permitted by the one great God, who they—the Santhals—acknowledge, and hold to be omnipotent, to whom worship is ever due, and who will, of his good pleasure, avert evil from those of his creatures who obey his laws. I told them that the great God (Purmeshwah) was a jealous God, and that offering the worship due to Him to devils, was the surest way of rousing his wrath, and bringing on themselves the calamities they dreaded and wished to avert. They listen and agree, but I would rather they would argue and dispute, as then some impression might remain in their minds to stir them up to 'search and see whether these things are so.' May God in mercy grant this!

"After dinner went into the village, which is built on the usual Santhal plan of one long street, with kossum trees, forming an avenue on each side, and the houses clean and neat, each enclosed in its own plot of ground. Had a conversation with an old lady, who showed us her family—two girls, one a child at the breast, and two boys, one about eighteen. She is a widow, and her eldest son supports her. This is usual with the Santhals, who are admirable in their social relations. What is particularly noticeable in the Santhals is the respect with which their women are treated, and the consequent freedom from false modesty they evince, when contrasted with their neighbours, the Hindus and Mohammedans. The Santhal women conduct themselves as English peasant women might,

and exercise a most salutary influence on the community at large. Their women are chaste, and their men are truthful: God willing, some future servant of His may be able to add, 'and Christian.' They wish to have a school here, and mention one of our Santhal boys, Durgha, who was educated in Bhagulpore, and is now with his father, the Manji of Manuck, as the guru they would like to have. I told them to send over for him, as I should stay over Sunday. This they promise to do, and when he arrives the Pergunnite and Manjis are to come and talk the matter over with me.

"*Dec.* 18: *Lord's-day*—Dhomun, my pundit, came in. It appears that he had been once to see Durgha, who wishes to join me and be employed as a master. I trust God may cause this wish on his part, and the willingness of the men of this bustee, to have him for a teacher, to work together for good and the eventual glory of his church. I am hopeful. Mr. Y. the Commissioner and Mr. R. the Assistant Commissioner came in at 9 A.M. After breakfast, had Hindustani service. Hunnook complained of slight fever, so I gave him some quinine, and trust that he may be well by to-morrow, as he is of the greatest assistance to me. 1 P.M.—Mr. B. came in to see the Commissioner, so that we have quite a large camp for the Santhal Pergunnahs. We all go on to Dhumni to-morrow, where another of the Assistant Commissioners is expected. 8 P.M. —Our servants asked if we did not want a chowkedar, or watchman, for the night; and I felt truly happy to be able to reply that it was unnecessary, as there was not a thief or liar within miles, which could not have been said of a Bengalee village.

"*Dec.* 19—Left for Dhumni, nine miles. The road quite alive with elephants, carts, &c., belonging to the Commissioner's camp. The road branches off from Teleband direct into Dhumin, or Rajmahal Hills, and was frequently cut by hill streams, which made it heavy work for the cattle. Passed two coal wains on the left of the road country: beautiful, with Santhal hamlets most picturesquely planted in the valleys. Reached Dhumni about eleven A.M., and went over to the school. Found the house blown down, but the boys still able to read under the roof. The register gives thirty-six boys, but we found only seven present, on account of this being the harvest season, and the children being required to help in stacking the crops. The progress made seems fair, and what most pleases one is the willingness of those boys, who are sufficiently advanced, to go to the training school at Bhagulpore. Eight boys expressed their readiness to return with us, their parents consenting. The mother being the great obstacle, I make a point of asking whether she is willing, as the preliminary step. Satisfied on this head, I have hopes of the boys being ready to accompany us on our return. Eight boys wish to go with us.

"Our tent was pitched by direction of the Manji in the circular grove before alluded to as being outside every Santhal village. In it we found certain small pebbles daubed with red ochre at the foot of several of the trees. These are termed 'gossain.' Also by the side of each of four trees, forming a square of four feet, was a forked stick stuck into the ground, on which the offerings are hung, and which, I have little doubt, we might have used as fire-wood, without offending the religious prejudices of the Santhals, they being innocent of such weaknesses, and, from all I can see or learn, singularly apathetic as regards both God and the devil. Thanks be to God, the evangelization of this people will not be opposed by a priestly race like the Brahmins, who have a vested interest in the continuance of the present darkness and idolatry.

"The great difficulties we have to contend with are, the language, which is undeniably most difficult, and the dense ignorance of the people. But by the help of our God, and his blessing on our efforts for the education of the rising generation, these will be in time overcome. Had a slight touch of fever, and, whilst I took some rest, Erhardt had a long conversation with the boys who wish to come with us, in order to ascertain whether there were any objections raised on the part of their parents. I shall feel more certain of the boys when we get them across the Damun boundary line. They all seem to have a natural turn for music, and repeatedly express the wish to learn singing and hear our music. I could not very well gratify them out here without a musical box or a barrel organ, neither of which, I regret to say, are amongst my goods. Dhomun complained to-day of pain in the eyes. I now felt the want of a medicine-chest. It is absolutely necessary that a Missionary, situated as I am, often sixty miles, and such terribly bad miles, from any medical aid, should be supplied with a proper stock, both for himself and those who come to him for help, often from a distance.

"*Dec* 20—Left Dhumni for Koosmah road, passing over swelling ground very fairly cleared and under cultivation. Mr. Y. tells me, that since his last visit, some two years ago, the Santhals have cleared extensive tracts of jungle, and brought the land under cultivation. About two miles from Dhumni,

passed on the left the collieries which supply the railway officials with thousands of maunds of coal daily for the works. The hills all round are rich in iron ore, pronounced by competent judges to be equal to the finest Swedish, being smelted with charcoal, not with coal as in England. The workings are entirely conducted by the natives, who in each furnace average about a half cwt. of pure iron per day; being the result of two turnouts, This is sold to Bengalee traders, and sent down to Calcutta. 10 A. M.—Reached Koosmah, most beautifully situated on the banks of the Goomanee, about two miles below the falls, where the river debouches on the large central valley of the Rajmahal ranges, twenty-five miles long by five average breadth. After taking a cup of coffee at Mr. B.'s, who has charge of the collieries, I rode over to Choonchi, where the school is. Found the house in good condition, and sixteen boys in attendance, who passed a very creditable examination. The register gives thirty-six boys, but all the schools are empty at this time, on account of the harvest.

"Mr. Droese had, for this reason, as also because the season of Christmas fell at the same time, usually closed the schools for a short vacation from the 10th of December to the 1st of January. This rule was broken through this year, in order to enable me to inspect the schools. I have to-day given leave to Hunnook and the masters of the school already visited for fourteen days. Three boys at this school expressed a wish to accompany us to Bhagulpore for training.

"Their parents came to us in the evening; and it was quite affecting to hear the mother of one, an old woman, wife of the Manji of Choonchi, deliver over charge of her boy to us, to be taken care of in 'sickness and in health,' as she put it.

"*Dec.* 21—Left Koosmah for Burhait, four miles, where there is the only Government school in the Santhal country. Found seventeen boys present, who read and write Bengalee well, but appear to be entirely ignorant of any thing else. The number of boys on the register is forty: average attendance twenty-five. The master is a self-taught Bengalee, who, we were informed by several gentlemen, and also learnt from the boys themselves, carefully instructs those under his care (Santhals) in all the mysteries of the Hindu religion, as far as he knows himself, and causes them to perform Poojah, or worship, with him to his strange gods.

"*Dec.* 22—After dinner we strolled into the village, and came upon the preparations for the feast, one cow, three fowls, four sucking pigs, and five kids, lying slaughtered in front of the Manji's house. The blood from the victims was collected in copper vessels and leaf cups, and set apart by itself, and huge fires were blazing by the side of the enclosure, fed by boys who had evidently an interest in the approaching feast. I entered into conversation with the men and women assembled, as to the reason for the sacrifice. They call it 'Bōgh,' or a feast of the dead, and believe that it propitiates the gossain, or evil spirits. Endeavoured to point out to them the plan of salvation in Christ Jesus, who was offered a sacrifice for our sins. They argued very fairly with me, but as I was obliged often to use an interpreter for the Santhalee, I am not sure that they comprehended all the argument. The chief spokesman concluded with the remark that 'I might be right, but that their fathers had always had a Bōgh when any one died, and why should not they?' To be able to address them fluently in their own mother tongue is what we require, without which but little impression can be made.

"*Dec.* 28—I had a most interesting conversation with the Manjis, about a custom the Santhals have, of taking the ashes of their dead to the Damoodah river in Chota Nagpore. It is nothing more than sending the remains of those who die in the strange land back to their own country; and most probably originated in the first immigrants from the west requesting their children, like Jacob and Joseph, to take their bones back for burial to their fatherland. The ashes are collected in four small pots, and thrown into the stream of the Damoodah. This custom points to the south-west as the direction from which the Santhals inhabiting the valleys of the Damun-i-Koh, or Rajmahal Hills, originally came, and goes far to connect them with the Kōls and other tribes inhabiting the ranges as far as the Coromandel coast. Five boys having arrived, I took leave of the Manjis, who appeared to feel very kindly towards us, and started, accompanied by Mr. B., to look at the Toosifoolie colliery, which lies a little off the road. The coal they are at present taking is obtained from headings driven into the hill, and is at present inferior to the Raneegunge coal. Three lacs of maunds (a maund being eighty-four lbs.) is turned out yearly from this colliery. 1 P.M.—Reached Dhumni, suffering much from illness Found Mr. W., Assistant-Commissioner, in camp. Our tents were not yet up, so we lay down under some trees till they came. The eight boys who are to go with us came in about an hour, bringing the pleasing intelligence that five other

boys wished to join us, making thirteen in all from the Dhumni school. This school is more advanced than any of the others, Rumoo, the master, a Santhal, who has applied for baptism, being a really zealous hard-working man, who will, I trust, be a great aid to us in our efforts for the civilization and evangelization of his countrymen. Most of the Santhal and hill boys who have been trained in the Bhagulpore Training School have shown a decided Christian tendency. Four—Dhomun, Herna, Dallu, and Ramoo—have applied for baptism, and, if they satisfy me as to their fitness, will be baptized this year; and one hundred hill boys have been baptized. Thus I trust, under God, that the boys who now go in will eventually receive the truth as it is in Christ, and, when converted, strengthen their brethren. Mr. W. came over in the evening, and kindly placed his stock of medicine at my disposal. He is trying to establish a school at his station, Pukour, on the edge of the Damun, and will, I trust, succeed. The great point is a good master.

"*Dec.* 29—After waiting some two hours, we were rewarded by finding our thirteen boys ready to accompany us. I rode on in advance, as I wished to reach the end of the stage before the sun got high, but was obliged to stop about eleven A.M., and lie down under a tree for an hour. Erhardt then came up, and we proceeded on to Teleaband, which we reached about half-past one P.M. Dhomun here made his appearance, having been absent without leave since the 23d.

Dec. 31—Reached Ummerpoora about two P.M., and pitched the tent on the border of a fine tank partly covered with the small white water-lily. Overhead waved the heavy boughs of a large mahood tree, the trunk smeared halfway up with mud, and daubed in two places with streaks of red ochre, in honour of Dauwee.

"The last Santhal village was left some six miles back. The distinction between Santhal and Hindu villages is most marked. In the latter the houses are pitched hither and thither, without any pretension to order, and you cannot go five yards without stumbling into a cesspool or puddle of stagnant water. In the Santhal village all is order and pleasing neatness, each house, cleanly whitewashed, standing in its own enclosure, surrounded by a garden and shrubs for the fowls to take shelter under when threatened by kites. At night all is life and activity; the cattle coming in to be penned up for the night, the women busy cooking the evening meal, and children, fowls, and pigs, all adding their quota of life to the scene. After the evening meal is finished, the drum, pipe, zitarah (native guitar), may be heard on all sides; and though distance lends enchantment to the sound, the Santhal drum is by no means a despicable instrument, and the time kept is very good. The scene in our camp is quite cheerful to-night: my boys, twenty-two in number, have divided themselves into messes of five, and after making their bazaar (as 'going shopping' is called in India), have sat down to cook in detachments, one party of five being told off to make the plates, which they do very ingeniously out of leaves, fastening them together with reeds out of the tank. At the corner of an old river stands Dhomun, who has charge of the boys. He has made himself a pipe out of a leaf, and is smoking in quiescent contentment, watching the Santhal Soyers through the smoke curling up over the wall. Most of the boys are of the aristocracy of the Santhal country, and pleasing-looking. All look bright now at the smell of the rice boiling and bubbling in the earthen pots over the blazing wood fires, which are reflected from the tank in front, and throws a flickering light on the rustling foliage over head. Two annas, or about threepence per diem, is what I allow each boy, and with that they keep themselves in splendid condition, in fact, were able to indulge in luxuries.

"To sum up. We have in the Damun, or Rajmahal hills, twelve schools in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, with a register of 422 boys under instruction. The class of boys training for masters in the Bhagulpore Training School, will open this term with thirty-two Santhal boys. Three or four of these boys are so far advanced as to lead me to hope that they will be fit to take charge of new schools by the end of the current year, by which time I trust, under God, to have some Hindu gurus—who I am placing under Mr. Erhardt, for a few months' training—in charge of schools in villages which have expressed a wish to have their children taught. It will from this be seen that the scheme for educating and civilizing the Santhals so nobly undertaken by the Church Missionary Society when the Government shrank from doing its duty, is steadily making headway, and promises, with the blessing of the Almighty, to stand recorded in the history of a nation as the turning-point, where civilization and a knowledge of the true God first confronted and overthrew the ignorance and devil-worship under which their forefathers had groaned for ages. May God in His infinite mercy grant this."

MISSIONARY DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PARABLES.

In the 13th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel we find a number of deeply-interesting and instructive parables, the utterances of our blessed Lord Himself, of Him who spake as never man spake, so grouped together as to constitute one of the most beautiful of those constellations which grace the firmament of revelation. And as astronomers, in their survey of the heavens, discover that the stars have distinctive colours—some insulated stars being of a red colour, others, as the double stars, one more and the other less brilliant, so that the fainter one is in its hue complimentary to its fellow, the latter having generally a bright red or orange colour, the smaller appearing bluish or greenish—so with these parables, they have each their own distinctive beauty.

They are seven in number, and have as their main subject the progress of Gospel truth, its mode of action, and the difficulties and obstructions it has to contend with. They are eminently Missionary parables, embodying principles of the very first importance in the prosecution of Missionary work, preparing us for the trials which are inseparable from so great an undertaking; instructing us in the character and extent of the results, which we are justified in expecting, and which in due time will be sure to follow; moderating over-sanguine expectations, and thus preventing disappointment. The first of the series dwells, not so much on the seed, as on the difficulties which must of necessity arise from the condition of the soil in which it is to be sown—the human heart—one unfavourable to the willing and effective reception of it, and requiring, therefore, that the seed should be sown, not merely in the strength and eloquence of man, but in the power of the Spirit of God, regenerating the heart, and changing it into an honest and a good heart: and so Paul says, "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." Two others account for the mingled character of Christian churches and congregations under the existing phase of the Gospel dispensation. Two more, beautifully refer to the apparently feeble initiative of Gospel action—a grain of mustard-seed; leaven hid in the meal—so much so, as in its outgoings to be despised and scorned by the world, and yet, by a mysterious and irresistible energy, making itself felt, until it rises into a position of ascendancy, and exercises a commanding influence over the minds and affairs of men. The two remaining parables deal rather with the inward working of the Gospel on the heart: they show us how, when a man is divinely taught, so that he is enabled to perceive the surpassing excellence of the one great object, which, in its promises, is commended to his acceptance, there will be, on his part, no hesitation in renouncing all else in order to secure Him, who is all in all to the human soul.

One of these parables, as presenting various points of interest in connexion with Missionary work, may be more closely examined—the tares and the good seed. The salient points appear to be as follows—The field; the seed; the sower; the enemy; "his devices;" the mingled crop; the danger of attempting any thing like a coercive separation of the mixed elements; the need of patient waiting, until He comes with his fan in his hand, who can best distinguish between the precious and the vile.

1. The field.—The field, we are told, is the world, and the true proprietor is indicated: "the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which soweth good seed in his field;" and then, v. 37, "He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man." The field of this world belongs to Christ. It is his by an inalienable right, that of creation; as his own world, which in co-operation with the Father and the Holy Ghost, He called into existence out of nothing, "so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear;" and subsequently, after a lapse of ages, re-organized into an habitation suitable for man. But not only so; in another sense also, it is his property, in virtue of his office of Mediator, and as the reward of his work and sufferings; according to the stipulations of the covenant entered into before the foundations of it were laid, between the Father and the Son, two high contracting parties placed in such intimate relation to each other, that there was no room for the intervention of a mediator, for "a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one"—the covenant, therefore, to which they mutually pledged themselves being of highest import, and taking precedence of every other covenant, more especially of that of Sinai, which was ordained "by angels in the hand of a mediator." In that covenant, the eternal Son, by a voluntary

act, placed himself beneath the heavy burden of human sin, and undertook to suffer. "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire: mine ears hast thou opened; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." And if thus to suffer, behold "his reward is with Him, and the recompence for his work before Him." This was secured to him in the stipulations of the covenant. So runs the second Psalm — the Father's purpose that He should reign; the opposition manifested where least expected, from the kings, and princes and people, of the earth; the fulfilment, notwithstanding all hindrances, of the divine intention—"Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion;" and then the promise of the heirship of the world—"Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."

The same divine arrangement of extreme sufferings, to be followed by high exaltation, pervades the twenty-second psalm. The first twenty-one verses describe with minute prediction the extreme anguish of the great Mediator's vicarious sufferings; and then follows his enthronement and kingship over that world, where He had so unsparingly poured out his life unto the death—"All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the governor among the people."

Now, it seldom happens in the ordinary procedure of human affairs, that a field or property is permitted to lie waste. It possesses productive energies which ought to be made available to the use and benefit of the proprietor. The process of husbandry is forthwith commenced; the fallow-ground is broken up by the action of the plough; and when such preliminary operations have been thoroughly wrought out, and the soil is become soft and mellow, then commences the sowing time, good seed being carefully selected, because "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

And so precisely with "the field of the world," by which we understand, not the earth we tread upon, but man, the inhabitant of it. The human element in all its variety is the field which is to be sown. It ought to be productive, for it has been endowed with great energies and capabilities of action. Man alone, of all earthly existences, is capable of knowing God, of appreciating his excellencies, and rendering to Him the tribute of grateful affections: and if all men were as heartily disposed to glorify God, as unhappily they are indisposed to do so, what a revenue of service might they not render to Him! It is not as yet so. Let any individual cast his eye over the face of the earth; let him trace out the outlines of countries on a map, and mark what vast portions of territory lie waste. Some abandoned to barrenness, when a careful use of the means of irrigation, so bountifully provided, would change them into a garden; others expending their productive energies on a waste of vegetation, where the beasts of the forest have their hiding-places, and the poisonous malaria is generated. The application of human industry has been wanting. And so, in a moral sense, how extended the wastes which yield no revenue to God. As the earth requires to be brought under the cultivation of man, so the man requires to be brought under the cultivation of God. And the great proprietor of the world has therefore commenced his husbandry. There are the preliminary processes of ploughing and breaking up. Individuals and nations are found in a state of utter indifference to matters of spiritual import. They have no consciousness of any such necessities as the truths of the Gospel are fitted to supply. They are built up in pride and self-complacency, and treat the message and its bearers with contempt and scorn. They will not even hear. This was the burden of Jeremiah's lamentations when proclaiming the Lord's word to the Jews—"Hear ye, and give ear; be not proud, for the Lord hath spoken: give glory to the Lord your God, before He cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and while ye look for light, He turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness. But if ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep in secret places for your pride." And because they would not hear, national calamities were to supervene—"Mine eye shall weep sore and run down with tears, because the Lord's flock is carried away captive."

Often has the Missionary found himself similarly circumstanced in the presence of a regardless people. That they may willingly hear, nations require to be brought low. They must be dealt with in the way of preparatory discipline. National reverses are permitted to come upon them, times of heavy affliction, that, under such subduing dispensations, they may become teachable and docile, and the favourable time for the sowing of the precious

seed be expedited. Hence the siftings and changes of the nations: they are the providential up-breakings of the long-lying fallow ground, which go before the sower to prepare his way. "Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see and be ashamed for their envy at the people." "Lord, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them." "O inhabitant of Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the cedars, how gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail."

Such a process appears to be at this moment going forward amongst the mountains of Lebanon, from whose hoary tops and flanks the rain-storms of ages seem to have washed every trace and colour into the blue waters of the Mediterranean, which rolls its long line of white-crested waves up to its craggy base, so that

> 'It is a fearful thing
> To stand upon the beetling verge and see
> Where storm and lightning from that huge grey wall
> Have tumbled down huge blocks, and at the base
> Dash'd them in fragments, and to lay thine ear
> Over the dizzy depths, and hear the sound
> Of winds, that struggle with the winds below,
> Come up with ocean-murmurs.'

Lebanon divides into two parallel ranges. "The western range runs nearly in a straight line north-north-east, and is called Jebel Libnan by the Arabs, but simply and *par excellence*, Libanus or Mount Lebanon. The eastern runs still more to the east, curving slightly round to the north-east, and is called, in contradistinction to the other range, the Lebanon over against the other Lebanon, or Anti-Lebanon." Between these two ranges lies the long and broad valley of Cœle Syria, designated by the present inhabitants Buka'a, or the valley, the floor of which is about 2000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The inland range divides again near the sources of the Jordan, so as to enclose on the east and west the prolonged basin which contains the Jordan and its lakes.

The main road from Beyrout to the great valley traverses a mountain-pass, having on its south the peak of Jebel Rihan, the last mountain ridge of the Lebanon on the south; and on the north of the pass is the high peak of Jebel Kuyieniseh, 6825 feet in height, east of the Jebel Rihan. At a distance of about thirty-two English miles, lies Mount Hermon, the most southern mountain ridge of the Anti-Lebanon, both ranges converging until there is left just sufficient opening for the Leontes river to pass out from the long valley of Cœle Syria,

"The highest ridge of the western Lebanon is marked on both sides by a line drawn at the distance of two hours journey from the summit, above which all is barren: but the slopes and valleys below this mark afford pasturage, and are capable of cultivation by virtue of the numerous springs which are to be met with in all directions. Cultivation, however, is chiefly found on the seaward slopes, where numerous villages flourish, and where every inch of ground is turned to account by industrious natives, who, in the absence of natural levels, build terraces to level the ground, and to prevent the earth from being swept down by the winter rains, and at the same time to retain the water requisite for the irrigation of the crops."

In these mountain regions we find located the Druzes, the Maronites, and the Ansariz.

The Druzes occupy, besides other places, "a large tract east of the lake of Tiberias, and north of the lake, with a little exception, as far as the Lebanon, and on the coast of the modern Jebeil, twenty miles north of Beyrout." These singular people, the descendants of a schismatic offshoot from the great Mohammedan delusion, which sought shelter from persecution amidst these mountains and fortresses in the tenth century, grew stronger and more daring, rushing down from time to time upon the people of the plain country, until, in 1585, they were subdued by Ibrahim, a Slavonian in the service of Amurath III. Recovering themselves after a season, they again became troublesome, subjecting themselves to new coercions, until they became tributary to Mohammed Ali, and then, in 1840, to the Sultan.

"Their religion has less of mystery in it than formerly, though they still keep their form of worship secret. But several of their sacred books and catechisms have, during their troubles, fallen unto European hands. These show that they believe in the lawfulness of marriage between brothers and sisters, and, to some extent, in the transmigration of souls. They eat pork and drink wine, observe no festivals or fasts, and, in truth—among the masses especially—have very little religion of any kind which exhibits itself, beyond what are called the mysteries, which are confined to the initiated, called 'Akal,' all others being called the ignorant, or 'Djahel.' An English translation of a Druze catechism, made by a Missionary in Syria, was sent to Dr. Wilson of Bombay. There is in it considerable indistinctness, to say the least, if not positive absurdity; yet with the exception of some very objectionable ceremony in their worship, this catechism contains their entire religion,

with scarcely an exception. They are not permitted to declare their faith to any one*." In 1840, from the best information, based on the Pasha's list, they numbered 70,000.

North of the country of the Druzes is that of the Maronites, stretching for forty miles to the Nahr el Kebir, or great river, the Eleutherus: and again, north of this tribe is another mysterious sect, of which little is known, called the Ansarians or Ansariz, whose land, covered with a chain of mountains, extends from the Nahr el Kebir to Antakia, on the far north.

The Maronites are a papal sect, and although not quite orthodox on some articles of faith, are the ardent admirers of the Pope, and have always strenuously resisted the teaching of the Missionaries, persecuting in the most vindictive manner such individuals from amongst them as desired to embrace the pure faith of the Gospel. One of the most remarkable of these sufferers was Asaad-el-Shidiak, a young man of some property and influence on the mountain. He had undertaken to teach Syriac to Mr. King, one of the American Missionaries at Beyrout. They read the Old Testament together in the ancient Syriac, and the result was his conversion to the pure faith of Scripture. The Maronite ecclesiastics took the alarm. Inveigled into the mountains, he was conveyed to the Convent of St. Antonio, and, on his escape from thence, to the Convent of Canobeen. "Built on a steep precipice, it appears as if suspended in the air, being supported by a high wall built against the side of the mountain. There is a very deep rupture or chasm, running many hours walk directly up the mountain: it is clothed with wild verdure from top to bottom, and many streams fall down the sides. Canobeen stands about mid-way down on the side of the chasm, at the mouth of a large cavern: some small rooms front outwards, and enjoy the light of the sun: the rest are all underground." In one of the latter the prisoner was confined. There he endured a lingering martyrdom, now assailed with arguments and invectives, and then, when he remained resolute, cruelly beaten,† until at length death released him from his sufferings. Such has been the Maronite: nor has the Greek church been less determined in its opposition to the truth than the papal sects, and that more especially since the termination of the Crimean war, the effect of which upon the Greeks has been to fill them with pride and a spirit of persecution, so that, had they been powerful enough to do so, the Protestant Missionaries would have long since been driven from the country.

Many instances of this bitter hatred to which the Gospel and its messengers have been exposed in the region of the Lebanon might be mentioned. The little congregations of Protestants have been intruded upon, and their members beaten. In May of last year the Missionaries attempted to locate themselves in Zahleh, a town situated at the foot of Lebanon, near Labeka. The Greek Catholic Bishop was determined it should not be so. He denounced them in the church, and, through his priests and council, sought to prevent them from engaging a house; and when disappointed in this, proceeded to more summary methods of ejection. The house was assaulted; stones thrown in at the windows; and several persons severely injured; the Missionaries were seized by the mob, and with their wives and children, hurried out of the town.

We have before us the Report of the American Board of Commissioners for the year 1859. It speaks of some hopeful symptoms. In the villages around Hashbeyia, a beautiful village at the foot of Hermon, and close to the sources of the Jordan, the number of inquirers was decidedly increasing. Yet the history of this movement suffices to show the heavy pressure of opposition and persecution which have been brought to bear upon the Mission. When it first commenced, in 1845, the Protestants were publicly insulted, and beaten in the streets, their houses attacked and injured, until one by one they yielded to the storm, and made their peace with the Greek ecclesiastics. Almost simultaneously with this act of persecution, one of the old struggles broke out between the Maronites and Druzes, which ended in the defeat of the former, and their expulsion from the Druze quarter of Lebanon. The persecutors at Hasbeyia, were stoned and driven out by the Druzes, and great numbers of them killed, so that the whole combination was completely broken up and dispersed. The old Maronite Patriarch, who, after having martyred Asaad Shidiak, had caused the Bible to be burned, and the Missionaries to be insulted and stoned, and who had often boasted that he had left no place open for them to enter the mountains, found himself stripped of all his power, and after having been constrained to sanction the re-entrance of the Missionaries, sank beneath the weight of his disappointment, and died.

Hitherto, one church only had been formed

* "Palestine, Past and Present," by the Rev. H. S. Osborn, pp. 82, 83.

† A more lengthened account of this martyr's history was printed in the "Church Missionary Gleaner" for May, 1860.

in Beyrout, the composition of which exhibited the peculiarity of Missionary work in this region. It consisted of twenty-seven members: ten of whom were from the Greek Church, four were papal Greeks, four Maronites, five Armenians, three Druzes, and one a Jacobite Christian. But, soon availing itself of a brief respite, the Mission extended, and a new church was formed at Abeih, while incipient efforts were advanced to Tripoli. In 1851, a church was organized at Hashbeyia, but it was planted in the midst of persecution. Before the close of the same year, all was again in confusion. Anarchy prevailed, robbers infested the roads, and property and life were at the mercy of lawless and marauding bands of people; a state of things which continued throughout the greater part of 1852 and 1853, producing a most disastrous effect upon the church at Hashbeyia, so that it was often impossible for the Missionaries and native assistants to visit the people in safety. "At a communion in 1853, the Protestants came fully armed, and stacked their guns, and hung their swords in the court of the chapel, forcibly reminding the Missionaries of scenes often witnessed in the early planting of churches among the savages of the American wilderness."

Amidst circumstances so adverse the growth of the Mission-work has been feeble. It commenced in the year 1823, when two American Missionaries, Messrs. Goodall and Bird, arrived at Beyrout. What, then, at the present moment, presents itself as the tangible result of thirty-four years of labour? The Americans, in their Report for last year, state—"The number of churches continues to be four: which are at Beyrout, Abeih, Sidon, and Hashbeyia. But three additions were made during the year 1858, and there were two excommunications. The number of members at the end of that year was ninety-three. The whole number from the beginning is 131: nineteen were received during the first six months of the year 1859."

Here, then, the sowing of the Gospel seed has been obstructed. The great purpose of the Lord has been presumptuously interfered with, namely, the promulgation of the Gospel to all nations. That great purpose must take effect—"This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." If man raises hindrances, whether they originate in the intolerance of rulers, or the fanaticism of priests and people, they must be removed. We must be prepared to find it so. This for some years past has been, and still continues to be, the special character of the time in which we live. The facilities for inter-communication between man and man have been wondrously increased. Railroads have caused the intervals between distant termini to be calculated, not by leagues, but by hours, and mighty steam-ships bridge the seas. "Many shall run to and fro; and knowledge shall be increased." When, therefore, nations place themselves in antagonism to the free circulation of the one great message of reconciliation from God to sinners, and the heralds who are charged to make it known are opposed and hindered, then must follow convulsions of society, more or less violent according to the necessities of the case, until the obstructions which have been raised have been swept away like the embankments which children raise upon the sea-shore to keep back the advancing tide.

If hindrances are to be levelled, it is only necessary that events should be permitted to take their course. The cyclone of human passions soon arises. The electrical spiral, as it descends, rotating and working like a screw, produces a reaction, until a reversed spiral of air working upwards coils, itself within and around the other, and as they struggle like contending giants in the dread embrace, they pursue with mad impetuosity their cyclonal course, darkening the heavens, and inflicting ruin by sea and land. So arise the storm and conflict of human passion. So rose the fearful mutiny in India, advancing in its rotatory action from one station to another, and inflicting stroke on stroke, until it had exhausted itself. It subjected us to many sorrows, and wrung with anguish many an English heart; but it has done its work: it has levelled obstructions, and has destroyed the prestige of the old religions of the land. Christianity has come forth out of the ordeal, uninjured, endued with new vigour, prepared and resolute for action, while Mohammedanism and Hinduism, like wounded giants, are scarcely able to lift themselves up from the earth where they have been prostrated.

The storm has now reached the Lebanon, and the contending gusts of human passions are in fierce commotion. The Maronites, and others of the corrupt churches of those regions, have hitherto prevented the Gospel from free entrance into the land. Had it been otherwise, who can say how tranquillizing its influence might have been! But they have sown the wind, and now reap the whirlwind. The confusion of events is as yet too intense to permit us with precision to indicate the immediate cause of these bloody frays. The Maronites have always given their neighbours, the Druzes, more or less trouble; and

their Patriarch, by evil advice, instigated his people to such innovations upon them, that, in 1841 and 1845, the most terrible bloodshed occurred. The old feud seems now to have reached a crisis, and, in conjunction with a motley horde of Moslems, Bedouins, and Metwalis, the Druzes are inflicting fearful calamities on the Christian population.

Hashbeyia has been amongst the first to fall. It contained a population of 5000 souls, chiefly of the Greek orthodox church. For two days the armed men held their own against the Druzes, when they were induced, it is said through the interference of the Turkish commander, to surrender their arms. In this defenceless state the Druzes were permitted to wreak their vengeance on them. They were butchered in the court of the seraglio, their wives and children witnessing from the windows of the upper chambers the awful scene of blood. Some few succeeded in concealing themselves beneath the bodies of the slain, and escaped to Beyrout.

Zahleh next suffered. Thither had fled the surrounding Christian population, and thither flocked an immense horde of Druzes from the Hauran and Anti-Lebanon, as also of Kurds and Arabs from the desert.

The pasha of Beyrout, at the urgent and repeated representations of the five consuls-general, sent off a small force of 300 soldiers and two guns to drive away the Druzes. They might without difficulty have reached the scene of action next day, the distance being only thirty-two miles, of which twenty-five are over an excellent road, but they lingered on the way, and rendered no help. For several days the defenders held their ground, time being thus afforded to a large body of Christians to make good their retreat. On the sixth day the Druzes, having been strongly reinforced, attacked the place with unprecedented fury, burning it, and committing great slaughter.

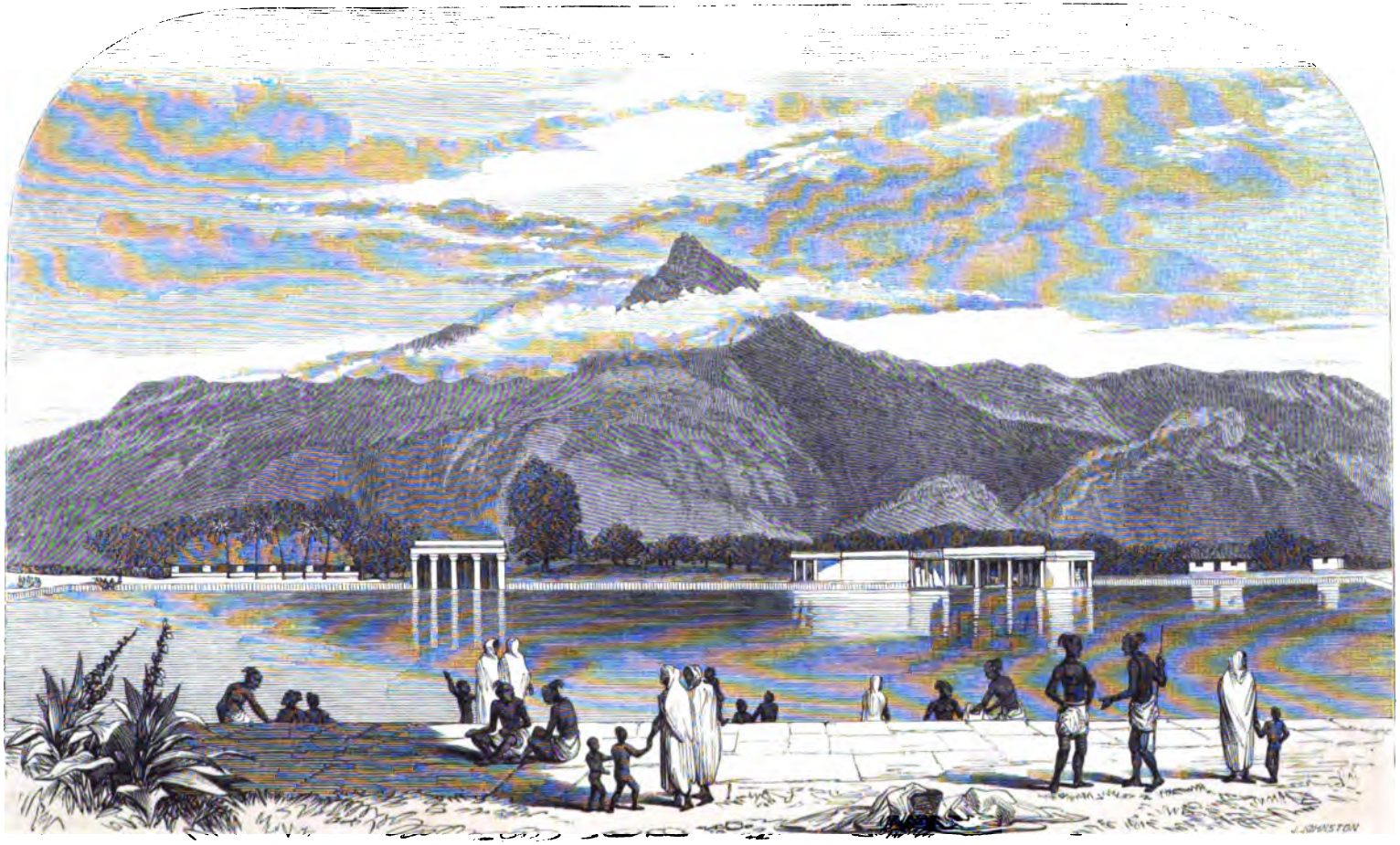
Deir-el-Kamr, seven hours' journey from Beyrout, was the next point to which the rage of these motley hordes directed itself. This town contained a mixed population of Maronites and Druzes. It lies, not among the beauties, but among the gloomy and repulsive places of Lebanon, its bald houses climbing up the rugged declivities, and almost resting on each other's roofs, while above tower the mountain summits, bold and striking, but barren and precipitous. On a commanding site stands the Maronite convent; while in chapels scattered throughout the mountains, and concealed from observation, the Druzes celebrate their mysterious worship. In the gardens around a number of Maronites and other refugees had encamped, as in security, Tahir Pasha, with 400 Turkish soldiers, being in the town. Here they were attacked by a large body of Druzes, and while defending themselves, as best they could, were assaulted in the rear by Moslems from the city. On endeavouring to retreat within the walls, they found the gates closed against them, and numbers were killed by the Druzes.

There is no discrimination made by the infuriated Moslems between the Papist and Protestant Christians: all alike suffer. In Hashbeyia, the preaching of evangelical truth had borne more fruit than anywhere else in Syria. "The Protestants in the village numbered upwards of 200: they had a native pastor and a church, the latter having been built chiefly by their own contributions. Of that Protestant community, which a few weeks ago was full of spiritual as well as material life, two men now live to tell the tale of butchery, while of the 4000 Greek Christians, but 33 men have survived."

And yet this would not be permitted, unless high interests precluded the possibility of the Protestant congregations being exempted from the general suffering. They have shared the tribulations of the other Christian bodies in the Lebanon, and in this fellowship of sorrow the bitter prejudice hitherto entertained against them may be quenched. When the disturbances have been arrested, and tranquillity is restored, the Lebanon may no longer prove to be a rugged and difficult Mission field. Broken up by the plough, the soil will have a soft and mellow quality, and native evangelists may go forth with acceptance to sow the seed of the kingdom.

Meanwhile, the whole of Syria and Palestine is in alarm. Damascus is threatened.* What shall be the issue? Are we about to witness an outbreak upon an extended scale, a crusade on the part of Moslems of the Arab race, and the tribes who sympathize with them, against all who bear the name of Christian? Is it the same rancorous spirit of fanaticism which showed itself so unmistakably at Jedda, that is now convulsing and alarming the province of Syria; and the same fierce struggle for the mastery which deluged the plains of India with blood—is this about to be re-enacted in those territories of the Turkish empire which once formed a portion of the vast empire of the Caliphs? Whence arise these disquietudes that are ever appearing, now in one, now in some other province of the Turkish empire?

* Since taken, and the Christians slaughtered.



TRAVELLERS' BUNGALOW.

BRAHMINICAL BATHING-PLACE.

THE GREAT TANK AT STRIVILLIPUTTHUR, NORTH TINNEVELLY.

Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, have presented a threatened aspect; and while the Turkish army is being concentrated in that direction for the purpose of preventing disturbances, they break out suddenly in the southern portion of the empire. And now that the Turk appears unable to preserve peace amongst his subjects, and uphold the dignity of the law, an intervention on the part of the European powers becomes necessary. How critical this proceeding? Shall it accomplish just what may be requisite, and no more? How shall it be so directed as that no fresh complications shall arise? Are we on the eve of the dissolution of the Turkish empire, and about to witness the division of the spoil? "Where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The vital power seems to be rapidly diminishing throughout the ponderous frame of the Ottoman empire. The old giant has lost his force. He who once wielded his battle-axe with overwhelming power, is now reduced to such weakness, that circulation in the extremities can no longer be sustained. The eagles from the north and south are hovering around. High in the air, as they had hoped, perhaps, out of sight, they have been describing their gyrations, watching with eagle eye the progress of events, and prepared, when the moment came, to swoop upon the prey.

How critical the position of human affairs! How grave the responsibilities of public men! How sensitive the feelings of nations! What jealousies prevail on questions of international right! Who can define the future, or promise the nations a happy era free from the intrigues of ambition, and the sudden convulsions in which such deep-laid mines explode? Amidst all this, when men are looking for the things which are coming on the earth, what a comfort to know that the Lord reigneth, and that nothing shall prevent the fulfilment of his purpose; that the wrath of man, and the devices of the enemy, shall alike be made to praise Him; and that his Gospel shall yet go forth in its majesty and power over the wide earth, producing by its renewing and persuasive influences, those wondrous changes which are promised in the page of Revelation, when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them:" when "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Press of other important matter compels us to interrupt this article. On resuming it, other nations may be referred to as explanatory of the preliminary process, the breaking up of the fallow ground.

THE REVIVAL IN NORTH TINNEVELLY.

The work of the Missionary is the work of a sower. Two processes are necessary to a perfect harvest. There must be the planting of the seed, and there must be a quickening influence to call forth the blade and the ear, and the full corn. "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." This saying is usually employed to describe, as it justly does, man's impotence without God. But the text is also a text of promise. It contains God's assurance of blessing and success on the planting of the seed, as surely as the statement of men's helplessness without Him. It is "God that giveth the increase," and He has said, "My word shall not return unto Me void."

It was a saying of the middle ages, "To pray is to labour;"* whilst some who felt that this was only a half-truth preferred rather to say, "He who labours prays."† But this, too, was only a half-truth: they who used it let go the old maxim to grasp the new, and the whole truth lies, as it so often does, in the combination of the two opposites. It was truly said by a great forerunner of modern Missions, "Prayer and pains, through faith in Jesus Christ, can do any thing." Prayer without labour is enthusiasm. Labour without prayer is presumption. Duties are ours, events God's. Labour and prayer united make up that spirit of true humility, that dependent, trusting, faithful spirit, which God will not despise, which is sure of success. This view invests Missionary work with peculiar hopefulness. Labour on, and wait in prayer for a blessing, and in due time the blessing must come, for God hath said it. Persevering prayer is never lost.

The recent Revivals in America and Ireland have witnessed to this truth. In America there was a free Bible, and much head-knowledge, the sowing of the "precious

* Orare est laborare. † Qui laborat, orat.

seed" through wide-spread Sunday schools. It pleased God to awaken a large spirit of of united prayer. The blessing descended. The seed, which had been deposited by human hands, was quickened into life by the Divine Spirit, and the desert rejoiced and blossomed. Just so, too, in Ireland. The work has gone forward chiefly amongst the Bible-reading Protestants of Ulster. It has very slightly affected the Romanists, who had had but little scriptural teaching. A spirit of united prayer breaks forth: so little was it called out by human effort, that its very origin is hardly to be discovered. The promised answer to prayer is given, even "the Holy Spirit to them that ask." And the truth becomes at once "quick and powerful." There is deep anxiety for the soul, genuine sorrow for sin, absorbing love to the Saviour, the fruits of repentance in a new life.

Blessed be God, His Spirit is as "the wind that bloweth where it listeth." He worketh in India as well as Ireland, and we have now the privilege of laying before the friends of Missions another striking illustration of the Lord's power and love. The scene of it is North Tinnevelly, a district hallowed by the prayers and labours of the beloved and now sainted Ragland. The spirit of united prayer in which the work was sustained by him and his colleagues, English and native, was thus described by an eye-witness in 1855—"The great secret of the happy working of the itinerancy is the prayerfulness that pervades it. Prayer is the atmosphere that surrounds it. In the morning, before setting out to preach, the brethren kneel to ask for thoughts, words, fluency, skill, audiences not blasphemous or indifferent. The first act, on returning, is to commit what has been done to the hands of the Lord, who can make it effectual. Then comes a mid-day Tamil service for the servants; afterwards, the Bible and prayer. Before evening preaching the Lord's presence is again implored, and the day closes with commending the work once again to Him. This is each day's history. Can He fail to bless it who has encouraged and commanded us so to work? Will He not bless what is thus done in Him and for Him? He does bless it; refreshes jaded spirits; gives energy, perseverance, hopefulness; and, in his own time—the eye of faith sees it—will authenticate and crown the labours of His prayerful servants, and make this barren wilderness smile and blossom like Mengnanapuram or Nulloor."*

* See Annual Report for lviith year pp. 125—128.

North Tinnevelly had been the scene of various evangelistic labours. Some of the earliest German Missionaries appear to have formed congregations there, but the work had not been sustained, and the people had generally lapsed from their profession. The late eminent Missionary, Rhenius, who separated from the Church Missionary Society in 1835 on a question of ecclesiastical organization, also extended his labours into the same locality; and a few native teachers have been maintained there since his death by the contributions of some who sympathized with him in Madras. Of late years, only one such has been labouring there, named Arulappan, in the neighbourhood of a village, called by the English, Wartrap, among the mountains in the north-west corner of the district, his own station being called Christianpettah. His relatives reside in a village called Ukkirankottei, in the Surandei district, the birthplace also of a connexion of his, Moses, one of the Society's schoolmasters. These places and persons will often re-appear in the subsequent pages.

A few sentences may be desirable to explain the subsequent narratives, and to show the extent and wide diffusion of the Revival.

The itinerating (or Sivagasi) district of North Tinnevelly contains about 1230 square miles, embracing about 1200 villages, in most of which the Gospel has been perseveringly and prayerfully preached for five or six years. It is about thirty-five or forty miles from east to west, and rather less, perhaps, from north to south. Two high roads pass through it in a southerly direction towards Palamcotta. On the eastern road lies the small town of Virdupatty, and south of it Satthur. On the western road, about twelve miles from the western ghauts, the larger town of Strivilliputhur, with its numerous and lofty Hindu temples. Sivagasi lies nearly midway between Virdupatty and Strivilliputthur, and another town of 10,000 inhabitants Rajapaliam, a few miles south-west of the latter. Surandei is the nearest Missionary station in South Tinnevelly, about forty miles below Rajapaliam. The present staff of the Mission consists of the Rev. David Fenn, and the Rev. W. Gray,* with three native helpers, Joseph Cornelius, Vedhanayagam Devanayagam, and William Thomas Satthianadhen, who received Holy Orders from the Bishop of

* The Rev. R. R. Meadows is now on his voyage back to India, and the Rev. R. C. Macnonald is preparing study on the spot; so that the number of European Missionaries will soon be doubled. The Committee have also designated two more men to South India. They will sail (D.V.) in October.

Madras last Christmas. The native congregations in South Tinnevelly also maintain a number of catechists, who successively visit and itinerate throughout the Sivagasi district. When the Rev. W. Knight visited Strivilliputhur in 1855, in company with Joseph Cornelius, the principal inhabitants waited on him to petition for the establishment of a Native-English school there, *i. e.* a school for native boys, Christian or heathen, where English forms a part of the education. Mr. George Huffton was withdrawn from Palamcotta to undertake such a school, which was first held in the portico of a *maddam*, or Brahminical bathing-place, on the edge of the great tank, the people, though strongly attached to caste, allowing the Bible to be read, and Christian prayer to be offered up there.† A schoolroom has since been erected by the exertion of the natives themselves. The sons of the native preacher Arulappan were amongst the pupils.

We now proceed to lay before our readers the wonderful tidings before us. As in America and Ireland, the Revival has not been confined to any one denomination of Christians. Some of the earliest symptoms were manifested at Christianpettah.

The Rev. W. T. Satthianadhen thus describes his visit to it (March 27, 1860)—

"I have seen all the people who were said to be awakened. They are constantly reading the word of God, and meet together for exhortation and prayer. They go to preach to the heathen (the women also included), but I have not heard them preach. They are very anxious to preach the Gospel to all, particularly to their relatives, and are always ready to confess their sins. On Sunday afternoon, while I was preaching on the sufferings of Christ, several of them burst into tears. All this encourages the hope that they are the subjects of the Holy Spirit's operation. But this work is not very general, only a few being affected by it, one man, his wife, and sister-in-law, the rest being the members of Arulappan's family, his son and two or three of his daughters. I forgot to mention that some of his daughters, and another woman, gave up their jewels for the relief of the poor. We must wait and see how this work will progress. I have been encouraged, on the result of my visit, to pray more than ever for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon our congregations and the heathen."

Our Missionaries, however, felt strongly the need of caution, and, in circumstances so novel, it was most right and wise. They accordingly paused for a few weeks before expressing their opinion as to the movement. But during that time events begun to occur, which left no doubts upon their minds. Our next letter, from the Rev. Ashton Dibb, a Missionary from South Tinnevelly, then gives us an account of a similar movement in the neighbourhood of Surandei (May 15, 1860)—

"Last Sunday (the 13th) we met at Atchampetty and administered the Lord's Supper to thirty-four persons. The day was a particularly happy one to us, as there were indisputable marks of a Revival among the people, brought about by the influence of five men who had come (voluntarily to preach the Gospel to heathen and Christians) from Ukkirankottei, a village in the Surandei district. These had come under Revival influences by means of those individuals of whom, or rather of the reports concerning whom, I wrote rather disparagingly in my last to you. Of the five Ukkirankottei men whom I saw at Atchampetty, the headman had formerly been on a Mission in the Pannikullam district, but had given up that to attend to his own farming and grazing business. This, he now says, was Satan's device to keep him from meddling with his slaves, but now he is determined, as long as he lives, to work freely to set those slaves at liberty, and make Satan's device of no effect. Certainly the effect of their proceeding hitherto has been extraordinary. The heathen listen to them very attentively, though, as yet, I have not heard of any having given up their heathenism in consequence of what they had heard. Their doctrine, too, is sound and pertinent, exhibiting a right practical understanding both of law and Gospel. Hitherto I have scarcely any exception to make to their proceedings, which is remarkable, considering that they are unlearned and ignorant men, who are exercising so much influence on the people. Nothing, I apprehend, can keep such men from extravagance and forwardness but the guidance of the same Spirit who made the same class of men mighty in former years, and yet kept them from all extravagance and excess.

"The only excesses I have noticed I told them of, and they received my correction with all possible modesty and meekness."

After giving some instances in illustration of what he has just mentioned, Mr. Dibb concludes—

"The good result of their efforts has been, that the church was filled to overflowing, instead of being only a little more than three-quarters filled. They told me, that

† The engraving, from a sketch upon the spot, by Mr. Knight, represents these localities, backed by the magnificent peak mentioned at p. 182.

if in any place a member should wish to become a Christian as the result of their preaching, they should refer him to the Missionary, in whose district his village is situated. When all these circumstances are considered, and also the fact that the revivalists are churchmen, we have much cause to hope well, as well as to watch well concerning the movement. It certainly does seem to have at least the merit of being the first entirely indigenous effort of the native church at self-extension."

We now turn to another locality, the village of Vageikulam, in the more northerly part of the district, where a most wonderful work has been going on. The main instrument in God's hands has been our native agent, Moses, whose name we have already mentioned, and who was one of the earliest fruits of the Revival. He is a man of remarkable energy, but was of so indifferent character, that he had been degraded from the rank of catechist, and the Missionaries were thinking of dismissing him altogether. But we will not anticipate the remarkable circumstances which have marked the change of of this Saul into a Paul.

The Rev. David Fenn had thus written of him—

"In a village two miles from him live a man and his wife, relatives of Moses. The man was one of the thirteen I baptized ten days before Mr. Ragland's death. I heard then that his wife was not a Christian, and, indeed, was not at all on good terms with him; but as all agreed he was not to blame I baptized him, and he has gone on quietly and satisfactorily since. She has all along been most obstreperous. Some months ago, Moses, who is a man of very great ability and influence, especially among his relatives, and who at that time was destitute of all principle, beat her severely for quarrelling with her husband. This enraged her so, that she never failed to call him all sorts of names, and to heap abuse on all catechists and schoolmasters generally.

This day fortnight she had, in one of her usual fits, been violently abusing the schoolmaster of the village in the morning. In the evening Moses came. His efforts with many other of his relatives, during the last two months, had been greatly successful in bringing many of them to a better mind. In a humble and prayerful spirit he thought he would try what he could do for her. One or two good Christian women had been speaking to her that very morning. When Moses went to her house she was lying down. He asked her civilly for a drink of water. Instead of rushing away from him as usual, she brought it at once, and a little cake also. He then began very quietly to confess that he had done very wrong to beat her so; asked her forgiveness; and went on to urge her to come as a sinner to Christ. Whilst he was speaking, the schoolmaster of the place came in, whom she had that morning been abusing. He also is one of those who have recently been awakened. He suggested that they should pray. At once she went in, put on a respectable cloth over her head and body, as Christians do at service, and they had prayer. She seems completely softened. Next day the schoolmaster and his wife, having come away to where I was, seven miles off, for the Lord's Supper, she, without a hint from any one, went to their house and swept and cleaned it; and on the Monday after, when I had that interesting service in the little church in Moses' own village, she was present, and was brought up to me after the service, and sat before me beside her husband, looking up at me with a quiet modest face, as one who had been for years a Christian. One thing that makes me feel very happy about many of these sudden conversions is, that the subjects of them show so much love to one another afterwards. Love, you know, is the first of the fruits of the Spirit."

Mr. Fenn was subsequently able to give the following glad tidings—

"*Tent, near Virdupatty, May* 17, 1860.

"The Lord has begun to bless North Tinnevelly in very deed. The shower has begun to fall; not so much, however, on the heathen wilderness, as on one or two of the little Christian oases within it. An hour or two after despatching my last, a fortnight ago, I took leave of dear Gray, clambered into my bandy, and found myself next morning in good Vedhanayagam's village, (Vageikulam) twenty-five miles off. There I heard further particulars of Moses, the schoolmaster, of whom I wrote; and every thing I heard went to prove that a real solid work of grace had taken place in his soul. The apparent instrument was dear Vedhanayagam's own solemn and affectionate admonitions, two months before, which had led Moses to reflection, prayer, and the study of the Bible. He at once abandoned drinking and quarrelling, and instituted family prayers in his own house. At the meetings for study held weekly at Vedhanayagam's house, where all the schoolmasters of his section assemble, Moses shows the greatest humility and teachableness. His prayer-meetings in his own house are attended voluntarily by not only the

Christians, but even some heathen women of the place: his own wife and the monitor of the school (a relative of his) have been brought with tears to the foot of the cross. A schoolmaster of a neighbouring village, who, with his wife (Vedhanayagam's own sister-in-law), were unsatisfactory agents, whom Gray was on the point of dismissing, have both been powerfully influenced by Moses' example and prayers, and, after a season of thoughtfulness and study of Scripture, were visited by extraordinary and overpowering convictions of sin, which have led them to be constantly in prayer, and to labour, the wife as well as the husband, for the conversion of all around them. They also have, I fancy, daily prayer-meetings in their house. In the village in the Surandei district, Ukkirankottei, from which Moses originally comes, and where many of his relatives are Christians, among whom is Arulappan (the native preacher of whom I have sometimes written as settled down in a corner of North Tinnevelly, near Strivilliputthur,) there has been, I hear, a remarkable movement, accompanied with outward demonstrations of tears and sobs.

"But now let me tell you what I myself witnessed in my visit to Vedhanayagam's village. Here were assembled for the Lord's Supper, Moses, the other schoolmaster, both their wives, the wife of a catechist nearly related to Moses, who, within the few preceding days, had been brought to see her sins and embrace the Saviour, and other newly-awakened ones. After evening prayers on Sunday, (May 6) Moses came up to me, and looking up in my face, with tears in his eyes, told me, in a few words, how the Lord had had mercy on him; how utterly unworthy he felt himself; how he knew he had grieved Mr. Every, Mr. Ragland, and myself in times past; and how he begged that I would pray for him that he might hold on to the end. On that Sunday we had the usual services at 7 A.M., 12 noon, and 7.30 P.M. Dear Vedhanayagam preached in the morning, and read prayers, and assisted me at the Lord's Supper at noon. About 150 were assembled at the latter, of whom thirty-five were communicants, and three more stayed on, hoping we would admit them for the first time, though they had not previously told us of their wish. I trembled in the prospect of preaching, having felt very unable all the day before, though I tried to prepare; and I thought these new-born souls would be looking up for food, and would go away unfed. However, Vedhanayagam and I prayed that the Lord would help me, and He did. I spoke from, 'Look unto me, and be ye saved.' Throughout the service and sermon there was the greatest attention: some were in tears. It was a solemn thought, as I administered the Lord's Supper, that some, though they had often before outwardly pressed with the teeth the sacrament, yet were now for the first time feeding on Him in their hearts.

"But if the times of service that day were unusually interesting, the times between service were yet more so. No sooner was the early morning service over, than Moses and two or three others began to perambulate the village, going into almost every house, praying with Christians, and preaching to heathen. Dear Vedhanayagam was in the church with me a great part of the day, but from his house near by there was hardly a moment in the day when the voice of prayer or of Scripture-reading was not heard to proceed. The three women mentioned above, and dear Vedhanayagam's own wife, and another good woman, seemed to employ every moment in either speaking to one another or other Christian women; or, while their husbands were out in the village, in praying: and in the afternoon, the women in one party, and the men in another, went about from house to house praying. At about sunset, I heard the voice of one of the schoolmasters rather loud but very solemn and earnest in prayer. I then took a quiet walk in the fields for about three-quarters of an hour. On my return, I heard loud sobs proceeding from Vedhanayagam's house. My Christian servant told me that 'the Lord was doing a wonderful work.' Vedhanayagam himself I found in the church, walking about in some distress. His own wife had shortly before been powerfully affected, so as to give out quite piercing cries as some thoughts of the judgment-day came over her. I then went with Vedhanayagam inside his house, and there, on the ground, found the six or seven Christian women, most of them with their faces buried in their clothes, two sobbing vehemently, one or two repeating quietly suitable texts, and one or two of the men doing the same. I also did so, and soon there was calmness enough for me to read Psalm cxxx., and to offer a short prayer. We two then went into the church for our tea, during which time I could hear, sometimes a woman crying over and over, 'O Lord, I am a sinner!' 'O righteous Father, have mercy on me!' and then, again, the voice of Moses in prayer. It struck me a good deal to overhear, in the midst of it, that beautiful petition in the Litany, 'O Lord, deal not with us after our sins, neither reward us after our iniquities.'

"Soon after, they all came in to evening prayers. We had only a chapter, exposition, and singing and prayers—the usual custom. The second lesson was singularly appropriate (Rom. v.) I omitted the difficult verses in the middle, being very anxious to fix their minds on leading truths. The first verse was most precious, and so was the sixth and eighth, but perhaps most of all the twentieth, 'Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.' It was sweet to see every face upturned to me, except those of one or two, who still continued to sob at the end. I said a few words to the two schoolmasters, and to one other good old Christian present, after the rest were gone, about 'trying the spirits,' for they must not think every thing from God. I sat up a good while by myself in that house of God, which had indeed been that day a gate of heaven; but drowsiness overpowered me, while the voices of quiet Christian conversation were yet going on outside, and ere I left next morning, dear Vedhanayagam told me, that till past midnight he had been engaged with such precious communings with his wife and sister as he had never before known. 'Oh,' he said, 'I shall never forget this day!'

"Next day (May 7) I was in a small Christian church some eight miles off, whither came two of the good women who had taken a very prominent part in all the prayers and preachings, and, I must add, the tears and sobs of that Sabbath. I was very glad of an opportunity for quietly investigating their feelings; and you will not be surprised to hear that they were attaching, as it seemed to me, far too great an importance to physical emotions and hysteric swayings of the body, and were also in lively expectation of supernatural gifts, prophesying, speaking with tongues, &c. In the evening I went on to Moses' village, Ukkirankottei. I was very glad to send my pony across the country, and have the last three miles for a quiet walk and meditation. The moon had not risen; all was dark and still: I prayed for strength and clearness of mind. John x. came into my mind, and, as I repeated it all over and over, it seemed to me the very word that the Spirit had given me for the occasion. On arriving at the village, I gave them a little tea I had brought with me: they had milk they said all ready, and I expected that about half an hour as usual would pass before the people assembled. I should have had my tea, and then addressed them; but I was hardly within the little church before it was crammed to the doors. I should think forty people must have squeezed into it. It was as good as a hundred cups of tea to see their waiting, serious looks. So at once I told them my thoughts as I had been walking along, and spoke to them of the Good Shepherd, their happiness under his keeping, their everlasting security, and the need to watch against the voice of strangers. Then I told them what I had discovered that day to be the expectations of some, unwarrantable as they appeared to me; then we had prayer: but whether it was singing, Scripture, or prayer, all seemed to join with all their hearts. Some at the beginning began to sob, but by lowering and calming my voice, I was, through God's mercy, able to check what, it appeared, was more from habit than from actual feeling at the time. Oh, it was a wonderful sight! there, where, a few months ago, all had been so lifeless! And what pleased me as much as any thing was to see Moses, on my rising from prayer, stand up, and in a few words explain to the people that he now understood his error; that he had been teaching them the last few weeks to expect outward signs (I was quite ignorant that he also held the notion); that two signs only were necessary, and these God had given them—(1) Fresh light; (2) a new nature.

"Then the little congregation, after I had read a few verses from the end of Mark xiv., and told them my view of them, dispersed. My tea was brought. Four newly-awakened agents of the district, and two good youths from Mr. Sargent's Institution, just come for a month's preaching, sat before me. All the time I had my English Bible, and they their Tamil ones, and I referred them to texts which they read out, mostly on the preciousness of the word of God and the signs of true and spiritual life. One of them was so hoarse he could hardly read, and when I asked the reason, it turned out, as I had expected, that he had been all day, from morning to night, preaching in the streets of the neighbouring towns, and this was a man who, only ten days before, had written Mr. Gray a really rude letter, complaining bitterly of being removed to his present position, which he said was unhealthy. Now he says, 'Do let me stay, Moses, and I will make an assault upon the place: we will attack every house and every soul, and conquer them for Christ.' As I walked away, I got the youth, who is a monitor in Moses' school, to show me the way, on purpose that I might talk with him of the change which he, too, had felt. It was touching to hear him, in answer to my questions, say, in the simplest words, that he had been a great sinner, but he knew that all

his sins were forgiven, for Jesus Christ the Son of God had died for him, and now he must no longer live in sin, but pray for the Holy Spirit to conquer his sins. Then I asked him if he, too, felt bodily tremblings. 'Yes,' he said, 'every day whenever I come to prayers I do so.' 'Well,' I said, 'it was no wonder when you first thought of your sins it should be so. But now all this will only hinder you from thinking about Jesus Christ: you must pray against it.' He at once said, 'Yes, I will pray: O Lord, please do not let my body shake when I come to prayers.' I could not refrain from putting my hand on his head, and blessing him in the name of God.

"The moon was now up. I had a happy walk to where my horse was tied, and thence rode on four miles to my resting-place for the night, and thirteen miles more early next morning to dear Gray's tent. My heart was ready to leap out for joy. I thought of the verse, 'The shepherds returned glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, as it was told unto them.' How kind was it of our heavenly Father to permit me to witness all this! It was not my work, but Gray's, to go and administer the Lord's Supper there; and my tent was moving just then to the farthest corner of North Tinnevelly; but just then this dear loving brother was quite knocked up. I took his place, and thus was able to see with my eyes a blessed work of God, which, to my dying day, I shall never forget. Gray is himself gone to those parts this week. I am longing to hear from him, and expect to do so before this letter has to be posted. And I am full of hope, and, with the little company in my tent, consisting of my Christian servant, and two or three from the south, am trying to pray that the shower of blessing may descend on the congregations of the district, especially Kalbodhu and Paneiadipatty, which are both very sadly in need of it.

"Meanwhile we have such tokens of movements among the heathen as we have never yet known; but as they do not seem to proceed from any definite convictions of the truth of Christianity, and certainly from no sense of sin, I set less value on them. Yet they may, in God's hand, be the beginning of great things. I told you of the Shanars of Menaclipuram, and of some three or four families in a village quite on our eastern border, in which I spent a day three weeks ago. These last, I now hear, are going on satisfactorily. As far to the west as Rajapaliam, two remarkable dreams, one after the other, simple, and such as one may call, from God, have driven a well-connected Shanar tradesman into Satthianadhen's arms: while here, on the north-east corner, seven miles south of Virdupatty, three families have just placed themselves under instruction, apparently urged to it by a zealous native Christian, who has visited them from one of the Madura Missions; while others, relatives of these three, in an adjoining village—one of the worst in our whole district, where, whenever I went or sent catechists, I felt certain we should meet with abuse—seem really inclined to come over. And when I preached there a few evenings ago, notwithstanding one or two cavillers, I had a fair hearing, and was dismissed with great respect. It will indeed be giving us the valley of Achor for a door of hope, if God raises up a church in that place. I feel very hopeful about the three: they are of the lowest castes, but there is a great look of sincerity about them. Last Sunday the Virdupatty catechist tells me that a man of respectable caste, from one of his range of villages, two miles north, who had begun to be very friendly with him, came to see how Christians worship God, and, at the close of the service, went away saying, with apparent earnestness, 'I never thought you did so. Your's must be the true religion. I shall become a Christian.'

"Since I began to write this, a catechist of Kadachapuram has been with me, who was sent by Gray, with one of our district catechists, to look after some families of Pullars, (five miles south of where I now am, and near Satthur,) who said they wished to be Christians. No fewer than 103 persons, from five or six contiguous hamlets, have given in their names: they have, however, a law-suit with their Zemindar, who has just imposed a new, and, as they say, an unjust tax; and however we may protest, still they cling to the notion, that they will be better able to resist him if they are connected with us. But then, again, all these are persons on whom more than usual labour has been all along bestowed. One of their relatives, who is always working with them, is a staunch Christian, so that I do hope for a remnant, at least, from among them. One of the five villages is that in which, some three years ago, I spent, on two or three occasions, a day in their rest-house with Samuel Sandhosham, and got them to learn several texts, and had a hope one or two would then place themselves under instruction; and one of our permanent itinerants, who lives six or seven miles off, has always looked upon them as the most hopeful in his circuit.

"Is it not a mercy, that, just as my ex-

clusive connexion with North Tinnevelly is coming to an end, all this fruit should be vouchsafed? I have often prayed that success might be granted in such a way that we might not be puffed up, in such a way that God might have all the glory, and He seems to be hearing that prayer. Moses' conversion was altogether irrespective of us, even as instruments. And altogether, it is when our itinerating is, as it were, closed, that the Sun of glory and of righteousness is casting his bright beams on every corner of the wide plain. Oh, as I look across it to that magnificent peak, rising some 6000 feet over Strivilliputthur, thirty-five miles away—the crow's nest of North Tinnevelly—I think that it is destined, ere long, to look down on a regenerated region, a territory of peace, and joy, and righteousness; and that all over this Sivagasi district the voice of sorrow for sin, of exultation in a Redeemer, of pleading in prayer with God for lost sinners around, and of loving entreaties that they too will come unto Jesus,—when I think that all this is beginning even now to be felt, and seen, and heard,—is it not enough to make one cry out with Simeon, even though I have not reached half his years, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation?'"

We complete the circle of our narratives with a letter by the Rev. W. Gray, from Strivilliputthur, dated, May 14, 1860. Those who have studied the history of recent Revivals elsewhere, will be struck with many remarkable coincidences—

"I am going to endeavour to lay before you an account of the wonderful things that our gracious Lord is pleased to show his servants in this district. If the work goes on (as may He grant it!), I will endeavour to keep you in possession of all its phases, by letters written from time to time. In pursuance of an arrangement I have entered into for administering the Lord's Supper to all the assembled communicants of each section of the district once in every two months, we came here (to Strivilliputthur) on Saturday evening last, my dear wife and myself. On Sunday morning, (May 13) Mr. Satthianadhen read the service and preached. At midday, I performed service and preached to a congregation of nearly a hundred people, and then administered the Lord's Supper to twenty-eight communicants. I bless God that I never before felt my tongue so loosed for Tamil speaking. In the morning I held an English service in Mr. Huffton's schoolroom, and we then retired to the bungalow for the night. We were hardly seated when dear Satthianadhen came over in haste, and requested me to go with him to witness a most extraordinary sight. It was, in truth, an extraordinary sight. The boys of Mr. Hufftou's school, sent by Mr. Arulappan of Varttheramppu, (Wartrap,) live in a house close to the schoolroom. We went there, and found all these boys, ten in number, wailing and sobbing loudly, some on their knees, some prostrated. I could hardly believe my senses, and I felt an involuntary tremor running over my whole frame. We went round about them all, and endeavoured to know the cause of their weeping so bitterly. In every case it was the bitterness of sin (so they said) that caused the grief. They were all closely huddled together, all with their Bibles in their hand; some kneeling, and, with eyes uplifted, engaged in prayer; some anxiously turning over the leaves of the Bible for some particular passages. I saw one boy (the very worst boy in his school, Mr. Huffton said) thus turning over for a passage, and on finding it, and reading it, immediately falling down and sobbing bitterly. We were by this time all assembled to see this strange and solemn sight—Mr. Huffton and his family, my dear wife, the Satthianadhens, &c. We all experienced the one feeling, that whatever it was, it was certainly an influence of some supernatural kind that had fallen on these poor boys. It was painful to see two or three of them shaking all over violently, and evidently quite powerless to control it. I asked one of them, who was thus affected, whether he would wish to give vent to his feelings in prayer. He immediately prayed in a very loud voice, and most earnestly: 'More, more, more light,' was the burden of it. How far it may be in a great measure the result of communicated sympathy I do not know. There was no cause assignable for the commencement of it. They had attended the two services in Tamil, and we were just concluding our evening English service, when it began with one boy, and almost immediately all were affected. It all began in their own little room. One of the most striking things about it is the extraordinary readiness they all seemed to have in finding out appropriate passages in the Bible. All, too, set it down to the painful feeling of sin: all had the one thought, too, about the sufferings of Christ Jesus for them. We spent some considerable time with them, and, after commending them to God in prayer, we retired, very deeply solemnized—awe-stricken I might say.

"I went over again early this morning, and found that they had had very little sleep

during the night. One of them said that he had heard a loud voice saying to him, 'Arise;' but on inquiring of the others, I found that no one but himself had heard it. They were much more calm than last evening, but all armed with their Bibles, in the reading of which they appeared so abstracted, that they would hardly give heed to our questionings and words. One idea had taken possession of their minds, that they must leave school and go to preach to the heathen. These poor little boys are, as you know, some of them very young, most of them perhaps not over twelve years of age. One of Mr. Arulappan's sons, who was in Mr. Huffton's school, left school a little time ago for this purpose. I began to ask them how they would preach—how they would answer the heathens' objections—how they would prove that Christianity was a true religion—how they would prove that the Bible was God's book, and not a new book made by man—how they would manage if the heathen began to scoff at them and jeer at them?

"I certainly was surprised to hear the ready answers they gave from the Bible, as to the way in which they intend to preach. 'How could little children like you preach to grown up men?' 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength,' was immediately the answer. 'How will you prove that the word you read is God's word?' 'Holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' was at once answered. I said to a very little and very quiet boy, 'The people will laugh at you, and make fun of you, if you go to preach.' He immediately turned to the passage in St. Peter, where the apostle speaks of 'scoffers' coming in the last times. This really was remarkable for boys, who, I suppose, were before rarely even in the habit of opening their Bibles, except in school lessons. I told them how that Jesus Christ, though He loved little children, and though he loved the honour and praise that their young lips and lives gave Him, yet never appointed them to go to preach the Gospel. In miraculous times, when He wanted a man to preach Him amongst the Gentiles, He selected a man in Paul, well-educated and fitted in every way for the work. 'Besides,' I said, 'if you want to preach, you have your own schoolfellows. Honour Jesus before them. You have all the little boys that you see constantly passing your door in your work of school hours. Preach to *them*.'

"I was the more anxious to point out the difference between an extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit (granting it did exist in this case), and an outpouring attended with miraculous results, because Mr. Arulappan does not appear inclined to discourage boys from this step, and our good friend, Mr. Huffton, is rather of the same view. When Mr. Arulappan's own son (of whom I spoke before) wished to go to preach and to leave school, he (Mr. Arulappan) appears to have said merely, 'If the Spirit does so influence him, what can I say or do? can I resist the Spirit?' Mr. Huffton appeared to be rather of this view at first, with regard to these boys. But as I said to him, there is nothing miraculous in this case. The most we can say of them is (if we can say so much), that they are 'new-born babes:' how we ourselves have been influenced by the self-same spirit for several years. Our judgments are more matured, our minds more expanded, and therefore our duty is to control and direct these boys, and not leave them to themselves. Our suffering them to go to preach could be only possible on the supposition that the boys were under a plainly and unmistakably miraculous influence. But this we cannot of course admit. I think Mr. Huffton sees the matter in this light now, and I hope all will go on well and wisely. May God direct these poor boys aright, and Mr. Huffton, and us all!

"I have mentioned this case now, which has just come under my notice, and I think, that as a simple fact, as a phenomenon, it is well worthy of notice. But we have other proofs that God is working amongst us here in a very wonderful manner. We feel that we know not exactly what to do. Only let God give us wisdom to guide and direct this matter aright. We much need the prayers of you and all our praying friends. In dear Vedhanayagam's section of the district a most remarkable movement is going forward. I don't know whether dear brother Fenn has written to you about this. As I was not very well, he went for me to administer the Lord's Supper at Vageikulam, according to my new arrangement last Sunday (May 6). He saw there a most remarkable sight: a congregation of 150 people had assembled. There were thirty-five communicants, several of our agents and their wives, and other women, engaged in prayer, with loud sobbing, almost all the day.

"I may now mention two or three cases as plain and simple facts, for which let us bless God with our whole hearts. We have a schoolmaster, whom I was on the point of dismissing about three months ago, for utter carelessness and worldliness. I kept him on just to give him a last trial. To all

human appearance, unmistakably the Spirit of God has fallen upon that man and his wife, and wonderful is the change. Naturally a proud and clever man, he is now most truly humble, and giving his whole heart in the most humble manner to the teaching of all his relatives and friends. You remember, again, the Vellalar schoolmaster, (Moses,) about whom I wrote to you my first official letter after I came here. He had been a great friend of the Zemindar's, with whom, to the neglect of his duties, he used to go to hunt. Month after month I have been watching him, intending to dismiss him entirely. Blessed be God, he too has been thus visited, and his wife also, and is now devoting all his time to the reading of the word and prayer, in teaching all his friends and exhorting them. Another man, a catechist of considerable standing, a really clever man, but very unsatisfactory, has been likewise visited in this strange manner. In these three cases there is nothing of extravagance. The fruits of the Spirit are produced in all peaceableness, and this mighty change exhibits itself in the bursting zeal to preach the Gospel to all. I will just mention these three facts now, leaving a more full statement of the case till my visit to the spot during this week. All through Vageikulam the work, I believe, is progressing in a most wonderful manner. We cannot doubt that the hand of God is with us now. Oh, do pray for us that we may have wisdom to throw ourselves into this matter heartily, and to direct it wisely to the glory of God and the great spread of the Gospel!

"I turn now to the Strivilliputthur side, from which I write this. In a congregation of Satthianadhen's (Pattakulam) lives a pious woman, who has of late become most warm in the service of God. I was lately made most thankful by the receipt of a letter from our dear brother to me about her. Along with the letter he sent me all her ear ornaments (worth about eight to ten rupees), which she voluntarily gave to keep the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. And not only so, but the old catechist there, whom we always looked on as utterly lifeless, had voluntarily taken out his earrings, and sent them for the same purpose. This old man now appears to be really under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Dear Satthianadhen tells me, that last week, at his usual weekly instruction of his agents, when he began to give them some thoughts about God's dealings with men at the present time, the old man violently shook all over, and asked Satthianadhen whether he might address God in prayer. On being allowed to do so, he prayed before all his brother agents in a most touching and affecting way. From that same village of Pattakulam, a young man has lately come to Satthianadhen to be received under instruction. Satthianadhen sent him back, and he is now undergoing a severe storm of persecution, but is manfully holding his ground for Christ. May God uphold him!

"Again, in the large town of Rajapaliam, a very respectable Shanar has come under instruction, and is holding on his way in joy and peace. I saw him yesterday, and there was something most pleasing about his look. He is a fine-looking man, with a fine, open, intelligent countenance. He has since brought over another man with him. They both came here to see me yesterday. The cause of his coming under instruction, as stated by himself, is not a little interesting. He saw in a dream, some time ago, a Missionary holding an open book in his hand. He thought that he asked the Missionary for the book; but the Missionary said it was not for heathen. He awakened, and felt a great longing for that book. Soon after, the catechist met him, and gave him a tract, which fully opened his eyes to the folly of idolatry. He soon after saw, in another dream, a man advising him to read, and be instructed in the Bible. After this, he came to dear Satthianadhen, and has since been a most promising inquirer, and appears truly a Nathaniel.

"I have thus gone over a good deal of space. I don't know whether I have left on your mind the impression that is on my own, that God is doing a great work amongst us in North Tinnevelly. Whence it all proceeds, it is hard to say. Man seems to have little part in it: the Spirit's work is all predominant. Shall we say, that now, at last, the God that heareth prayer is going to give an answer to the strong cries and prayers that have gone up for the last six years on behalf of North Tinnevelly? Shall we say, that now, at last, it is going to be made apparent that the lives of Ragland, and Every, and Barenbruck,* and the labours of

* The Rev. T. G. Ragland died suddenly of hæmorrhage of the lungs, at Sivagasi on October 22, 1858; the Rev. C. Every died of cholera, at the same place, on August 18, 1857, having been recently appointed to take charge of the small congregations of inquirers in the itinerating district: and the Rev. T. G. Barenbruck, after fourteen years of Missionary labour, chiefly in the Sarandei district, had been attached to the itinerancy only a month, when he sank under a short but severe illness on March 29, 1858. "These all died in faith, not having received the promise." See C. M. Quarterly Paper, No. cclxxiii, for Lady-day 1859.

their living associates, have not been offered up in vain?

"Or shall we say that Joel's vial of prophecy is now about to be emptied out to the last on the dead inhabitants of the nations, and that 'all flesh' is about to feel that 'not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts,' is its quickening into life to be effected?

"We live in strange and startling times. May God give us all to 'watch and pray, that we may be accounted worthy to stand before the Son of man!'"

We may well "stand still, and see the salvation of God." "There is little doubt," writes one of our friends from Madras, "but that the Spirit of the Lord is in an extraordinary manner at work in portions of our South-India Missions. Church-of-England clergy are backward in accepting such movements as these; but the testimony is now pretty decided and unanimous. It is indeed a new era in Indian Missions—that of lay converts going forth without purse or scrip to preach the Gospel of Christ to their fellow-countrymen, and that with a zeal and life we had hardly thought them capable of. What blessings, indeed, are showered down in answer to faithful prayer! How much have we to thank the Loodiana Missionaries for putting forth that call to prayer!"

We reiterate this appeal. Brethren, pray for us that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified. We are only at the beginning of this great movement. What might not be hoped, were all or half the native Christians in India to receive such quickening grace as those of North Tinnevelly? The word of the Lord to us is the same as the word to one of His servants of old—"Up! is not the Lord gone out before thee?" May He give us the hearing ear!

We had thus concluded; but the following mail brought with it further tidings of so wonderful a character that we cannot withhold them from our friends. Mr. Gray's letters are so deeply interesting, that we reproduce them *in extenso*, though they refer partly, as it will be seen, to the subject of previous despatches. On May 21, 1860, he wrote from Strivilliputhur as follows—

"When I wrote to you last from this place, I promised to give you very soon some additional particulars of the work which God is pleased in his mercy to show amongst us in this district, at this time. I set out on the evening on which I wrote to you for Vageikulam, which our dear native brother, V. Devanayagam, makes his principal station, and where this remarkable work has been principally going on. I will just give you a brief sketch of what has gone on there up to the date of my leaving it on last Thursday, May 17. I told you before of an arrangement I had made for the administering of the Lord's Supper once in every two months at each of the principal stations of the three sections of the district, for the benefit of all the communicants of each section in its turn. Dear brother Fenn went for me for the administration on Sunday, May 6th, as I was not very well. Our two agents, Gnanamuttu and Moses, who had been converted in so remarkable a manner, (as I told you in a previous letter,) had come there with their wives, (also converted,) on the Saturday evening, and from the time of their arrival had not ceased to exhort and entreat most earnestly all whom they met, to turn to Christ for salvation. They also held constant meetings for prayer on Saturday evening and Sunday morning. Such an assemblage as assembled in the church on that Sunday dear V. Devanayagam had never witnessed before: 150 people had assembled: thirty-five communicants partook of the holy Supper of the Lord. Dear Fenn preached a most stirring sermon, and, while he preached, many sighs, and sobs, and tears were observable, but no direct awakenings took place. But during that evening constant prayer-meetings were held, and several conversions took place, and a strange and solemn influence pervaded the whole place.

"Then from the Monday after that Sunday until the day on which I left Vageikulam, thirty-two persons had been awakened, to all outward appearance, and of these, nineteen were women. I will just mark down the days, and the number of awakenings which took place on each, and afterwards generally mention the physical manifestations which accompanied most of these awakenings.

"On Monday, the 7th of May, ten cases occurred, and principally at prayer-meetings held in the Rev. V. Devanayagam's house. On Tuesday, the 8th, five cases occurred on the same occasions, when the prayer-meetings were principally held by the Rev. V. Devanayagam's wife, and some of the newly converted. On Wednesday, the 9th, five cases occurred; on Thursday, the 10th, four cases; on Friday, the 11th, two cases; on Sunday, the 13th, one case; on Monday, the 14th, two heathen women; on Tuesday, the 15th, two cases; on Wednesday, the 16th, one case.

"I left on Thursday, the 17th, for other villages of the same section, where a similar work has been going on. I wish I could spare time and space to enter into all these

cases, and their attendant circumstances, as our dear native brother, who stands in the centre of it all, fully communicated them to me. I may mention, that amongst those 'struck down' were six heathen men and women of the village. The Rev. V. Devanayagam remarks generally—'The heathen, also, observing this wonderful work, are amazed. Since the commencement of the movement, twenty of these, including the awakened, have joined us. What a mighty change has come over these people for the better! Those who were at enmity before with each other have become reconciled of their own accord. They show great eagerness to hear the word of God. For these ten or twelve days I have not heard a single word of bad language, either from the new converts, or from the heathen. It appears as if a terror had fallen upon the heathen. But I rejoice with trembling.'

"The outward symptoms attending these awakenings have, for the most part, been of one and the same kind. Generally, the subject of the affection assumes, as if under some uncontrollable influence, the kneeling position, begins to sob bitterly, and to cry out for help against the overwhelming power of sin, sways the body with more or less violence to and fro, gasps, as if from suffocation, sometimes rolls the eyes wildly. I will just mention one case which the Rev. V. Devanayagam told me of, and in his own words—'A married young man of this village had plunged into the depth of iniquity. When it pleased God to show him, by his Holy Spirit, his real state, he was in such an agony as I never witnessed, and this agony continued for three full days. During all this time he continued crying most bitterly for his sin, and, as I heard him, the words in Zech. xii. 10 came most powerfully to my mind. He did not feel backward to tell out before all, in his confession, the most gross of crimes.' Some words of his prayer were as follows—'O God, what a great sinner I am! Oh, my sin! my sin! If I had died on Saturday I would have been now in hell amongst the devils! O Lord Jesus, my burden of sin is great. Thou alone canst unburden my load. Thou alone art my friend!' After a long and continued struggle, and earnest prayer for mercy, he has found peace. Oh! what a different aspect he wears now! His face is bright and cheerful. He is constantly going about in preaching to his friends and relatives.'

"They all came in to see me when I reached Vageikulam on Monday the 15th. It was a truly delightful sight. In the faces of many of them you could read the traces of a bitter, bitter conflict they had gone through, and you could see the calm, and pensive, and subdued, yet happy and joyful look of peace that had arisen out of it. All of them told of the one thing, viz. that Jesus Christ was all-powerful to save, and that they had found it to be so. All were in constant and earnest attendance in the house of God. There was no appearance of extravagance about them. All was calm, and happy, and sober, and I rejoiced particularly at this. Prayer-meetings were held constantly. My dear native brother had hardly a minute in the day to rest from the constant applications for him to instruct, or pray, or comfort, or exhort. All was earnestness and joy.

"I may just mention here, that on the evening of my first day's visit to Vageikulam, I visited a new congregation of about twenty inquirers, who have come over within the last three months, and who are going on most satisfactorily. We have placed no catechist amongst them, but fortunately one of them can read, and he in the most pleasing manner does all he can to instruct the rest.

"During my second day's stay, all the catechists of the section came in to their weekly instruction. Daniel, our permanent itinerating catechist, who has his centre at Putthons, gave us the pleasing intelligence that the movement has begun in that village also. Thus everywhere the word of God seems to grow mightily. 'Unto thy name, Lord, be all the praise.'

"I left Vageikulam on Thursday morning for the village of Kulakottikurichi, about five miles off. I will just mention one incident that took place there. After breakfast I called the schoolchildren together to examine them. Before beginning the examination, we all knelt down together to pray. As I prayed, the young assistant schoolmaster began to sob very bitterly. From that time he continued for two hours in the most bitter agony I have ever witnessed. Such piercing cries as he uttered for mercy I have never heard. At one time he would rise up to his knees and pray most earnestly. Then a bitter thought of sin would start up before him, and he would fall down into a most despairing agony. As I witnessed this strange sight, and this terrible sorrow for sin, I could not let go from my mind the remembrance of that poor afflicted one whom 'the Spirit tare; and he fell on the ground and wallowed foaming.' Visions appeared to float before his mind of an awful lake of fire, and a wave that was rolling him on irresistibly nto it. All his sins were fully and freely

confessed before a number of people who had congregated about the doors and in the church. Poor fellow! he describes himself as in this state ever since he had a conversation with Moses, about four days before. His father, who is the catechist of the place, and I, did all we could to direct him, by means of the promises of God, into the happiness of peace. He did, after about two hours, appear to obtain some measure of it. All the day he was constantly at his Bible. There is no other token of good in this congregation. May his example be blessed to the turning of many of them unto Christ!

"I set out the following morning for Neilapatty. I extract from my journal what I saw and heard there. There does really appear a mighty work going on in that village, of which the converted Moses, is under God, the honoured leader.

"'*Neilapatty, May* 18—Rose up this morning at a very early hour. I was hardly dressed when poor Manuel came in, and began talking about the subject—which is now the great subject with him—the salvation of his soul.

"'I pointed out to him a number of texts, which he seized upon with the utmost avidity. I told him how watchful he must be as to whether he is growing and bringing forth more and more the fruits of the Spirit. I then prayed with him and his father and another, and took leave of them. I reached Milepatty at about eight o'clock. Moses met me, looking as happy and cheerful and bright as he could look. We went together to the little prayer-house, and there I saw, to my delight, the little monitor Royappen (who is amongst the converted), with a face beaming brightly like a little angel's. Around him were no less than twenty-three little boys, all as busy as a set of little bees, and making no end of noise with shouting out their lessons. But in one corner of the prayer-house stood a man with a different look about him. This was a poor man (Sangau) to whom Moses had preached a few days before in a neighbouring village. This poor man had come the evening before to Moses, with tears and groans, and had spent the night with him receiving consolation from the word of God. I spoke to him for a while, and then we all knelt together, and asked God's blessing that his Spirit might be poured out on us all.

"'Moses then sat down by me, and began to tell me all about the wonderful things that were going on about here. To illustrate the change that has taken place in himself, I may mention one thing he told me. This very Moses, of whom I am speaking, had been heretofore the very terror of the neighbourhood. Even the neighbouring Zemindar and his people feared him. Whatever lawsuit Moses took up (and they were a few), he was sure to beat, by his ingenuity and unscrupulousness, every opponent. He had been once a catechist with us, but is now a schoolmaster, degraded, I think, by Mr. Barenbruck. Though he had had no sphere for the exercise of his forensic power with us, he has yet been always looked upon as a person whom it was better to leave alone than to molest, and so the Zemindars and he have been on very good terms with each other, the mutual respect for each other's power of doing mischief being, I suppose, the bond of union. What a mighty change is the change the blessed Spirit of God effects! Moses has often been feeling, since his conversion, a great desire to go and speak to the Zemindar about his soul. It lay heavily on his conscience, for he remembered how that all his dealings with him before were in sin and iniquity. He made up his mind at last, and presented himself a few days ago before the Zemindar in his cutcherry. Twenty Brahmins stood round about him. 'Ah, Moses, where have you been this long time? For three months and more I have not seen you.' 'When I used to come to you before, Sir,' replied Moses, 'it was in order to receive worldly favours from you. I have not come with that object now. I am a changed man, I have come to speak to you about your immortal soul.' And thereupon, amidst the extreme surprise of the whole party, he opened his Bible at the 6th of St. Matthew, and warned them all from it against 'laying up treasures upon earth.' They listened to him with wonder and attention, and soon after allowed him to go in peace, the Zemindar remarking as he went, 'Well, after all, what he says is but the truth.'

"'After spending about two hours in examining the boys, we collected the members of the congregation for worship. My dear native brother, V. Devanayagam, had joined me here in the morning. After singing a hymn, and an extempore prayer, I proceeded to address them from Luke xiii. 23—30. I should have mentioned that the little church was quite filled, and that before our little meeting was broken up, eight or nine heathen people had taken their seats with the rest. I had been hardly speaking five minutes when one woman began to sob very violently. Then followed a violent shaking of the body, and a rolling of the eyes, with apparently much mental agony. Then, within ten minutes or so more, no less than six

women and one boy were all shaking and sobbing, though not with the same violence and agony as the first woman. Every one appeared to be deeply solemnized. I found that I could not possibly proceed, and so sat down, and dear V. Devanayagam offered up prayer. To quiet and calm them who appeared so deeply afflicted, we began to read out the promises of God to sinners, and all became soon composed.'"

"Now just look at the altered state of affairs in this place, and then judge. First, the most unsatisfactory (and perhaps, in point of ability, the ablest) man in our district is converted. If the 'fruits of the Spirit' have ever been visible, they are so, I believe, in his case. Then his wife and daughters are converted. Then, that once stupid-looking boy, Royappen, has been converted, and his now bright and beaming face does one's heart good to look at it. Then, eight women of the congregation and two men have been visited by the strange influence, and appear now to be in the enjoyment of peace. Then, eight heathen have joined the little body. The verse of the Bible that was most prominent before my mind all day yesterday was—'And there was great joy in that city.' They seem to have only one thought, only one object to talk about. The Bible is now in their hands, and every one of them is furnished with a pencil to take down from your lips any text they may not have themselves alighted on before. If, in the joy and love and peace of these new-born babes, the impress of the blessed Spirit's work is not to be traced, I know not where we are to look for it. There is nothing extravagant about the whole matter. Perhaps in the woman to whom I have alluded above there may be. We have advised her for the present not to attend any meetings, where she might be liable to be excited. But she is the only case I have seen.

"I have much more to say on this wonderful work, but I have already gone on, I fear, too far. In going round amongst these dear people, I have felt myself somewhat like one in a trance. The feeling constantly on my mind was this, the fear lest by my own deadness and coldness I should throw a chill upon the blessed work. For nothing did I feel I had greater need to pray than that I might not be a hinderer by my very presence of all that was going on. I hope that God has ordered it otherwise. To Him be all the glory!"

On the 25th of the same month, the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhen wrote to Mr. Gray—

"Good news from Pattakulam.—Last night, whilst the people were engaged in prayer, several of them were struck down, thirteen cases in all—five women and eight men. A heathen, too, says the catechist, seems touched. One of these new-born babes, Masillamani is his name, is with me just now. Dear fellow, he looks quite altered. May the Lord graciously uphold them, and may this movement prove very salutary to the whole village!"

A second letter of Mr. Gray's, written from Thiruthangal, carries our information down to the 1st of June—

"Just one line or two to tell you how the work, which the Lord has graciously begun amongst us, is going on. On Wednesday evening last, a letter came to me from the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhen, from which I extract the following—

"'About an hour after your cooly had left yesterday, Saravané Nadan came with glad tidings about the Rajapaliam congregation. During morning service at Somiapuram last Sunday (Whit-Sunday) many persons were touched, and they all cried out for mercy. Saravané said that the scene was very touching, and very extraordinary. There were eighteen cases in all, and it is very remarkable that the number was equally divided, that is to say, six belonged to Somiapuram, six to Veyalkattupatty, and six to Sevalpatty. Two of these were backsliders. With two exceptions they were women and children. I suppose you know Isaac, the son of Abraham of Sevalpatty, the most advanced boy in our school there. I hear he is a very remarkable case. He used to be very reserved, would hardly speak, but now he preaches to every one he meets, and prays beautifully. So said Saravané Nadan, and his statement was confirmed by Moses, who came in afterwards with the same happy intelligence. Of these eighteen cases, five are the children of our school at Rajapaliam. I am sure you will bless God for His continued goodness to us and our dear people, and pray that they may look up to the Saviour more fixedly, and that they may grow in grace, love, and holiness every day.'

"It is very singular that in no place have we felt more the need, for a long time past, of additional agency than in Rajapaliam. In that great town, comprising in itself a number of villages, with a teeming population of 10,000 people, we have had no agent but one schoolmaster, the man mentioned in the above extract. He has had for a considerable time past two congregations under his charge, from the three villages mentioned above, and also manages a school, one of the best in North Tinnevelly. Mr. Ragland and Mr. Fenn had often thought of making him a reader, but they had never been able to see

sufficient evidence of a spiritual work in his heart, nor had he at all learning beyond that of the most common-place description. I always thought that he was an admirable teacher, whatever his attainments in knowledge might be. Every boy was in life and motion when he began to teach. I think now that there can be little doubt of the propriety of making him a reader. I might urge the same in favour of both Moses and Gnanamuttu, whose cases you know. This is the most wonderful thing, as it strikes me, in this movement—God's dealings with our agents. Here has He given us four new-born men, of no common power, for the carrying on of his work amongst this people. It is truly remarkable. His name be praised! It may perhaps be better to wait for a little, and see how they get on before promoting them. But I think you will agree with me that, with their present zeal and ardour, they may better be given over to the work of direct preaching than to that of school teaching.

"The Rev. V. Devanayagam, on the same evening, wrote to me, that since the time I left Vageikulam, of which I told you, 'till yesterday, May 25, no new cases of conversion occurred; but yesterday evening, through God's mercy, four persons have been awakened.'

"I was very much delighted to hear of one of them. She was the wife of a young man whom I found in the district, on one of my late tours, and had designed to employ in some useful way. He had been in the Palamcotta Seminary, in Mr. Clark's time, and had left it under a cloud, which, however, has since been entirely cleared away. I found him speaking English pretty well, and reading it very nicely; and accordingly sent him and his wife to live at Vageikulam, under the Rev. V. Devanayagam's care, to try him, and see if he might not be employed as a schoolmaster. Thank God, his wife has been one of the newly-awakened. She had been, before this, a great obstacle in her husband's way, and had kept him very much back. I hope now she may be a real blessing to him.

"But I had no intention of writing at this length when I began. I just thought of mentioning the fact, as it had been told to me, about the above cases. Let me remind you of our great meeting next week, (Tuesday, the 5th,) and ask your prayers. Macdonald came to us last Tuesday evening, and stays till the close of next week with us. He and Fenn are together now. They come in here on to-morrow night for Sunday."

The great meeting to which Mr. Gray refers is the periodical gathering of all the Missionaries, native clergy, catechists, and other agents at Palamcotta, when the wonderful narrative of the Lord's dealings in North Tinnevelly will be laid before this assembled body in the South. Can we not imagine the eager interest, the fervent prayers, the joyful thanksgivings, with which the rehearsal will be welcomed, and how, when they return to their work, the tidings will penetrate every village and congregation of our 37,000 Native Christians? "Then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad."

And has not the Church at home her solemn duties herein also? Devout praise for the past is a plain and obvious obligation; but far more are strong and continual intercessions demanded to sustain our Missionary brethren in this arduous time of need, prayers that the work may not be hindered by our coldness or unbelief, supplications for a larger outpouring of the Holy Spirit than has even now been granted. We believe that the strengthening and spread of the great work depends mysteriously on the faithfulness and the expectation of the Church. There was a place where Jesus could do no mighty work because of their unbelief; and has not He said, "According to your faith, be it unto you?" We plead earnestly with the friends of Missions for their constant and believing prayers. If they give us these, we need not fear the lack of men or means to foster the great work to which an Almighty Hand is so manifestly and most graciously leading us.

CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

(*Continued from page* 144.)

"CONTINUING our review of the Hindu customs, we come next to *deaths*. The rites and ceremonies which the Hindus consider essentially necessary on the occasion of the sickness and death of one of their caste, are, generally speaking, adhered to, as they believe that if they be neglected it will materially deteriorate the repose and well being of the soul after death; so, when one of their caste falls sick, if they believe the disease to be serious, they

assemble round the bed, and pour some Ganges water down the patient's mouth; then they make him take a medicine called *rus*, which gives him a temporary renewal of physical power, and they endeavour to make him repeat as often as possible the name Ram Ram, and all his family continue singing the same. These all take place, only after the aid of the physician is considered hopeless. Afterwards they call a Brahmin, who brings with him a selection from the Shastras, which he reads in such a doleful, at the same time loud tone of voice, that it gives the poor sick sufferer great annoyance. They believe that, during this process, if the soul leaves the body—or, to use their own figurative language, 'the spirit leaves its tenement'—the exit will be unattended with pain, and easy. They always remove the person to the lowest apartment they can find, as they believe, that if he dies in a high room his spirit will certainly wander. They believe that if he were to die upon a *charpoy*, (bedstead), his spirit would become evil, so they always put him on the floor. Then, when they expect his death, they get some rice, and a sort of sweetmeat called *jullaybee*, and some money in coins, and leave them near him. A Brahmin gets some Gunga water, and puts into it his hand, and reads a verse from the Vedas to the following effect—'Oh God, may this man's death be happy.' The sweetmeats, the rice, and the coins are taken afterwards as presents by the Brahmins, to ensure the after happiness of the sufferer. When the breath has completely quitted the body, the family put a lamp in the corpse's hand, and make it move in the act of giving it to the Brahmin. If the death occurs after sunset, they leave the body till the next day; but if it occurs during the day, they begin the ceremonies an hour after death. From this arises the proverb so prevalent in the country, 'How long will ye weep for him that died in the evening?' because the weeping and lamentation, which is very violent, generally lasts about an hour only, and is similar to the *keening* which takes place in Ireland, and the death-song which Sir Walter Scott describes as taking place in the Highlands of Scotland. As such loud and bitter wailing cannot, with small effort, last very long, it is generally over in an hour; and, in the case of a person dying in the evening, the deathsong, which is supposed to last till the corpse leaves the house, could not be protracted during the night; so, as it must soon cease, the saying is applied to persons who indulge in unavailing tears. In case of its being a husband, the wife is bound to take off her *choorees*, or hand and feet ornaments, and her nose-ring, and, if she be well dressed, to take off her clothes also, and put on sorry apparel. Then all the male relatives assemble round the corpse, and begin making lamentation. They call to remembrance all the actions of the man's life, and praise him thereupon, and their weeping and sorrow are very great. The wife is not permitted to join in this, but is obliged to sit down disconsolate in a corner, with her head between her knees, and is neither permitted to speak or to weep. At this time, in some castes, all the male relatives of the deceased cut off their hair, their beard, and their moustache, but, generally speaking, only the eldest son does so; and this son, after having put on very fine white *dooties*, and lung a cloth over his shoulder, goes to some Brahmin, and tells him that he is ready for the taking away of the body. The Brahmin who performs this office is of the sort called Maha Brahmins. Then the Brahmin gets a water-pot that was never used, and some of the perfume called *chooa*, some sandal-wood, fresh flowers and twine, and makes a carpenter prepare a board. He then calls all the relatives, and having spread a white sheet over the board, they lay over it the corpse, which has been previously wrapt up in another sheet. If they can at all afford it, they buy a shawl and spread it over the body, wrapt up as it is. The eldest son fills the new water-pot with well-water, and gives it to a servant; then the relatives fasten bamboos to the board, or *charpoy*, and, taking it on their shoulders, go down to the Ganges: four are considered enough to bear this board, on which the corpse is mounted; but a long procession of relatives follow, making a great uproar, saying, *Ram Sutha*, 'He was true to God;' or, *Bola Ram*, 'He calls on God;' or, *Huri bol*, 'God calls him;' or some other expressions nearly to the same effect. On the way they stop at some place where there is a tree, and there they set down the corpse. There the eldest son takes the water-pot from the servant, and passes it round the head of the deceased, and throws it away and breaks it. Then the relatives take up the body and go to the Ganges. There they bathe it well, and, having purchased two rupees' worth of wood, they heap it up in the shape of a funeral pyre. The Maha Brahmin takes the shawl and board for his perquisites. The party then heap some more wood on the top of the body, and, having placed straw underneath, they burn it. They always leave the skull unburned, but the eldest son comes up with a large bamboo, and breaks it: life is considered then extinct, and the son throws the broken skull into the river. There is one extraordinary variation in these

proceedings, which takes place in the event of the deceased having been a very old man or woman. It is, that when the relatives bear him or her to the grave, they go on with laughter, noise, and much glee, until they arrive at the river.

"The lowest order, when they cannot afford to buy wood, throw the bodies of their dead relatives into the river; and in Bengal it is common to see the people of the highest caste take their relatives who are dying down to the side of the river, and there leave them to die, or sometimes they will cover his face with the Ganges mud. After the skull has been thrown into the river all the family put on clean clothes, and having gone some paces from where the funeral pyre was made, they gather straws, and begin to break them. This denotes, in their opinion, that their connexion and ties with the deceased are now no more. Then they return, weeping, to their homes, and give the *charpoys* and bedclothes, and every-day raiment of the dead, to a man of the lowest class, a *hulal-khor*, and the greater part of his clothes they distribute among beggars, and the eldest son sits for thirteen days, with his head uncovered, in a solitary apartment, while all the family remain somewhere near at hand, giving him comfort. They burn a lamp day and night, and keep it burning beside him; and on the second day all the relatives assemble and give the widow clothes and money. On the thirteenth day the eldest son may rise and perform his usual business, and the women of the family all assemble and make lamentation, generally for thirteen days. Their incessant and absorbing grief is extraordinary to Europeans or civilized people. It reminded me frequently of the description which Homer gives of the women who were Andromache's handmaidens, after the parting of Hector—

Ἀμφιπόλους τῆσιν δὲ γόον πάσησιν ἐνῶρσεν.

There is one caste whose women grieve for one year after the death of a husband. There is another who continue it for six months. In all the castes, six months after the man is dead, the family get a fine well-made bedstead, a carpet, five brass vessels, and five changes of clothes, and give them to their guru, or family priest; and on the day of the year after the man's death they give a feast to a number of Brahmins and all his relatives. On every succeeding anniversary they perform what is called a *sradh*, which consists in offering rice and fruits to the manes of their ancestors, and they end the day by an entertainment to Brahmins and relatives. These *sradhs* also take place frequently at pilgrimages.

"The belief which this extraordinary people entertain with regard to what passes to the soul, after it has quitted this life, is as follows—They believe, that when a very excellent soul dies, he goes to paradise (a place which they designate by the name of Byecunth), a place of the greatest luxury and pleasure, abounding in every sort of luxury, and having every gratification which can please the senses. He will there abide for a length of time, and as soon as that period has elapsed, he shall afterwards become incarnate as a man. That then, if he continue in the same good character as that which he originally had, he will not again be sent to paradise, or become incarnate, but be actually resolved into nonentity, and become part of the divine essence, and the particles of his frame shall evaporate into air. But if the person who dies be not a devotee, or any exemplary character, that he will be allowed some time in paradise, and then will be obliged to go to hell, to expiate his transgressions: or even if the saint who was first sent to paradise come from hence to earth, and at his second incarnation be an offender, that he will have to go to hell for a short time. Hell is described as a place beneath the earth, where there are all sorts of fire and torments, and the worst hell is called *Gore-Nirruk*. They believe that its surface is iron, and the atmosphere fire, and that the pain inflicted upon mortals is most cruel; that a longer or shorter continuance there will take place with men, according to the flagrancy of their offences; but that, after this penance in hell, they will become incorporated or resolved into divine essence; that those who, at their first birth, have been pious, but not invariably so, are to become spirits after their death; but this state is held less in estimation than that of being replaced into *Eshur*, as they call the divine essence; but that those who have been great offenders are to become incarnate as animals of all kinds, or as living creatures of every sort—birds, beast, fish, reptile, or insect: that the character of the man is to determine whose body he is to be reproduced in; as, for instance, if a man be malicious without cause, he will first be reproduced as a snake, and that they must go through 84,000 changes, and then become men again: that the change previous to that of becoming a man is a bull, and for this reason, all through India, this animal is held in great reverence. When they then become men, they have a second probation, and may fit themselves for paradise, or for the other places, according to their deserts.

"The Hindu beggars, or travelling mendicants, are held in great repute, and the people of that persuasion are in the habit of giving them large sums. The first, or most honourable class, are called the *Sunyassees*. They are known by their long hair, which they let grow, and never clip. They live mostly in the jungles, and wear usually a long necklace of wooden beads, which they tell with their fingers, and, in doing so, repeat the name of Ram-Ram. This is called the *Mala Jupna*. They are the people most frequently in the habit of making the various pilgrimages, viz. to Juggurnath, for the purpose of *durshun*, that is, viewing it; to Preag, or Allahabad, for the purpose of bathing there; to Buddinath, where there is supposed to be a god and a river, the sight of which two objects is considered as conferring a right to happiness; to Gyagee, where there are many idols; to Dwarkanath, Benares, and Himalaya.

"The second class are the *Nánuks*, who usually live like hermits, and wear coloured clothes, and bathe daily in the Ganges, and they are reckoned well skilled in devotional beggary, and they instruct young mendicants in the same line.

"The third class are the *Byragees*, whose head and bodies are streaked with red sandal wood. These are not learned, but are usually great recluses. They generally live by the side of rivers, and do not take so much care as to the rites of bathing and other superstitions which the other Hindus usually practise.

"The fourth sort are the *Gosayens*, who are very learned, and they call themselves *dervishes:* they will usually transact any worldly business consistent with a high-caste man.

"The fifth sort are the *Jogees*, who will inflict upon themselves all manner of torture. They are always worshippers of Mahadev, and when they meet any one they may be known by calling out *bum bum, Mahadev.* (This expression is, however, used by all those who go to Allahabad on a pilgrimage, and who are called *Kowruttees*). They generally cover the whole body with white ashes, so that its surface, as well as their face, may be concealed. The *Jogees* often kindle a fire in the hottest weather, and hold their hands over it.

"The sixth are called *Tuppusees*, who are voluntary self-tormentors. These, in the coldest season, go into the river, and stand in it the whole day up to their necks. Sometimes, in the hot season, they will stand out in the sun all day, or else kindle a fire as the *Jogees* do.

"The seventh sort are the *Nanukphuttees*, who let their beard and hair grow. The last they let fall on their back as long as a woman's. They support nature upon what they receive, being the voluntary contribution of the pious. They work not, but stay in their own houses all day, praying to their gods. When one of them meets another he says *Wah-Goorar.* These are all respected, and generally belong to high castes; and they make more by their begging than any people in the country.

"After these, class those who are not of the highest order; but the first seven are very much respected.

"The eighth sort: the *Digumburs.* These wear filthy clothes, and live in the most miserable villages. Thus the proverb goes, 'What use is a washerman in a village of *Digumburs?*'

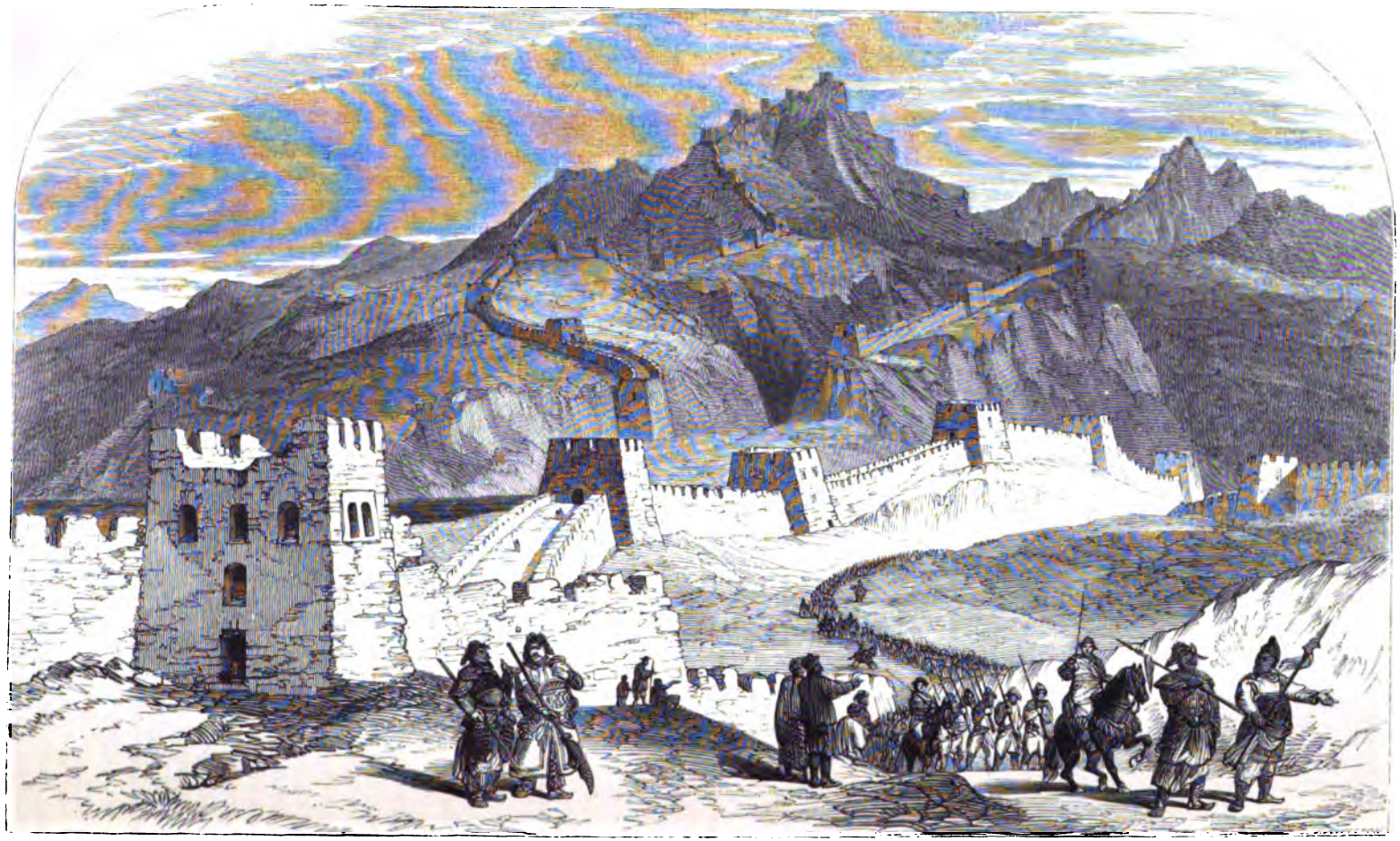
"The ninth sort are called the *Nagas*, and these never on any occasion wear any clothes or integuments of any kind. They have their heads and beards closely shaven. They are very courageous, and their combats, in which they engage on all occasions, are on the subject of religion.

"The tenth sort are the *Primhans*, who run about the country like mad people. These conduct themselves like idiots or insane, but are the more, for that reason, held in reverence. No one will injure them, but the public are always giving them food.

"The eleventh sort, the *Suthurshaees*, who wear a long black rope twisted round their heads, and a necklace of black rope, called the *Selee*, which is divided into three strings, and they carry two sticks, of about a foot and a half long, in their hands, which they strike perpetually, and get from each shopkeeper, as they pass, some alms. They are always marching about from one city to another.

"The twelfth sort are called *Aghorees.* These are an unclean and disgusting class of wretches, who eat filth and ordure, and stand before shopkeepers' doors to induce hem to give them alms. They disgust so much, that people generally pay them to get rid of their nauseous presence.

"These are the names of the classes of mendicants who are generally recognised in the country; but there are others who belong to no particular order, and yet who ply no unprofitable vocation by asking alms from all.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

MISSIONARY DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PARABLES.

(*Continued from* p. 175.

The ground, hard and unyielding, broken up by the action of the plough, becomes fitted for the reception of the seed. So it is with the field of the world, the human element in which the divine word is to be sown. Man in his prosperity is indisposed to hear. Afflictions, sent before to prepare the way, break up the ground, and at length the sowing time commences.

We indicated, in our last Number, one region which is passing through this suffering period.

In another direction we see heavy calamities impending over a nation which has dealt superciliously with the Gospel. In recent articles, China has been referred to. Our object was, to show, that in our intercourse with the Chinese we had committed wrongs; and now, as the result of our unhappy proceedings, find ourselves involved in a war, concerning which no one can predict, even if satisfactorily conducted to the humiliation of the Chinese, and the triumph of our arms, that it will yield to us any permanent benefit; but which has already committed us to an expenditure of not less than £6,000,000. Indeed, such is the nature of this embroglio, that our victory may prove our greatest embarrassment. We may find ourselves in the same position with Sir Michael Seymour after his attack on the Takou forts had put them *hors de combat*. It was impossible to fight any longer, simply because there was no one to fight with, save masses of unarmed people, who proceeded to embarrass our authorities with acts of kindness, and disarm them by obsequiousness. As the victorious gun-boats advanced up the waters, which for the first time were ploughed by a foreign keel, "entire populations turned out and saluted them with profound and reverential obeisances." If any of the officers ventured to land, they were forthwith assaulted with earnest importunities that the English should come and reign over them—"Hail, O king! Welcome great King! be thou our Emperor: come thou and reign over us." Provisions of all kinds were brought and money in return refused. On reaching Tien-tsin the way was blocked up by an Imperial decree—"We command Kweiliang, chief Secretary of State, and Hwashana, president of the board of civil office, to go by post route to the port of Tien-tsin, for the investigation and despatch of business. Respect this." As Mr. Oliphant naïvely observes, "With any other nation one would have supposed that the capture of the forts at the mouth of one of its rivers, and its subsequent ascent by a hostile force, would have called forth a warlike demonstration, instead of a civil commission." But we do not know the Chinese. They are wiser than we think. They can bend to circumstances. They had already essayed the one, and found it would not answer; they now availed themselves of the other, and found it more successful. We received, as the recompense of our labours, a treaty which, like a bad bill, has been accepted, but never honoured. When presented for payment, we received our answer at the mouth of the Peiho.

We have now, in conjunction with France, sent out another and more powerful expedition. The forts at Takou will be knocked to pieces; the Tartar forces, after a short resistance, will disperse like a flock of sheep. We shall not stop this time at Tien-tsin: an advance on Pekin will be decided upon. Perhaps it may be defended; more likely we shall be met, as at Tien-tsin, with cries of "Welcome, O Emperor, come and reign over us!".

We shall find ourselves masters of China's capital, and the penetralia of the Kin Ching open to us. But what shall we do then? The Emperor is gone, and all his court with him. We must follow him beyond the great wall. In fact, at Pekin we shall find him as inaccessible as when we were at Canton. But what course shall we pursue? The permanent occupation of Pekin? But how shall we preserve order amidst its two millions of inhabitants? The removal of the Emperor, will be the dissolution, for the time being, of all social order. The native authorities will become invisible, and the native police cease to act. Gangs of desperadoes will begin to plunder, and the European military have to do police duty. Meanwhile, Pekin is not a port like Canton; nor is it self-supporting. Its provisions are supplied from the southern provinces, or from the flocks reared in the northern parts of Chih-li. These supplies will be arrested. The streams will be cut off. How long shall we persist in our occupation

of Pekin? The Tartars will let us keep it, rather than give free access to the palace and person of the Emperor. How long shall we be able to do so? Shall we accept at last another treaty, and trust to the good faith of the Chinese to observe it, when our ships and soldiers—such of them as survive—come back to England?

The tone, then, of the recent debate in the Commons House of Parliament is not surprising. On both sides of the house there was but one opinion respecting this war. Mr. Sidney Herbert, on moving the vote of credit, said "that he would not enter upon the policy of the present Chinese war, except to say that he believed we could not enter upon a more ruinous war." The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared, "I cannot venture to hold out any expectations, now that we have reason to believe the war has actually broken out, with regard to the limits or amount of the demand which may be made on the House, or the period when those hostilities happily may be brought to a termination. I trust and pray that it may be at an early period. I trust we shall listen to the lesson taught us by these transactions." And what is that lesson? The Right Hon. Gentleman informs us. "I confess the lesson I draw is this, that it is impossible to check proceedings of this kind, growing out of transactions such as the deplorable events at the mouth of the Peiho, when once they begin. What you should really look to is the mode of conducting your ordinary communications with such distant powers, and the responsibility under which they are conducted. It is an extremely dangerous system of policy that sends forth treaties to be exchanged at the sword's point and at the cannon's mouth." It is indeed to be hoped, that as a nation we shall not fail to learn that lesson, although we are paying dearly for our experience. Again, Sir John Pakington confessed, "We cannot regard our present position with respect to China with too much anxiety. It is not only that beyond all question serious doubts have long been entertained, and are at this moment entertained, with regard to the whole justice and propriety of our policy; it is not only that we are now asked to embark in what, to use the popular phrase of the day, is a gigantic expenditure; but, unhappily, in addition to all this, at a moment when we ought to have our resources of all kinds concentrated at home."

The truth is, that the idiosyncracy of the Chinese, the peculiarities of their governmental system, its exclusiveness and intense ceremonialism, have not been fully understood. And it is in this way that national complications arise. The customs of a people are not sufficiently understood; and we forget that points which appear to us to be intensely ridiculous and unnecessarily obstructive, have been consecrated by a lengthened antiquity, and are regarded by those who have received them from their forefathers as matters of the utmost moment, to be adhered to at any cost and with the most unalterable tenacity. We think it unreasonable in the native that he will not yield a custom which, from our standpoint, appears absurd and barbarous: but the native considers it just as unreasonable in us to expect that he should do so. Hence arise misunderstanding and collisions.

It has been so in a great measure on the coast of China.

We shall so far revert to the proceedings along the coast as to place this point prominently before our readers. On the 10th February 1858, the blockade having been raised and trade resumed, the Plenipotentiaries of the two belligerent powers, England and France, and of the two neutral powers, Russia and the United States, resolved on uniting in an earnest and peaceable appeal to the Court of Pekin for a redress of grievances and a revision of treaties. Shanghae was selected in the first instance as the place for negotiation, and thither a Chinese Plenipotentiary, invested with full powers, was invited to be sent. Lord Elgin's letter to Yu, the senior Secretary of State, enumerated the points on which he was prepared to require concession; and, amongst others, these especially—"A resident Minister at or near the Court, and a more extended intercourse throughout the country." The Taoutai, or Intendant, of Shanghae being absent, it was resolved that the letters of the Plenipotentiaries should be delivered to Chaou, the Governor of Kiangsu, in person, and that the French and English officers who were charged with this duty should proceed to Soo-chow for this purpose. In 1854, the American Commissioner, Mr. Lane, had made a similar attempt, but was prevented from entering the city, having been met by the Governor outside the city walls. On this occasion the Europeans were more successful, the adoption of an unusual water route enabling them to evade the obstructive courtesies of Chaou, and to push within the city walls, despite of the frantic gesticulations of the officials. Oliphant's description of this scene is highly graphic and amusing—

"We appeared so suddenly before the water-gate called 'Foomun," that the officials,

had they wished it, would scarcely have had time to shut it. However, they contented themselves with making the most frantic gesticulations and expressive signs to us to turn back; but we put on an air of the most obtuse stolidity, and pushed vehemently on; my boat, which happened to be leading, carrying away in a hurry some of the grille which formed part of the gate. Once in the city, we did not venture on an exploration of the lanes of water, which, like those of Venice, opened up in divers directions, but moored at once in the retired spot under the walls. We were not long, however, left in quiet. Almost immediately a dense crowd collected on both sides of the canal, deeply interested in the proceedings of the barbarians. Whenever any of us moved from one boat to another, a general titter of astonishment and curiosity was heard; but they manifested no semblance of dislike or hostility towards us, and were infinitely more respectable in their behaviour than an English mob would have been under similar circumstances.

"We had not been long moored here, before the 'Foo,' a blue-button mandarin, came with a message from the Governor to Mr. Lay, who was an old acquaintance of his, requesting to see him at the west gate. In about two hours this gentleman returned with the welcome intelligence that the Governor would receive us at his yamun in the centre of the city, and would immediately send down chairs for us to a neighbouring wharf. Accordingly we proceeded, the same afternoon, to the appointed place, the whole party, with the exception of M. de Contades and myself, being in uniform. We were received at the wharf by a guard of soldiers, and were accompanied by them during our progress in chairs through the city. We thus traversed a distance of about two miles. The streets throughout were lined with spectators; the windows, house-tops, and bridges were thronged with an eager and excited populace, who gazed with the most extraordinary earnestness at probably the first barbarians they had ever seen in their lives. So wrapt in contemplation of these unkown specimens of humanity were they, that I did not even see them criticising us to one another, much less did they manifest any signs of hostility or contempt towards us. With mouths and eyes at utmost stretch, they stared in perfect silence.

"We were received at the yamun by the usual Chinese salute of three guns, and passed through the several courts between rows of soldiers and attendants, drawn up in line, and dressed in a species of livery. The Governor met us with great politeness, at the door of the audience-hall, and seated M. de Contades and myself on the raised estrade which usually forms the centre of a semicircle of chairs on these occasions, and is considered the seat of honour. The Governor himself took a seat to our right, which, in this land of ceremonies, was considered an additional compliment, inasmuch as the further you are to the left of your host, the more highly honoured is your position.

"We went on to inform his Excellency that we were the bearers of notes to the Prime Minister Yu, from the four Powers, which were of the utmost importance, and which, we trusted, he would lose no time in forwarding, as delay in their transmission might seriously compromise the interests of the empire. The covering despatch to himself he opened and read, a crowd of attendants collecting round him, and making themselves acquainted with its contents over his shoulder. As we desired that the whole proceeding should be invested with as much publicity as possible, this mode of conducting business, though rather unusual in western diplomacy, was quite in accordance with our wishes."*

Thus to Chaou, in his own yamun, the despatches were delivered. We may well conceive, that notwithstanding his dignified courtesy, he must have felt no little uneasiness on this occasion—a feeling which was no doubt imparted to the higher authorities at Pekin. There were these barbarians: they had just stormed Canton, and had made a prisoner of Yeh. And now, in a most unusual way, in utter contempt of all prescribed usages, they had forwarded a letter to Pekin, containing an unheard-of requirement, that within the sacred city—one honoured by the in-dwelling of the Emperor himself—a barbarian official should have his residence. How troublesome these barbarians had become; how exorbitant in their demands; what might they not next require! And if their demands were not complied with, they had ships of war and troops; and the coercive measures pursued at Canton would, in all probability, be put in force elsewhere. What course, then, would the Court of Pekin pursue under these circumstances? The Emperor's officials expected the arrival of a Plenipotentiary at Shanghae. The probability is, that if less had been required, negotiations would have been opened. But the demand for a resident ambassador at Pekin, and, as a necessary consequence, free communication between the

* "Oliphant's Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan," vol. i. pp. 198—202.

capital and the coast, the right of entrance to Europeans belonging to his suite, and the transit of messengers to and fro, was a blow aimed at the very heart and citadel of Chinese formalism, the surrender of which could not be contemplated without horror. Already the Russian Minister had applied for admission to Pekin by way of Kiahkta, and, on being refused, proceeded, on his own responsibility, to the mouth of the Peiho, where he was informed that no communication with the Court could be made on his behalf from that point. Eventually, however, his letter was forwarded, and answered by a decided refusal to see him at Pekin, with an intimation, that under no circumstances could the "kotow" be dispensed with. Such was the reply to Russia, whose relations with the Court of Pekin have always been such as to attain the object in view without having recourse to coercion. Is it surprising that the advances of the European officials to free and friendly intercourse were more rudely repelled? The imperial answer was addressed, not to the Plenipotentiaries, but to the authorities of the two kiangs. It required that these barbarian innovators on Chinese customs should return to Canton, and there submissively await the imperial communication through the medium of Hwang, the new Governor.

This was not the first time that the idea of an embassy to Pekin had been entertained by us; and the experience of the past, had we recurred to it, might have served to remind us of the difficulties which English Ambassadors to that Court have had to endure, and how devoid these expensive undertakings proved to be of any practical advantage.

Lord Macartney's expedition left England in September 1792. Trade grievances had arisen at Canton, which, it was hoped, might be rectified by an embassy to Pekin. A British Ambassador, it was thought, "would be a new spectacle, and his mission a compliment that would probably be well received. Upon general reasoning it appeared that every motive of policy or commerce, which led to the maintenance of ministers from Great Britain at European Courts, and even in Turkey, applied with equal strength to a similar establishment, if practicable, at Pekin."* Such a connexion, it was thought, would tend to put the British trade to China upon a less precarious and more advantageous footing. "The Court of Pekin was understood to be guided by maxims peculiar to itself, being averse to a promiscuous intercourse with foreign states, and inclined, in some measure, to consider its subjects as placed in the vale of happiness, where it was wise to seclude them from a profane admixture with other men." It was therefore the more desirable that there be resident at Pekin "a succession of British subjects, whose cautious conduct and courteous manners would be calculated to gain the esteem of the upper, and the respect of the lower classes of the Chinese, and thus by dissipating their prejudices and conciliating their goodwill, induce confidence."

On the 5th of August 1793, the Ambassador and his suite, with the presents for the Emperor, entered the Peiho, passing the town of Takoo, where large covered barges and boats of burden adapted to the shallows of the river, had been provided to convey them to the capital. Every courtesy was shown them *en route*, "provisions of various kinds were purchased in abundance, the Emperor charging himself with all expenses." Care was, however, taken, as the fleet advanced, to announce the strangers as coming from afar to pay a compliment to the celestial Emperor, and the impression thus made, that they were tributaries proceeding to Pekin to render homage, was confirmed on the first interview between the Viceroy and the Ambassador, in a pavilion at Tien-tsin. "The Viceroy conducted the Ambassador, with the principal gentlemen, into the pavilion, at the upper end of which was a darkened recess or sanctuary, where the majesty of the Emperor was supposed to be continually residing," and to that majesty it was signified that a respectful obeisance should be paid, "which, however singular, was performed by a profound inclination of the body."

At the time of the Ambassador's arrival, the Emperor was at Zhehol, in Tartary, whither the Ambassador was expected to proceed. At Tong-choo-foo, twelve miles from the capital, where the river ceases to be navigable, the embassy disembarked, proceeding in sedans, on horses, and in waggons, along a road, the centre of which was paved with flags of granite to the width of about twenty feet, an unpaved road of considerable breadth extending on either side of it. Advancing through the eastern suburb of Pekin, our countrymen at length arrived before the city walls, where, at a resting-place within the gate, refreshments had been prepared. The walls were about forty feet high, having no regular embrasures, but, in the merlons, loopholes for archery. They were flanked on the outside by square towers, about sixty yards distant from each other, and projecting from the curtain between them forty or fifty feet. The street

* "Macartney's Embassy to China," vol. i. p. 20.

into which they were introduced was above one hundred feet wide, flanked by houses in general only one story high, and none of them exceeding two stories. Along this they proceeded until they reached the eastern wall of the imperial palace, called the yellow wall, from the colour of the varnished tiles on its summit and that of the public buildings within. On reaching the yellow wall the embassy turned along it to the right, until they reached its northern side, when, resuming the westward direction, they advanced through the Tartar city, until, passing through the western-gates, they emerged into the western suburb, and reached at last the Emperor's villa of Yuen-min-yuen, assigned as the head-quarters of the embassy.

Scarcely had he been installed in his new abode, than the Tartar legate, a man of unconciliatory deportment and prejudiced against the English, began to press the Ambassador on the vital point, the "kotow." The Emperor considers himself as the representative of the gods, and expects to be honoured with the same prostrations. He who would be introduced intot he imperial presence, must be prepared to render the kotow; he must kneel and strike his head on the ground, thrice kneeling and nine times knocking the head. Lord Macartney had already borne with patience the flags pendent from the yachts and land carriages, having inscribed upon them, in large Chinese characters, "Ambassadors bearing tribute from the country of England." Now, a still greater humiliation was required from him, a refusal to comply with which would deprive the embassy, carried out at so great cost, of all advantageous results. He resolved, therefore, to try and compromise the matter, and declared himself willing to comply with the prescribed forms, provided that one of the officers of the Chinese court, his equal in rank, "should perform before HisBritannic majesty's picture at large, in his royal robes, and then in the Ambassador's possession at Pekin, the same ceremonies which should be performed by the Ambassador before the throne of His Imperial Majesty." The proposed compromise was a modest one. The Ambassador was willing to accept of less than an equivalent. The homage before the picture might be done in a private room, and no one be the wiser for it, while the prostrations of the Ambassador were to be "performed on a solemn festival, in presence of all the tributary princes and great subjects of the state, and would be published by authority in the Gazettes."

On Sept. 2nd, 1793, the Ambassador, with his suite, set out from Pekin, where he had been permitted for some time to reside, for Tartary. Above twenty miles from the capital the country began to rise into hills, the roads becoming increasingly steep and rough, and the scenery presenting a pleasing and romantic aspect. On the morning of the fourth day's journey, a prominent line, or narrow and unequal mark, was observed along the mountain's sides. Soon it assumed the form of a wall with battlements: it was the great wall of China. There it was, "carried along the ridges of hills, over the tops of the highest mountains, descending into the deepest valleys, crossing upon arches over rivers; doubled and trebled in many parts to take in important passes, and interspersed with towers and massy bastions at almost every hundred yards, and as far as the eye could reach." Perhaps, while we write, Tartar reinforcements are pressing forward through the narrow defiles which the gates and towers were designed to defend. The wall, with its multiplied defences and concentric works, is now useless. A danger which the ancient Emperors of China never contemplated now threatens the Emperor's throne. It is not from the lakes and forests of Manchuria that the peril comes; not from the steppes of Mangolia. It is from the sea-coast the empire is assaulted. The barbarian war-ships are again there, and the advanced guard of a disciplined host is already threatening Tien-tsin. Perhaps even now bands of wild warriors are pressing forward to the mighty gathering, which, at the Emperor's command, is occupying the vast plain before Pekin, prepared to strike one stroke for an antiquated dynasty, which, through an obstinate adherence to effete usages, has at length brought destruction upon itself.

As the embassy advanced beyond the great wall into the northern portions of the Chih-li province, the season became cooler, the road more rugged, the mountains less richly clothed with timber, while the inhabitants of the villages, dispersed among the valleys, were found to be afflicted with the goître. At length, the mountains receding somewhat from each other, disclosed the valley of Zhehol, with the palace or seat of grateful coolness, and its pleasure grounds, designated, in Chinese phraseology, "the garden of innumerable trees." Here negotiations at once commenced, not on large and comprehensive subjects, affecting the well-being of the two countries, China and Great Britain, but on the narrow point of court ceremonial, and the particular homage to be rendered by the Ambassador on his introduction to the imperial presence. These, in the estimation of this singular people, are of chief importance. The Luh Pu, or Six Boards, constitute the great executive bodies of the

empire; and one of them is the Li Pu, or Board of Rites, "which has the regulation of the etiquette to be observed at Court on all occasions, on congratulatory attendances, in the performance of official duties, &c., also the regulation of dresses, caps, &c., as to the figure, size, colour, and nature of their fabrics and ornaments; of carriages and riding accoutrements, their form, &c., with the number of followers and insignia of rank. It has also the direction of the entire ceremonial of personal intercourse between the various ranks of peers, minutely defining the number of bows and degree of attention which each is to pay to the other when meeting in official capacities, according as they are on terms of equality or otherwise. It has also to direct the forms of their written official intercourse, including those to be observed in addresses and from foreign states," &c. Ceremonialism at the Court of Pekin is reduced, therefore, to a science: it has its precedents which may be appealed to, and its regulations fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Its nucleus is in the person of the Emperor, and from thence it extends itself through all gradations of society. Indeed, the homage rendered to the Emperor, on certain special occasions, becomes confessedly religious adoration. On his birth-day "the princes, tributaries, Ambassadors, great officers of state, and principal mandarins, were assembled in a vast hall, and, upon particular notice, were introduced into an inner building, bearing at least the semblance of a temple. It was chiefly furnished with great instruments of music, among which were sets of cylindrical bells, suspended in a line from ornamented frames of wood, and gradually diminishing in size from one extremity to the other, and also triangular pieces of metal arrayed in the same order as the bells. To the sound of these instruments a slow and solemn hymn was sung by eunuchs, who had such command over their voices as to resemble the effect of musical glasses at a distance. During the performance, and at particular signals, nine times repeated, all the officials prostrated themselves nine times, except the Ambassador and his suite, who made a profound obeisance. But he whom it was meant to honour, continued, as if it were in imitation of the Deity, invisible the whole time."

The English Ambassador found himself pressed in every possible way to follow the example of the Chinese officials, and to kotow the Emperor as the representative of the gods. At length it was agreed to accept from him an obeisance, "such as he was in the habit of paying to his own sovereign." A spacious and magnificent tent, supported by gilded pillars, was pitched in the palace garden. The interview was to take place at daylight. The Emperor was to break upon the eyes of his expectant subjects as the rising sun, and gladden them with his august presence and favour. Some of the courtiers had been waiting in the gardens all the night. Soon after daylight he appeared from behind a high and perpendicular mountain, skirted with trees as if from a sacred grove, seated in a triumphal car, borne by sixteen men, accompanied and followed by guards, officers of the household, high flag and umbrella-bearers, and music, and preceded by a number of persons busied in proclaiming aloud his virtues and his power. Ascending the throne provided for him, the tributaries and great officers of the state being ranged in their respective places, the Chinese Emperor was prepared to receive the homage of England's representative. The Ambassador, instructed by the president of the tribunal of rites, held the large and magnificent square box of gold, adorned with jewels, in which was enclosed His Majesty's letter to the Emperor, between both hands lifted up above his head, "and in that manner, ascending the few steps that led to the throne, and bending on one knee, presented the box, with a short address to his Imperial Majesty." Little doubt can be entertained as to the interpretation put on this proceeding by the Chinese and Tartar princes around: it was the "Ambassador of England presenting tribute to the Chinese Emperor." The president of the board of rites had dispensed with the kotow, because it was evident that the English nobleman would not submit to it, but he substituted another form, in which the supremacy of China's Emperor appeared to be just as clearly recognised.

Soon after the Ambassador's return to Pekin, he was summoned to the great hall of audience, that he might receive the Emperor's answer to the letter of the King of England.

"The Ambassador, however indisposed at the time, was unwilling to fail to the appointment, and set out, properly attended, in a short time, to the palace, to which he passed through a considerable part of the Tartar city. The palace is encompassed by a high wall, within which he was conducted through spacious courts, along canals of stagnant water, and over bridges of granite, with balustrades of marble, to the foot of the hall, where he found the Emperor's answer contained in a large roll covered with yellow silk, and placed in a chair of state, hung with curtains of the same colour. It was afterwards carried in form up the middle of three

flight of stairs, while the Colao and others who had hitherto stood by it, and the Ambassador and his suite, went up the side steps to the hall, a single structure, surrounded by many others, itself of great size and magnificence, though built of wood upon a foundation of granite, and decorated withinside and without with gilding, and in the happiest disposition of the most pleasing and vivid colours. The answer was placed in the midst of the hall, from whence it was afterwards to be sent to his Excellency's hotel.

"At this time came likewise several chests of presents from the Emperor to His Majesty, containing specimens, no doubt of the best kind, of the different articles of the produce and manufactures of the empire. Other presents came also for the Ambassador and all the persons of his suite; and the attention of His Imperial Majesty in giving some small token of his beneficence to the meanest servant who was present, was extended even to persons then absent, in the instance of all the common men, as well as officers of the ships which had brought the embassy to China."*

Soon after, intimations were given that it was time for the embassy to depart. It was suggested to the Ambassador that "the Chinese had no other idea of an embassy, than that of a visit with presents on some solemn festival, and to last only during the continuance of the latter; that accordingly, of the many embassies sent to them in the past and present century, none of them were suffered to pass that period; that in the present reign, the Ambassador of the Portuguese, the most favoured nation, was dismissed in thirty-nine days; that the Chinese had little notion of entering into treaties with foreign countries; but whatever business might be desirable to transact with them, must, after a favourable foundation for it, laid by the compliment of an embassy, be afterwards prosecuted to effect by slow degrees, for that much might be obtained from them by time and management, but nothing suddenly. That such was the nature and practice of the Chinese Government; that however adverse in the beginning to any new propositions, lest it should be surprised into undue concessions, or any improper regulation, the same matters might be brought again, when the offensive novelty of the idea was over, into a more serious and dispassionate consideration; that this even might be accelerated by the means of letters sent from one sovereign to the other by the annual ships, which might be done without impropriety, now that the communication had been opened between them in a fit manner."†

But meanwhile, what business had been transacted, or what advantages obtained for the English merchant on the coast? What well-considered measures had been decided upon, which might prevent unhappy collisions, and consolidate peaceful relations? Nothing of this kind had been attained. No opportunity of transacting business had presented itself. The whole procedure, with its cost, dangers, and discomforts, issued in one conclusion—which it would have been well to have remembered in future dealings with the Chinese—that intercourse with the Emperor may be maintained more intimately and under more favourable circumstances, than by an Ambassador resident in the middle of the Imperial Court.

The next embassy was that of Lord Amherst's. It arrived off the Peiho in August 1816, and proceeded up the river to Tungchau, and from thence to Pekin, the eastern gate of which was reached at midnight. The strangers in this inhospitable land—for so far it had proved to be such—had been assured that it would be kept open for them. Instead of this it was found closed, and their conductors, turning to the right, began skirting the city wall on the outside. Yet the lateness of the hour did not repress the insatiable curiosity of the Chinese, who had provided themselves with multitudes of little paper lanterns, which were very unceremoniously thrust towards the persons of the English, who at length, in self-defence, were obliged to seize one or two of the offenders, and extinguish their lamps. Entering one of the western gates, they found themselves on the high road to Yuen ming yuen, but so slow was the pace at which they advanced, that day had dawned before they reached their destination. But new fatigues and discomforts awaited them.

"It had evidently been the intention of the mandarins to separate as many of the party as possible from the Ambassador and the Commissioners, in order to effect what now, for the first time, appeared to be the object of hurrying us forward during the whole night. The carriage was conducted beyond Hai-tien, to the immediate vicinity of the imperial residence, and as soon as it stopped, (which was before five o'clock in the morning,) Kwang Tajin made his appearance, and re-

* "Macartney's Embassy to China," vol. iii. pp. 149, 151.

† Ibid. p. 152—154.

quested the inmates to alight. The Ambassador naturally desired to be conducted to his hotel or lodging; but to the astonishment of all the English assembled, several of whom had by this time collected round the carriage, the mandarins very earnestly urged their immediate proceeding, for a short time, to a conference with Duke Ho. The party then were conducted to an apartment on the other side of the court, before which the carriage had stopped. Here the whole truth broke upon them at once. From the great number of mandarins, in their full dresses of ceremony, including princes of the blood, wearing their circular badges, it became evident that this was the moment of an imperial audience; and that the Ambassador and Commissioners had been inveigled by the most unworthy artifices, and the most indecent haste, to be carried before the Emperor in their present unprepared state. They were presently informed that His Majesty had changed the day of audience from to-morrow to this day, and that Duke Ho was waiting to conduct them at once into his presence.

"The Ambassador pleaded, that without his credentials, and the letter he was charged with from his sovereign, this was impossible; requesting at the same time that it might be stated he was ill from the effects of the journey, and required some rest. Duke Ho presently appeared in person, and urged his lordship to proceed direct to the Emperor, who was waiting to give him audience. It was in vain that every argument was repeated; the Duke's earnestness only seemed to increase with opposition, until he at length forgot himself so far as to gripe his lordship's arm violently, while one of the yellow-girdles stepped up at the same time. The Ambassador immediately shook them off, and behaved with great dignity and composure at this trying moment; telling the officer of the guard, that no swords must be drawn. The highest indignation was naturally expressed, and a fixed determination to proceed to no audience in such a manner. The party at length retired, with the appearance of an understanding that the audience should take place on the morrow, as before agreed upon. The Emperor's physician was soon after despatched to see His Excellency.

"The crowd of mandarins had in the meanwhile displayed a very indifferent specimen of their court breeding, by crowding upon the English party, and examining their persons and dress with the most unceremonious curiosity, and another strange scene took place as the Ambassador was quitting the room; for when the crowd of idlers, spurred on by their inquisitiveness, pressed on in such a manner as to impede the doorway, Duke Ho snatched a whip, with which he belaboured them handsomely on all sides. The courtly appanage (some of them with yellow girdles) dispersed like a flock of sheep. When His Excellency reached our intended dwelling, they crowded, in like manner, into the large room, and peeped through the windows of his private apartments, making holes with their fingers in the coloured-paper windows; but when the Ambassador entreated some of our party to clear the place of these intruders, they fled out at the entrance the moment they perceived in what a summary mode the writ of ejectment was about to be served on them.

"On first returning to us at Hai-tien, His Excellency told us that he had successfully resisted the violent conduct of the Chinese, but it was impossible to say what they might do next. Shortly afterwards, it was intimated to us by Chang that the Emperor was in a towering passion, and that we were to go back directly to Tungchau. This certainly was a barbarous, not to say brutal measure, considering that we had only just arrived from a most fatiguing night journey; but I was not altogether sorry to hear the announcement. Whatever might have been the opinion of one or two persons on the subject of the ceremony, there could be no difference of sentiment on the present occasion. The insult offered had been so gross, and so completely developed the disposition of the Pekin Court, as to make it evident that we were to expect nothing in the way of favours. In the meanwhile, a most elegant repast was served up by way of breakfast, consisting of the greatest delicacies, and some really fine grapes and other fruit, laid out on porcelain of the richest description. This formed a singular contrast with our bait of the preceding night in the stable-yard, and the difference between our treatment, when *in* and *out* of favour, was remarkable. A mandarin from the 'general of the nine gates' (a sort of prætorian prefect) came to hasten our departure, saying that 'a million of men obeyed his orders.'

"When the baggage, of which very little had been unloaded, was ready, we set off on our return at four in the afternoon, nearly in the same manner as we had come, except that the Ambassador's carriage was given up to the sick, and chairs used instead. The daylight in the early part of our journey enabled us to take a good view of the lofty walls of Pekin as we skirted them, and some of the party provided themselves with fragments of the blue bricks which compose it. When darkness came on our miseries commenced,

and I may safely say that I never passed so wretched a night, except perhaps the one immediately preceding."*

A period of some forty years appears to have obliterated the remembrance of these untoward circumstances. Experience might have served to convince us, that to send an Ambassador to Pekin is to place him in a position of all others the most humiliating, in which he finds himself entangled, in the complicated meshes of Court formalism, powerless for good, and exposed to the superciliousness of ignorant mandarins. It was again however, introduced into our negotiations, and the residence of our Ambassador at Pekin came again to be regarded as an object of primary importance, and as presenting the only solution to the difficulties in which we found ourselves involved on the coast of China, one therefore, which it was necessary the Chinese Government should concede. Yet was it the very proposition which of all others was the most distasteful to them. In their eyes it was a sacrilegious innovation, which they were resolved, by whatever means, whether of force or fraud, to avoid. Hence the refusal to send a Plenipotentiary to Shanghae, and the evasive reference to Canton.

In the beginning of May 1858, we find the French and British Plenipotentiaries at the mouth of the Peiho, endeavouring, by whatever means, to engage the Chinese Government in treaty-relations of a satisfactory character. A summons was addressed to the Emperor, requiring that a duly authorised minister should be appointed to negotiate; otherwise, as Lord Elgin proceeds to state, "if, before the expiry of six days from the date of the present communication, a minister so accredited shall not have presented himself at Takoo, the undersigned will consider their pacific overtures to have been rejected, and deem himself thenceforward at liberty to adopt such measures for enforcing the just claims of our Government on that of China as he may think expedient." A certain Tan, governor-general of Chih-li was designated by the Emperor to this office, having associated with him two other Chinese officials. His appearance upon the scene caused a difference of opinion amongst the Plenipotentiaries, so as to break off united action. The powers with which Tan was invested, on examination, proved to be of a restricted character. They necessitated his reporting to the throne the progress of negotiations. The Russian and American Ambassadors did not think this constituted a sufficient reason why they should refuse to meet him. Count Poutiatine was of opinion that "we could not expect further powers to be granted to a Chinese Plenipotentiary in the pressing difficulties to which China is now exposed, nor do I think that great inconveniences may ensue from references to Pekin, which will not require more than four or five days for answers, though it would have been of immense consequence if negotiations were conducted at Shanghae or at Canton. In my belief, I consider that the Chinese Government has acceded to our last demands in sending a proper person for negotiations to the appointed place, and for the term fixed by us for his arrival." The American representative was of like opinion; but the British and French Plenipotentiaries considered that they would not be justified in opening communications with Tan unless further credentials were given to him, and a delay of six further days was permitted him for this purpose. Not only, however, was Tan left with the same restricted powers which he had before, but, through the Russian embassy, was communicated to the Ambassadors the Emperor's determination not to admit foreign envoys into Pekin. As he was unwilling to be persuaded, the Western Europeans resolved to coerce him; the forts of Takoo were carried on May 19th, and the joss-house where Tan resided was searched for papers. Tan had fled, but within the door was found the body of Tehkwei, the commandant of the forts, who, knowing that he would be punished for his unsuccessful defence of them by loss of liberty, if not of life, had anticipated his doom by suicide. The Ambassadors, without delay, pushed in gun-boats up the river, and occupied Tien-tsin. The Court of Pekin, finding the Europeans more rapid and resolute in their moves than they had expected, forthwith advanced two Commissioners, with full powers to stay their further progress towards the capital. It were tedious to introduce our readers into the entanglements of the negotiations. The Russian treaty was the first signed. "The chief concessions gained were the right of correspondence upon an equal footing between the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister, or first Minister of the Council of State at Pekin, permission to send diplomatic agents to that city on special occasions, liberty of circulation throughout the empire of Missionaries only under a system of passports, and the right to trade at ports at present open, and, in addition, at Swatow, a port in Formosa, and another in Hainan." Four days after, the American treaty, comprehensive of the same advantages, was signed. But the concessions

* "The Chinese," by Sir John F. Davis.

required by the English were of a more stringent character, especially in reference to two points, which had not been introduced even into the French treaty: these were, that a British minister should be entitled to reside permanently in Pekin, or visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government; and the other, that British subjects should have the right of travelling to all parts of the empire for trading purposes. These were stipulations to which the Commissioners were most averse. With importunate earnestness did they pray that they might be dispensed with, and, finding their own efforts unavailing, prayed the other Plenipotentiaries to intercede on their behalf, declaring that an imperial decree, just received, threatened them, not merely with degradation, but decapitation, if they conceded these points. The British Ambassador, however, felt it to be his duty to persevere, and the treaty was signed, "by a curious coincidence, the day of the signing of the treaty of Tien-tsin, being the anniversary of the day upon which the treaty of Nankin was signed fifteen years previously."

Even, however, after the treaty had been signed, did the Chinese Commissioners plead earnestly that its stringency on this point might be modified. In a letter to Lord Elgin, dated October 22d, 1858, they stated that they yielded it under coercion. "When the Commissioners Kwei and Hwa negotiated a treaty with your Excellency at Tien-tsin, British vessels of war were lying at that port; there was the pressure of an armed force, a state of excitement and alarm; and the treaty had to be signed at once, without a moment's delay. Deliberation was out of the question; the Commissioners had no alternative but to accept the conditions forced upon them. Among these were some of real injury to China, (to waive which) would have been of no disadvantage to your Excellency's Government; but, in the hurry of the moment, the Commissioners had no opportunity of offering your Excellency a frank explanation of these.

"In Article III. of the treaty it is laid down that 'the Ambassador, or other such high officer of Her Majesty the Queen of England, may reside permanently at the capital, or may visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government.' (The employment of) the word 'or' expressing, as it undoubtedly does, the absence of a decision, is evidence enough of the sense and reasonableness of your Excellency, who would not precipitately decide upon an arbitrary course towards any one.

"Now the majority of the inhabitants of the capital are Banner-men, who, never having been beyond its walls, or in intercourse with other people, are quite ignorant of the feelings of men or the ways of the world outside. The business the officials, high and low, have to transact in the capital, again, is entirely metropolitan.

"They have had no personal experience of the popular feeling on public affairs of provinces, and know nothing whatever about them. Then the habits and dispositions of the people of the capital are different from those of the eastern and southern provinces. If foreigners reside in Pekin, it will certainly come to pass, that in their movements something will create misgiving and surprise on the part of the multitude; any slight misunderstanding will be sure to beget a quarrel; and great indeed would be the injury to our country were some trifling cause of difference to attain serious dimensions. China, too, is at the present moment in a crisis of great difficulty; and should the people, as it is to be apprehended they might, be misled by idle words upon this point, they would commence some trouble in addition (to those already on our hands). It would never do, surely, to bring China to such a pass.

"The condition of residence at Pekin is very irksome to China; and as the French and Americans have not this privilege (*lit.* Article), and it is only your nation that has, we beg your Excellency to consider what compromise may be effected, and to dispense with its peremptory (enforcement).

"Should such an arrangement be agreed on as is proposed, the Emperor will still specially depute, on the part of China, a Chief Secretary of State, or President of a Board, to reside in the provinces, at whatever point the high officer sent by your Excellency's Government may see fit to choose for his residence. When Nankin is retaken, he may, if it suit him, reside at Nankin."*

In Lord Elgin's first answer, on October 27th, the ambassador declined to accede to the alteration which they had proposed; but they were not deterred from a second application, dated Oct. 28th—

"The established reputation of your Excellency for justice and straightforwardness, for kind intentions and friendly feeling, make us place the fullest confidence in your assurance, that when you exacted the condition referred to, you were actuated by no desire whatever to do injury to China. The permanent residence of foreign ministers at the capital would, notwithstanding, be an injury to China in many more ways than we can find

* Oliphant, vol. i. Appendix.

words to express. In sum, in the present critical and troublous state of our country, this incident would generate, we fear, a loss of respect for their Government in the eyes of her people; and that this would indeed be no slight evil it will not be necessary, we assume, to explain to your Excellency with greater detail.

"It is for this reason that we specially address you a second letter on this subject, and we trust that your Excellency will represent for us, to Her Majesty your sovereign, the great inconvenience you feel (the exercise of the right would be) to our country, and beseech her not to decide in favour of the permanent residence at Pekin."*

Nor was this second entreaty without effect, Lord Elgin undertaking to submit to "Her Majesty's Government the representations that have been addressed to him by their Excellencies the Imperial Commissioners upon this important question; and humbly to submit it as his opinion, that if Her Majesty's Ambassador be properly received at Pekin when the ratifications are exchanged next year, and full effect given in all other particulars to the treaty negotiated at Tien-tsin, it would certainly be expedient that Her Majesty's Representative in China should be instructed to choose a place of residence elsewhere than at Pekin, and to make his visits to the capital either periodical, or only as frequent as the exigencies of the public service may require." We find, therefore, in a letter to Lord Malmesbury, dated Nov. 5th, 1858, this point specially dealt with.

"In order that your lordship may correctly apprehend the drift of this correspondence, it is necessary that I should state at the outset that the Chinese authorities contemplate the permanent residence of foreign ministers at the capital with more aversion and apprehension than any of the other innovations introduced by the treaty of Tien-tsin.

"In reply to the representations which I have been able, through private channels, to make to them in favour of this arrangement as the best means of obviating international disputes, and of preventing them, when they chance to arise, from assuming undue proportions, they are wont to urge, in the first place, of course, the traditional policy of the empire, and then the difficulties in which, if he were constantly resident at the capital, the idiosyncracies of an individual foreign functionary, of violent temper and overbearing demeanour, might involve them. As regards this latter point (I refer now to communications which have passed between us through officious channels), they are in the habit of illustrating their meaning by examples. 'If we were quite sure,' say they, 'that you would always send to us men thoroughly wise, discreet, and considerate, it might be different; but if, for instance, so and so were appointed to represent a foreign Government at Pekin (and the right, if exercised by you, would, of course, be claimed by all other Governments), a month would not elapse before something would occur which would place our highest officers in the dilemma of having either to risk a quarrel or submit to some indignity which would lower the Chinese Government in the eyes of its own subjects.' No doubt such apprehensions are to some extent chimerical; but I am bound to admit that I do not consider them to be altogether so. . . . .

"In conclusion, I would beg leave to remind your lordship that it is only in the British treaty that the right to appoint a minister to reside permanently at Pekin is provided for. Any other nation desiring to exercise this privilege must borrow it from that treaty under the most favoured nation clause; and if such a claim on the part of any other power were admitted, of course the objection to the residence of a British minister at the capital would be at once, by that fact, removed.

"And further, although I adhere to every opinion I have formerly expressed with regard to the importance of the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the Court of Pekin, I am bound to admit that the position of a British minister at the capital during the winter months, when the thermometer, if Humboldt is to be believed, falls to 40 deg. below zero, the river Tien-tsin is frozen, and the Gulf of Pechelee hardly navigable, would not be altogether a pleasant one. And that it is even possible that, under such circumstances, his actual presence might be to the mandarin mind less awe-inspiring than the knowledge of the fact that he had the power to take up his abode there whenever the conduct of the Chinese Government gave occasion for complaint."*

The suggestions of Lord Elgin were acted upon by the Home Government. The treaty-right respecting a British Ambassador was to be retained, but not acted upon. In the instructions to Mr. Bruce, dated Foreign Office, March 1st, 1859, we find the following paragraph—

"Her Majesty's Government were fully prepared at once to carry out the provision of the treaty of Tien-tsin which admits of the permanent residence of a British Ambassador at Pekin; but the observations on this point which Lord Elgin has so ably laid before them, coupled with the fact that the French

* Oliphant, vol. i. Appendix

* Oliphant, vol. i. Appendix.

Government, on considering Baron Gros' reports, have arrived at the same conclusion, have determined Her Majesty's Government, for the present at least, to fix at Shanghae the residence of the British Mission, and only to require that it should be received occasionally at Pekin. But you will be careful to make the Chinese authorities at the capital and at Shanghae distinctly understand that Her Majesty's Government do not renounce the right of permanent residence, and, on the contrary, will instantly exercise it, if at any time difficulties are thrown in the way of communications between Her Majesty's minister and the central Government at Pekin, or any disposition shown to evade or defeat the objects of the treaty."*

It was evident that we had erred in pressing the point of a resident minister at Pekin as of primary importance, and forcing the Chinese officials to introduce it as a conceded point into the treaty. But when we discovered our error, it would have been better to have renounced it altogether. By retaining the clause, we have increased existing complications. This barren treaty-right, yielding to us no advantage, has been taken advantage of by Russia. "Under the most favoured nation clause," which allows to each treaty-nation free and equal participation in all privileges, &c., granted by the Emperor of China to the Government or subjects of any other nation, she has placed a permanent Ambassador at Pekin. This, for her, is comparatively easy of execution, and of immense advantage. Encroaching as she is on the Tartar provinces of the empire, having her bases of operations comparatively near, out of her heterogeneous population she can easily furnish forth an embassy which can without difficulty accommodate itself to the peculiar habits of the Chinese: from the contiguity of her dominions she can preserve it from revolutions, and work it with immense advantage. But important as this privilege is to her, she was not prepared to force it from the Chinese. We did that, and finding the treaty-right, when we had gained it, of little practical advantage, left it to her to reap the harvest. And now we have this new difficulty; we must, it is thought, place ourselves on an equality with Russia in this respect, and thus, new complications arising, we may find ourselves dealing with the treaty-right of having an Ambassador at Pekin, as we dealt with the treaty-right of entrance into Canton, a right which, at first we decided to waive, but eventually, changing our minds, enforced it at the point of the sword.

Perhaps the Chinese foresaw this new complication. They are sufficiently keen-sighted so to do. A full concession on this point would have pacified them. But our retention of our treaty-right as one which it was at our pleasure to insist upon, or otherwise, served only to irritate them, and prepare the way for the unhappy collision at the mouth of the Peiho in 1859.

As the time approached when the ratifications of the treaty were to be exchanged at Pekin, nothing could be more ominous than appearances on the Chinese coast. Every thing intimated the unwillingness of the Chinese to ratify the treaty, and their determination not to permit the advance of the Ambassador to Pekin, except under humiliating circumstances. The Chinese Commissioners were lingering in the south when they ought to have been far on the way to Pekin. Rumours prevailed that the Chinese were preparing for resistance. A conversation between the interpreter, Mr. Hart, at Canton, and a Chinese who had just returned from Pekin, as embodied in the following Memorandum, is decisive upon this point—

"Yesterday evening, a Cantonese, Sen-seen-sang, who has for several years been in the habit of lending money to expectant officials, whom he accompanies when appointed to any post, called upon me. He had just returned from Pekin, *viâ* Shanghae, having left the former place on the 22d of March. He informed me, that, at the time of his departure from Pekin, the expected return of the British Ambassador to Tien-tsin, and the possibility of his visiting the capital, were subjects freely canvassed in every quarter; that the Emperor was known to be highly displeased with some of the stipulations contained in the Tien-tsin treaty; that he was entirely averse to the Ambassador's taking up his quarters in the capital, and that he had resolved not to grant him an audience on any pretext; that military preparations were going on at Pekin and Tien-tsin; that the Russians had offered the Emperor 10,000 muskets, but that His Majesty had declined to accept the present, fearing that the muskets in question might be brought to the palace by an equal number of Russians; that the arrangement of all matters connected with the reception of the British at Tien-tsin, and the preventing of any visit to Pekin, had been confided to Sung-wang-yay, a Ta-tsze-wang, son-in-law of the last Emperor; that Sung-wang-yay was at Tien-tsin with 50,000 troops, Mantchoo and Mongols; that the batteries at Tien-tsin had been rebuilt, and the river staked in such

* Correspondence with Mr. Bruce, Blue Book, p. 1.

a way as to render it impossible for foreign vessels to reach that city; that 30,000 'so-lo' troops—men never called out except in cases of the greatest emergency—were under orders to hold themselves in readiness to join Sung-wang-yay if called for; that Sung-wang-yay's orders were to receive the British at Tien-tsin with all civility, but at all hazards to prevent any nearer approach to Pekin; that Sung-wang-yay was very desirous of gaining military renown, and that the Ambassador would be unable to reach Pekin without having recourse to arms; that, according to the opinion of some, the Ambassador, accompanied by a few people, might possibly reach Pekin without bloodshed, but that a fight would certainly ensue if more than a hundred men were landed; that the country between Tien-tsin and Pekin being flat, and the Chinese troops being so much more numerous than any number of men the British could land, it was the general belief that the British could be surrounded and cut to pieces before the completion of one-half the journey.

"Sen-seen-sang further informed me that a Russian Ambassador had visited Pekin on the 2d March; that the Russians in the capital, more than one hundred in number, roamed about just as they pleased, much to the grief of the Emperor and the anti-foreign party; and that it was feared the British, if they once effected an entrance, would take an ell for every inch the Russians had arrogated to themselves; that at Yung-chow large quantities of grain had been bought up by the Russians, but that the Emperor, having become alarmed, had forbidden the traffic."*

On arriving off the mouth of the Peiho, every thing betokened a dogged obstinacy: the river was barricaded, and an armed rabble repelled all attempts to open communications. At length a letter was received from Hang, Governor-General of Chih-li, the successor to the unfortunate Tan, who had been banished to the borders of Siberia, stating that he had reached Pe-tang-ho, a port or harbour to the northward of Takoo, for the purpose of doing honour to the Envoy, and requesting him to proceed there. It was difficult to decide on the best course to be pursued. The Commissioner, in a letter addressed to Mr. Bruce three weeks previously, had assured him of a friendly reception at Tien-tsin—

"With the peaceful relations now established between the two nations, nothing certainly will be done that is not in conformity with the provisions of the treaty, and the Commissioners accordingly pray Mr. Bruce at once to put away all misgiving on the subject. There is no need for him to feel any anxiety. They would wish, that on his arrival on the mouth of the Tien-tsin river (the Peiho), he should anchor his vessels of war outside the bar, and then, without much baggage, and with a moderate retinue, proceed to the capital for the exchange of the treaties. His mission being a pacific one (or, as he comes speaking peace), his treatment by the Government of China will not fail to be in every way most courteous; and it is the sincere wish of the Commissioners that relations of friendship may be from this time forth consolidated, and that on each side confidence may be felt in the good faith and justice of the other." †

Now at the last moment, when off the Peiho, he is refused admission by the route which had been pointed out; while Governor Hang's letter indicating Peh-tang-ho was evidently penned in a discourteous spirit, the character signifying "Her Majesty" not being placed on a level with that signifying Emperor. Duty appeared to require that Lord Elgin's example should be followed, the passage of Peiho forced, and the Chinese Government, compelled by the intimidation of a second defeat to receive the British envoy with due honours. The issue is known to our readers. It was no doubt the course which the Chinese expected we would take, and they had made every preparation to give us a warm reception. The door of entrance into China, the one which their own Commissioners had indicated, was found closed. A postern gate was pointed out as still open, but the acceptance of which on our part would have been considered by them as an acknowledgment of our inferiority, and would have prepared the way for further humiliation; and when we proceeded to force open the main entrance, their batteries opened upon our boats and men with a force and precision to which as yet, in Chinese warfare, we were unaccustomed. It was a violation of good faith, a violent and treacherous proceeding, but such as might have been expected from a barbarous nation, upon which we had forced a line of policy which they utterly distasted and abhorred. Did we really consider, when the strong pressure was removed which had compelled them to sign the treaty of Tien-tsin, that they would adhere with fidelity to its stipulations? They never intended so to do, and, in justification of their conduct, referred to the undeniable fact, that they had yielded under compulsion: that we held their hand with a giant's force, and compelled their signature. We should have foreseen this; that the new treaty so far from being a satisfactory termination of existing difficulties, would be-

* Correspondence with Mr. Bruce, pp. 7, 8.
† Ibid. 15, 16.

come the fertile source of new complications; and that as we had compelled the treaty by an armed force, we should be obliged to send out another expedition to constrain them to the observance of it. Had the articles of the treaty been such as they approved of, and which they had signed willingly because they perceived it was their interest so to do, we might have with safety pursued the course we did, and withdrawn our troops while the ink was yet moist on the paper. But coercive treaties, which are acceded to because the vanquished party must either do so or else submit to further buffetings from the mailed hand of the persistent conqueror, will ever prove to be expensive agreements.

An admirable *resumé* of these complicated events will be found in the following extracts, from a despatch of Mr. Bruce to Lord Malmesbury, dated Shanghae, July 13th 1859—

"I propose in this despatch to give a succinct account of the course I have adopted, and of the grounds on which it is based. It is necessary to allude briefly to the maxims of China in regard to intercourse with foreign nations, as they afford the key to what has taken place.

"In China international relations have been always studiously ignored by the Government, and in no single instance has a Foreign Minister succeeded in obtaining admission to the capital, except on performance of the 'kotow,' or ceremony of vassalage, or in the character of tribute-bearer. The subjects of foreign nations residing in China are represented as belonging to barbarous tribes, and living by trade (of all occupations the one least in repute among the Chinese), as devoid of civilization, and ignorant of the rules of reason, and by all means to be confined to the outskirts of the country.

"According to the maxims of the Government, they are entitled to no rights beyond those accorded by the favour of the Emperor; and though circumstances and the weakness of the Government have led it to acquiesce in the concession of considerable privileges to foreigners in distant sea-ports, it is remarkable, as proving how tenaciously it holds to its traditions, that it always classifies as acts of rebellion the measures of coercion adopted by foreign Governments to obtain redress for wrongs done to their subjects.

"Now the British treaty of Tien-tsin (which is much more complete in this respect than the treaties signed at that place by the other powers) asserts principles which are diametrically opposed to these traditional pretensions of the Chinese Government. According to it, the British Minister is to be accredited as a representative of an independent equal power, and the Chinese Government, in its treatment of him, is called upon finally to abandon the assumption of superiority which it asserted uncompromisingly during Lord Amherst's embassy, and, so lately as three years ago, when Count Poutiatine first proposed to visit Pekin. He is to be allowed free and unrestricted communication with the capital, not only as specified in the French and American treaties, when he has business to transact, but whenever he wishes to visit it. His diplomatic intercourse is to be conducted according to the usages of western nations, and he is not to be called on to perform any ceremony of a nature derogatory to his character as representing an equal and independent nation. In future, access to the capital is to be recognised as a right the Minister can insist on, instead of its being begged for as a favour, and either refused or conceded on such terms as the Chinese might choose to impose, for the sake of saving their own dignity at the expense of that of the foreign envoy in the eyes of the Chinese population.

"The clauses which permit British subjects to travel in the interior, and open the Yangtze river to British shipping, are equally subversive of the established maxims of Chinese statesmen. To push us back on the sea-board, and confine us to as few seaports as possible; to keep us outside the walls of important cities, and vilify us to the people, in order to preserve a wall of separation between the races, is the policy which the Chinese Government, from its adherence to usage, and from its indifference, if not dread of all progress which can only be attained through novelty, would gladly follow, if it dared to do so.

"It is not surprising, therefore, when the allied squadrons left the Peiho river last year, and the panic produced by their presence began to subside, that ancient maxims and prejudices should have gradually resumed the ascendant at Pekin, and that the Imperial cabinet should have entertained hopes of recovering part of the ground it had lost. There is proof of its language and feeling with regard to foreigners having undergone no change in a decree published in the 'Pekin Gazette,' on the 25th July, one month after the signature of the treaty, in which allusion is made to the 'barbarians suddenly rushing up the river to Tien-tsin, and retiring, moved by the commands of Kweiliang and his colleague, signified with affectionate earnestness.' Sungko-lin-sin, a Mongol prince, reputed to be their best general, was made Commander-in-chief of the Pechelee province, with a large force at his disposal; the forts at Ta-koo were rebuilt and strengthened, and stakes and obstacles of different kinds placed across the

river to efface the impression produced by the proceedings of last year, and, by preventing foreign ships from arriving at Tien-tsin, to render Pekin more inaccessible than ever.

"I felt at once that it became necessary either to throw overboard my instructions entirely, to abandon the visit to Pekin, and the attempt to establish, on a proper footing, once for all, our diplomatic relations with the Court of Pekin, or to declare that I would insist on exchanging the ratifications at the capital within the period stipulated in the treaty, and on a personal reception by the Emperor, for the purpose of delivering to him Her Majesty's autograph letter. I could not doubt that the task of extorting a reception at Pekin, in a form implying a surrender on the part of the Emperor of his pretensions to national superiority, would be more difficult than obtaining a recognition of our equality on paper; and that the Chinese Government, in accordance with its usual policy, would endeavour, by prescribing the route I was to follow, by limiting the number of my attendants, and, by bad arrangements during the journey, to put me in the degrading position hitherto occupied by foreign envoys, and re-enter, by this means, the prestige it had lost by our successful *coup de main* of last year. To prevent such a result, and to receive free access to the capital in future on becoming terms, I decided, after mature reflection, on proceeding by the river, the natural highway to Tien-tsin, under the British flag, as its presence at that place would establish in the eyes of the Chinese that our visits to Pekin are a matter of right, not of favour.

"On arriving at Shanghae, where I proceeded as soon as my French colleague was ready, I found, as I anticipated, the Commissioners armed with pretexts to detain me, and prevent my visit to the Peiho. Their letters, though moderate in tone, alluded to the three principal clauses of the treaty, and proposed to re-open the discussion upon them. Had I accepted this overture, and abandoned the course laid down in my letter of the 16th May, they would have inferred that I was to be 'soothed and controlled,' and would have postponed the ratifications with the intention of obtaining my assent to conditions which would have deprived these clauses of their practical efficacy. This view is confirmed by the fact, that they were not in possession of the ratified treaties; the Chinese Government having thus confined them to the task of gaining time, if nothing else, by renewing negotiations, reserving meanwhile in its own hands the power of exchanging the ratifications or not, as it might seem expedient, after the result of the interviews had been communicated to it.

"I think that the Commissioners themselves were acting rather in obedience to their instructions from Pekin, than in the expectation that their attempts to detain us here would be successful. For as soon as they received my letter, stating that I would not enter into discussion until the ratifications were exchanged, and declining any interview with them at Shanghae, the twelvemonth allowed by treaty for the exchange having almost expired, they changed entirely their tone. They acknowledged the propriety of abiding by the terms of the treaty, and stated that they had memorialized the Emperor to send down a high officer to Tien-tsin, whom we should find on our arrival, ready to conduct us, in time, to the capital. Though they hinted at a journey by land from the river's mouth, and wished me to anchor the squadron outside the bar, they did not state that orders had been given to prevent us entering the river, and making use of it to reach the town of Tien-tsin. . . .

"I have only to remark, in explanation of the course pursued, that we found ourselves off the mouth of the river, which forms the highway to Pekin, within a few days of the expiration of the period fixed by the treaty for the exchange of the ratifications. On requesting a passage to be opened for us, and explaining the peaceful objects of the mission, we were informed that there was no authority on the spot; that the fort and barriers were not constructed by order of the Government, but by the people, who had built and garrisoned them for their protection against rebels, not to keep us out of the river. In proceeding to remove them, we therefore violated no order of the Imperial Government, and, had we been successful, the Government could and would, no doubt, have disavowed entirely the acts of those who opposed us. At the same time we were convinced that the repugnance of the Chinese Government to execute fully the treaty, and to grant us the reception we were instructed to demand, could only be overcome by a sense of their inability to resist us. The preparations made since last year had given them confidence, and that feeling would have been increased, had we, on coming in presence of them, receded from the demands we had made. Under such circumstances, to have accepted the proposal of the Governor-General of Chih-li would have been to enter on a path which must have ended in disgrace and failure; and nothing, in my opinion, would have justified us in consenting to it, unless the only competent authority to pronounce a judgment

on such a question had expressed doubts as to the result of an attempt to force the passage of the river. But I can state positively, that if Admiral Hope had expressed doubts on the subject, they would not have been shared by the squadron, nor by those who have had most experience of warfare in China; and if it be decided that the means at our command were insufficient to justify us in pursuing so bold a line of policy, it is but right that I should share that responsibility with him."*

It may be not uninteresting to state how the American Minister, Mr. Ward, was dealt with by the Chinese. The right of access to Pekin had not been introduced into the American treaty; but, like the Russians, availing themselves of the stipulations which we had compelled, the Americans claimed, under the most favoured nation clause, to exchange ratifications at Pekin. The mode of action adopted by their Representative was therefore diverse from ours. Isolating himself from our system of intimidation, yet profiting by the impression made thereby on the Chinese, and their disposition to yield on some points which otherwise they would have haughtily resisted, he hoped to reach Pekin pacifically, and be admitted to a personal interview with the Emperor. He proceeded, therefore, to Peh-tang-ho, according to the directions of Hang-fuh. The results are summed up in the following extract from the North-China Herald of August 22d, 1859—

"On the morning of the 20th, Mr. Ward and suite landed at Peh-tang, where they were received by the escort, and conducted to Pekin with every show of respect. They first travelled forty-five miles across the country in covered carts, striking the Peiho at a village called Pei-tsang, some ten miles above Tien-tsin, and thence proceeded in junks to Tung-chow, distant twelve miles from Pekin, of which it is the port. There they again took carts to the capital.

"The entire trip occupied eight days and a-half, five of which were passed upon the river. They passed not less than six or eight barriers between Pei-tsang and Tung-chow, none of them, however, being in repair, or backed by forts. The boatmen said that they were partly to stop the English, and partly to afford shelter to junks when the ice was breaking up.

The legation remained in Pekin fifteen days, during which time they were confined to their quarters; not, however, as prisoners, for they were at liberty at any moment to walk out, but the Commissioners refused the use of horses and guides, leaving it optional with Mr. Ward to grant permission to walk out or not, as he saw fit. They would doubtless, however, have closed the gates entirely, had not that gentleman taken a firm stand at the very first interview, informing Kweiliang that as soon as his movements should be at all restricted he should close all intercourse, and demand his return escort.

"It seems that the Emperor was very anxious to see Mr. Ward, but that he also insisted upon his performing the 'kotow,' which, being against the principles of His Excellency, was positively refused. The result of this was, that upon the fourteenth day of their stay it was finally concluded to receive the President's letter at Pekin, and to send His Excellency back to Peh-tang to exchange the treaty; and the next day they returned accordingly.

"During their stay in Pekin they saw nothing of the Russians, but received several letters from them. The first of these was six days going from one end of the city to the other, having evidently been detained by the authorities.

"Arrived at Peh-tang on the 16th, the treaties were exchanged, and an English prisoner (named John Powell) given up. This man, who was an ordinary seaman on board the 'Highflyer,' and who, with a sapper by the name of Thomas McQueen, had been captured on the 25th June, fearing for his life, had proclaimed himself to be an American. The Chinese informed Mr. Ward of this, and intimated their readiness to give him up as an American, if he would demand him. This, however, the latter could not do, as he had been taken fighting under the flag of another nation. Anxious, however, to serve the poor fellow, he intimated to them that it would be a great personal favour if they would turn him over, and, as such, it was done. He is now on board of the 'Powhatan.' Of the sapper nothing more is known than that he was wounded in the arm, was doing well, and is still a prisoner.

"The Chinese seemed generally anxious to know what the English would do next year."

We have thus endeavoured to bring together within a brief compass, and to place summarily before our readers, the events which have taken place on the coast of China, that thus they may be enabled to observe and duly estimate the still more momentous ones, which may by this time have supervened, and of which, at any moment, we may become cognizant.

We trust that the tone of the debates in

* Correspondence with Mr. Bruce: Blue Book, pp. 21—25.

the British Parliament will tell with moderating influence on the coast of China. *If in* any thing we have erred let us be manly enough to avow it and correct it. If we have insisted upon any point of little practical value to ourselves, but which touches sorely the morbid sensibilities of the Chinese, let us be generous to forego it. Let the demands made in China be precisely that which the necessities of the case require and no more. To use the words of Sir John Pakington in the recent debate, let us beware of "pressing demands on China one iota beyond what the strictest view of the justice of the case and the interests of the country demand." Let all possible allowance be made for the narrow-mindedness inseparable from the condition of a benighted heathen nation.

We have been charged with unduly intruding into political matters, and have been told that the object of this periodical is purely Missionary, and should be confined to that. But if this be the case and if it be true that we are to occupy ourselves exclusively with the details of Missionary information, then is this periodical unnecessary; for this very necessary duty is already and effectually discharged by the Church Missionary Record. But our duty is of a different kind. We have to deal with Missionary results gathered together from different fields, and by a careful comparison of them, deduce Missionary principles, and the best mode of action; how benefits may be secured, and difficulties avoided. But we have also to do with all questions touching the welfare of nationalities, and to observe upon all points which have a tendency to recommend the Christian religion to the heathen or prejudice them against it. If England were not a Christian nation, as the advocates of the great Missionary interest we should have nothing to do with her policy, nay, if she were professedly Romanist, it might be sufficient to refer her errors of judgment to the errors of her creed, and find in one the explanation of the other. But she is nationally Protestant. Scriptural Christianity is her national profession. It is the same creed which our Missionaries preach. The heathen looks to our national actions as the true exponents of our national faith; and as jealous for the honour of God's truth, and for the honour of our country, we cannot but be solicitous that those actions should be such as shall commend and not misrepresent the truth. Tender points must at times be touched if good is to be done, although we should be sorry to do it harshly. But, at whatever cost, there is one tendency which must be denounced, one misapprehension which must be protested against, whenever and wherever it shews itself, that we have a right to coerce people into compliance with our views and wishes; and when with the usual habitude of human nature they cling tenaciously to old customs, and are unwilling at our summons to surrender them, that we have a right to employ superior force and bully them into obedience. We have no authority from God to do so. We shall never by such a mode of action attain satisfactory results. We think this to be the quickest and shortest way to the solution of a difficulty, which will ever prove to be the longest, most tedious, and expensive, we can select; and we shall be certain in some way or other, according to the providence of God's retributive justice, to suffer for it. Better far to forbear, and wait, and endeavour to enlighten and instruct. We shall win confidence, acquire influence, and the doors which we abstained from breaking open, will open gently of their own accord, and so open as not to close again.

But while we would deal faithfully with our own national action on the coast of China, we have no wish to cast a veil over the vices of the Chinese character. They are an arrogant and supercilious people; inflated with an high idea of their own importance; and an unutterable contempt for all that is Western as barbarian. In religious matters they are sceptical and obtuse in feeling, nor are they impressible by considerations which powerfully move other sections of men. The wild demon-worshipper of Gondwana and Pegu has his gloomy thoughts and fears, in his estimation the deep forests, the mountain glen, each hill and river, have their *genii loci*, whose wrath he fears, and whose anger he propitiates, sometimes even by human sacrifices. The Hindu is mad after his gods, and flings himself with enthusiasm into the whirlpool of an idolatrous worship, which enlists his vices on its side, and sanctions all the worst propensities of his heart. But in religious matters the Chinese are stolid, perhaps beyond all other men; a utilitarian in the strongest sense, he regards only the present, and disregards the future as shadowy and unsubstantial.

There is no nation which stands more in need of the ameliorating action of the Gospel. It is the alone antidote for numberless vices and defects of character and conduct which prevail there. But the Tartar authorities interfere. They would forbid the Gospel to these suffering masses. They have attempted to arrest that mighty tide of divine truth, the first ripples of which are being just felt on

the coast of China. Scarcely had the treaties of 1858 been signed at Tien-tsin, when Yin-shan-yung* and Sang-ko-lin-sing† memorialized the emperor on the subject of Christianity. The first observes—

"As to the propagation of religion, its object is to unsettle the public mind, and secretly effect a revolution. If such were not the case, they would be satisfied with practising their faith in their own country. They bestow charity upon the poor as a stratagem for winning the hearts of the people. Those rebellious barbarians, in swallowing up the lesser foreign powers, have always made use of these agencies."

The latter says, in his memorial—"The Christian religion is utterly subversive of good morals. They make use of the false doctrines of Jesus to poison the minds of the simple; and employ Chinese gold and silver to corrupt the hearts of the intelligent. And, at this rate, in a few years the whole population will embrace the false religion of Jesus. Will not the people of China then become the tools of the barbarians? and then where will the mischief end?"

That these memorials have not been in vain is evidenced in the new spirit infused into the provincial authorities. Native evangelists, sent by the American Missionaries at Ningpo, have been driven away from Hang-chow, the capital of the province of Chekeang. They petitioned the magistrate, but without effect. Nor were the representations of the Missionaries, forwarded through the Taoutae to the governor of the province, more successful. A similar disposition to persecute has been exhibited at Ningpo.

The new American treaty has thus been already violated in one of its most important stipulations. The article 29 provided—

"The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman-Catholic churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach those doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, shall peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

Thus there appears to be on the part of the Chinese authorities an increasing prejudice against the Christian faith. This may have been helped by various circumstances. The unhappy wording of the 29th article of the American treaty, to which we have just referred, may have done so; in which the Protestant and Roman-Catholic churches are presented to the Chinese mind as kindred systems. Very probably the former has suffered in their estimation from this *mesalliance*, for the Chinese have had long experience of Romanism, and no doubt have seen enough of the intrigues of that politico-religious system to lead them to distrust it. Accordingly, in the Kiang-si province, a proclamation has been issued against the religion of the Lord of heaven (Romish Christianity), in which, to show that the Chinese are not either ignorant or forgetful in this respect, as some suppose, there is a reference to the history of the past.

"It would appear that the so-called religion of the Lord of heaven . . . . . derives its origin from the Occident. It was only towards the end of the things that one Matteo Ricci opened the way for his proselytes to Pekin. At first, by means of his impositions and tracts, they deceived and misled the Chinese people, and afterwards they employed lucre to gain over the inhabitants, scholars, and officers of the state . . . . . the more ignorant respected that religion and believed in it more and more, and from that cause it has spread its venom throughout the land of China, and has paved the way to ruin. Under our exalted dynasty, rectitude and public morality are one and united. They consist in a respectful observance of the family precept of the sacred founder, namely, to root out all false doctrines in order to exalt correct principles."

The singular recognition of Christianity by the Taepings, and the harshness and severity of aspect with which they have invested it, as though the Saviour had come, not to save men's lives, but to destroy them,—this also has no doubt served to the increase of dynastic prejudices against Christianity. To this also we find a reference in the state documents which have been recently promulgated.

"When the rebels of the Canton province, by birth depraved and by nature foul, dared to overthrow the precepts of the present holy rule, they imposed on the simple people by assuming the religion of the Lord of heaven, and calling Him their Heavenly Father. According to them, Jesus suffered an ignominious death; but was, nevertheless, sent down

* A high Chinese functionary, who has recently obtained important promotion.

† The Tartar prince who commands the imperial forces, and who occupies the very first place in the imperial favour.

by the Lord of Heaven amongst men, some thousand and few hundred years ago, to be the father, the parent, of rebels and malefactors. Only reflect! There is nothing greater than Heaven! who can presume to become the lord and master of it? Yet, what manner of individual is this Jesus of theirs, who should thus have died, and yet be worshipped as the 'Lord of Heaven?' What extreme blasphemy! what excessive profaneness! Since Jesus, then, died the death of a criminal, by what sorcery did He descend on earth again; and, what is more, become the parent of rebels and malefactors? As rebels and malefactors have no Lord, no parent, in that case their Jesus cannot have been born of the human species, and that is an end of it; because it is plain that if Jesus had been born of man, his spirit also would have been that of a human being."

But besides all this, the Emperor and his subordinates have been hostile to the free action of the Gospel, from the time when our Missionaries first planted their foot upon the coast of China. Any *locus standi* which they have had, has not been willingly conceded by the authorities, but forcibly wrested from them.

Encouraged by their successful resistance to the allied forces at the Peiho, they have become more bold in avowing their hostility, and have proceeded to acts of persecution. Two individuals, apprehended on the charge of embracing the religion of the Lord of Heaven, have been compelled in open court to tread upon the wooden cross, after the example of the Japanese.

It is not improbable, therefore, that we are about to witness in China mighty changes, and such a breaking-up of hindrances and obstructions, as shall open a way for the Gospel into the interior. The existing dynasty may be on the eve of dissolution. It is already weak and tottering, and now dangers increase. After a period of comparative inaction, the Taepings have again put on their strength. Hangchow has been taken and plundered; Soochow has met with like calamities; the coast cities are being threatened; the imperial armies have been obliged to break off their positions before Nanking. From the seaward the storm-cloud is gathering, and the obstinate Tartar is busy in preparing his forts at Taku, in the hope that he shall be able to reiterate the victory which he gained over a handful of gallant men, contending against every possible disadvantage. It may be that the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty is at hand, and that mysterious fingers are even now writing on the walls of the king's palace, "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Perchance the obstructive barrier is about to be thrown down, and the Mantchou princes, through their own obstinacy, remitted to the solitudes of Mongolia.

Unmistakably it is, all over the world, a time of momentous changes. The decree seems to have gone forth, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until He come, whose right it is; and I will give it Him." With extraordinary rapidity the political obstructions which interfered with the onward progress of the Gospel, and shut up masses of men in hopeless ignorance, are being levelled in the dust. In India the stroke of the earthquake has been felt, and the prison-houses of gloomy superstitions, in which the Hindu and Mohammedan have been for ages immured, have been so shattered, that the prisoners have now the opportunity to escape. In Italy, thrones have been ruined, and dynasties broken down. Nor has the mighty energy which is at work yet exhausted itself. The pride of the Moslem must be broken, and the ignorance of heathen potentates rebuked.

It is the breaking up of the field of labour, preparatory to a more universal sowing of the seed, for "the Gospel shall be preached as a testimony to all people."

The next part of our subject—the seed—will open up points of interest of another kind.

NINGPO—A GLANCE AT THE SOCIAL LIFE OF CHINA.

Ningpo, a free port, and a centre of Missionary effort, is in the Che-keang province. "Any good map of China presents a coast-line approaching to a semicircular curve, near the centre of which, in lat. 29° 50′ N., and long. 121° 22′ E. Ningpo will be found." Off the north-east point of the city wall, called Sankiangkow, or "river junction," three streams unite. "To the north-west there is a large stream running down through the districts of Yuyaou and Tszeke, variously called the Yaou river, the Shun river, or the river of Tszeke. To the east there is another stream, known as the Yung river." These two uniting, "flow north-east and north, in a deep channel, until they enter the open sea at Chinhai, a distance of eleven miles and a half from the point of the confluence."

Ningpo-fuh, the "Peaceful-wave city," is

the most important city in Chekeang, next to Hang-chow. It is regarded as one of the most literary cities in the empire, and inferior only to Hang-chow and Soo-chow in the refinement and taste of the people. It is an ancient city, "its annals affording very full information upon every point interesting to a Chinese antiquarian, although a foreigner very soon tires of the many insignificant details, mixed up with a few valuable statements." Its population, variously estimated from one-fourth to one-third of a million, is industriously engaged, one-fifth in literary pursuits, and the remainder in trade, merchandize, and labour. Its situation is a choice one. "The plain on which Ningpo lies is a magnificent amphitheatre, stretching away from twelve to eighteen miles on one side to the base of the distant hills, and on the other to the verge of the ocean. As the eye travels along it catches many a pleasing object. Turn landward, it will see canals and watercourses, fields and snug farm houses, smiling cottages, family residences, hamlets and villages, family tombs, monasteries and temples. Turn in the opposite direction, and you perceive a plain country descending towards the ocean: but the river, alive with all kinds of boats, and the banks studded with ice-houses, most of all attract the attention. Turn inwards towards the city, and while still upon the ramparts, look within its walls, and you will be no less gratified. Here there is nothing European—little to remind you of what you have seen in the west. The single-storied and the double-storied houses, the heavy prison-like family mansions, the family vaults and gravel yards, the glittering roofs of the temples, the dilapidated official residences, the deserted literary and examination halls, are entirely Chinese. The attention is also arrested for a moment or two by ditches, canals, and reservoirs of water, with their wooden bridges and stone arches."* Of that kind of civilization which prevails in heathen countries, and which, like the lacker ware of Japan, polishes the surface of society, there is much. Temples and monasteries are numerous; assembly halls. Governmental offices and educational establishments, abound. The assembly halls constitute an interesting feature in native society. Residents and merchants from the provinces subscribe to erect on the spot where they transact their business "a temple," dedicated to the patron deity of their native province. Placed under the charge of a few priests, or a layman called "a master of ceremonies," they become places of resort for travellers, and answer the purpose of European coffee-houses.

The well-paved streets are interrupted here and there by honorary portals of considerable size and solidity. Two lagoons within the city, supplied by sluices passing through the gates, are the feeding-places of many canals and aqueducts, by which the suburbs are irrigated and the various portions of the city supplied with water. The walls in circumference approach five miles, the average height being twenty-five feet, exclusive of a parapet, five feet high; the width of the wall, on the top, being fifteen feet, and at the base twenty-two feet; the material solid, the lower part of stone and granite, the upper of brick. Strolling through the streets of the city, the stranger marks numerous indications of settled habits and of organized social life. On the gateways, numerous placards "pasted up, apprise the gentry and citizens, or 'ladies and gentlemen,' of religious services, theatrical shows, magisterial orders, musical feats, &c. The rage for advertisement in China is quite as prolific as elsewhere; and among other curiosities in this class of production, may be seen fiery squibs on public characters, sober admonitions on sundry subjects, and quack papers in every line of business. As in Europe, so in China, objection is taken to the placarding of bills upon private premises; and you meet with notices to the effect, that 'Bills pasted up will be daubed over,' 'Placards will be torn down,' 'You are not allowed to placard,' and sometimes the polite request, 'Pray do not paste your bills here.'"*

The tea-houses are another feature of Chinese social life. "Very large shops, appropriated to tea-drinking, are to be met with everywhere in Chinese towns, occupying extensive flights. On the floors of these rooms there stand square wooden tables, with benches and chairs to accommodate four or six people; and at the further end there is the kitchen, with oven and stoves duly arranged, and bearing huge kettles, massive tea-pots, monster cauldrons, all filled with hot water. Usually there is a goodly staff of waiters moving about, vigilant in their attentions, carrying small trays, with tea-cups of the warm decoction and plates of cakes and dried fruits, &c. Less than a farthing will obtain a refreshing cup of comfort. At every hour, morning and evening especially, the rooms are crowded. There is no prohibition of tobacco-smoking or gambling, but the reverse. Nor is there any restraint on loud

* "Middle Kingdom," vol. i. pp. 98, 99.

* Milne's "Life in China," pp. 82, 83.

and noisy conversation. Labourers and passengers are continually dropping in for such appropriate conveniences as are offered in the shape of basins of warm water, and rough, rather coarse towels, for washing hands and face. Often music is conducted within, and often, like resorts of the same class in Europe, the tea-drinking houses in China form the evening refuges of the working-classes for news and gossip, amusement or recreation.

"Eating-houses are sometimes connected with tea-houses. In these a substantial meal can be had at a moment's notice. Some of them occupy large and commodious buildings. These are sometimes two stories high, with the *restaurants* above, and the kitchens underneath. The bill of fare offers every thing in season, at moderate charges."*

Glancing from within to without the walls, there will be found "a moat of some extent that well nigh encircles the city. The northern and eastern faces of the city, supposed to be well enough guarded by the river, have no moat; but commencing at the north gate, it runs along the foot of the wall, west, south, south and south-east, until it stops at what is called the 'Bridge-gate.' This gives a length of about three miles. It is deep—in some places perhaps forty yards wide, well supplied with water from the neighbouring fields and river, and daily navigated by boats."

In this, as in all other Chinese cities, there is one great deficiency. They have canals and aqueducts to disperse abroad abundant supplies of water, but there is no provision for the removal of the moral filthiness, which, engendered in the natural heart, oozes forth from numberless fountains, and accumulates rapidly wherever masses of human beings are congregated. Every human heart is a fountain-head of evil influences, and such it continues to be until renewed and purified. There needs a powerful element abroad which shall be corrective of the depravity of the human heart, and render it a spring of influence and action which will be beneficial instead of injurious to society: and forasmuch as, under the happiest circumstances which we can hope to attain, evil will still accumulate, the cleansing element of pure religion needs to be dispersed abroad, like the streams and rivers of a well-watered city, affording to individuals and families the ready means of spiritual purification. This is precisely what is wanting in heathen cities and a heathen land. The temples of heathenism abound, while places of Christian worship—for Christianity is as yet in the initiative, and just struggling into its birth—are few and far between.

Milne, in his "Life in China," describes the heathen temples of Ningpo as he found them some seventeen years ago, and such, in all probability, they remain at the present moment, or, if they have been succeeded by others, with the usual conservatism of China, the mould and type of the dissolved building has been retained. This description, therefore, will still be pictorial of what may be found in Ningpo at the present time. Let us recur to it.

He conducts us to the temple of Leu-tsoo. "Within the entrance, and under cover, there were seated four huge figures, the four great Kin-kang, probably standing there to the present day. One carried a lyre, at the notes of which they say the ears of the whole world are awakened. Another, with a black and ferocious face, flourished a drawn sword. A third sported a big umbrella, and is said, by the simple elevation of this instrument, to have power to draw down to earth storms of thunder and rain. The fourth twists a long snake round his arm, to denote skill to tame wildness into submission. They were arranged two on each side of the passage. In the centre gateway an image faced you, exactly as you entered, very stout, and with the breast and upper abdomen exposed, seated on a large cloth bag, laughing and looking right jolly, with two words inscribed overhead, *Chih Siau*, 'the ever-laughing one.' This is a representation of the Buddha that is to come. Behind him there was an erect idol called the Wei-to image, or the Hoofah Wei-to, as he is said to be the protector of the Buddhist faith. He was clad in armour, and seemed ready for the offensive or defensive. Within there was a crowd of other images, chiefly canonized heroes and disciples of this popular superstition."

In another part of the city is "the palace of the god of the eastern range." A wicket at the east end of the principal gateway leads into a dark, dreary cell called *teyoh*, "the earthly dungeon." "In the centre of the ground-floor there were images of hideous aspect, in threatening attitudes, and, behind them, groups of small figures in stucco relief, plastered upon the wall, to exhibit the pains and penalties of hell. These were arranged in three or four rows, rising one above the other, until they reached the ceiling. Each group had its judge, criminal, executioner, and peculiar form of punishment. The judges

* Milne, pp. 69, 70.

were attired as officers generally are, and the executioners as police-runners. The grade of penalties was varied according to the heinousness of the culprit's crime, and the horrors of future punishment were depicted before the spectator in every possible form. To be whipped, to be bastinadoed, to be seared with red-hot irons, to be strangled, to be speared, to be beheaded, to be sawn asunder, to be flayed alive, to be squeezed, flattened, and crushed between two thick planks, to be slit up, to be bored through and through, to have the eyes dug or chiselled out, to have the limbs torn off one by one, to be plunged from a cliff or a bridge into a dungeon below, or into a rapid torrent, to be pounded in a heavy mortar, to be boiled in a hot-water cauldron, to be burnt up in a furnace, to be baked at the stake, to have hot liquids poured down the throat, &c., constitute the ideas of future punishment indulged in the books of this school."*

Here are no improving influences. Let us look in the direction of another *quasi* religious building—a Mohammedan mosque. It is dirty and dilapidated; the pillars which support the roof are ornamented with sentences from the Korán; a copy of this book may be found within, but the priest, although born in China, may be unable to speak or read Chinese, and the system, such as it is, is powerless and disqualified for action.

May we be permitted to look beneath the surface, and lay bare the domestic life and habits of the Chinese. They are a clothed people, and there is outward decency, more so than in the great cities of Europe. The female tunic, buttoning round the neck and down the side, and reaching to the knee, is peculiarly becoming and decorous, and, as worn by ladies, is as splendid as rich silks and gay colours can render it. The neck of the robe is protected by a stiff band, and the sleeves are large and long. But, alas! the decency is without. As a people, they are, in their habits, vile and polluted to a degree. On land and water the haunts of vicious pleasure, are to be found. It is not safe for young girls to go abroad alone, lest they be stolen for incarceration in these places.

A proud people, as they are, worldly disappointments weigh heavily upon them. An atheistical people, in the time of trouble they have nothing to fall back upon, and, in the exasperation of the moment, suicide is often their desperate resource.

"The popular modes of self-destruction are, drowning, hanging, and swallowing opium or gold-leaf: with officials, the first and the last are the most respectable methods. During the war with England, when their reverses were frequent, the military officers, in numerous instances, effected self-destruction in one or other of these ways. Various accounts are given of the use and effects of gold-foil for the purpose: one has it, that a quantity of the flimsy leaf, made up into a large bolus, is swallowed: when a cupful of water is drunk it expands the gold-leaf in the stomach, which distends so as to occasion speedy death. Another account explains, that a bundle of the loose foil is thrust down the throat to produce suffocation. One other mode of self-destruction is reported among the people as a fact, though it sounds fabulous to us. There is a bird called Seenhoh, on the crown of whose head there is a beautiful scarlet tuft of down, or velvet skin, in which, the natives believe, the poison of the serpent it is fond of eating determines. The downy crest is often formed into a bead, and that bead is concealed in the necklaces of the high officers for a suicidal purpose in case of imperial displeasure, which, as report goes, is easily effected by touching the venomous bead with the tip of the tongue, when death follows instantly."*

Japan, however, affords the fullest development of the suicidal mania. We shall hope for an early opportunity of dealing with the Japanese, as we are now doing with the Chinese character.

But let us glance at another sad evidence of social depravity—the infanticide of China. Some have denied it, or, at least, attempted to qualify their admission of its practice, and reduce it to the exceptional existence which it must be admitted to have in civilized Europe. But the crime is undoubtedly a *habit* of domestic life in China. The evidence lies within a narrow compass. The births of male and female children in China, as in other countries, are nearly equal. Very considerable numbers of Chinese emigrate to the Straits, California, Australia, &c. They are all men: they are never accompanied by their female relatives. Yet, notwithstanding this drain on the male population, it continues to be, in China Proper, considerably more numerous than the female. How is this to be accounted for? In the Fungwha district, some miles above Ningpo, there are never to be found, in any family, more than two daughters: in Ningpo, three.

* Milne's "Life in China," p. 86 – 88.

* Milne's "Life in China," p. 102.

Let us turn to one more trait of character, which may serve to convince us of the deplorable condition of this heathen nation, and their great need of Gospel light.

Fathers of families in China have absolute power over children, even to the extent of taking away life. In allowing extensive power to the heads of families, Chinese legislators appeared to think that parental affection would be a sufficient guarantee against its abuse. The following startling fact will suffice to prove that this is not always to be depended upon.

Some short time back a Missionary and his wife were residing in the city of Ningpo; their house was near the north gate, abutting on the river. It was the month of August, when the heat was intense, and the Missionary was ill with fever. Early in the morning, his wife, who was in the verandah, was startled by a cry, "Save my life, save my life." She looked in the direction of the sounds, and saw two men carrying between them a burden, which she soon perceived to be a human figure, with a sack thrown over it in such a way as to prevent the person from struggling or breaking away. Behind them walked a man, dressed as a Chinese gentleman, bearing in his hands a large stone. Unmoved by the cries which every now and then were uttered by the fettered person, the coolies bore him to the river's brink, and laid him down in the water on his face, where the mud was deep and soft. The gentleman then approaching, placed the heavy stone upon his feet, and withdrew, the Coolies squatting down upon the bank to watch the result. Half an hour having expired, they drew the body out of the mud, life being quite extinct, and bore it in the direction of a contiguous police-office. There it was met by the man who had superintended the murder, and was virtually the perpetrator of it. Standing forward erect, in the presence of the constable and a number of bystanders, he pointed to the body, and thus spake—"That was my son: he is such no longer: take him away, and let him be buried with the burial of a dog." The son had been a spendthrift, and had incurred heavy debts, for which, according to the laws of China, the father was responsible. A domestic murder solved the difficulty.

China, in all probability, will soon be thrown open to unrestricted intercourse with Europe The iron sledge of European power is being uplifted, and is menacing a ponderous stroke, before the weight of which the crumbling walls and dilapidated gates of her exclusive policy will be levelled with the dust. When the way is open, through the breach will pour in European life, with its evil and its good, its Gospel truth, and spurious imitations of that truth. On the extended plains of China, Popery hopes to achieve new victories, and there find compensation for loss of character and decreasing influence in Europe. It is remarkable that Romish Missions and Protestant Missions have alike fixed on the same locality as their head-quarters—Ningpo. It is the door into the great representative province of Che-keang, in whose well-watered soil are found the choicest products of China, and whose population comprises the literary, commercial, manufacturing, and labouring classes; a province so important, that a position acquired there must tell on the whole empire. Here, then, the Romish Societies *Pour la Propagation de la Foi* are sending their priests and *Sœurs de Charité* in considerable numbers. They are continually coming and going, and are busy in the work of proselytizing the natives. The transition from the mummeries of Boodh to the superstitions of the Papacy is easy. The points of similarity between the systems are numerous and obvious. The vow of celibacy taken by persons of both sexes, and their seclusion in monasteries and convents, "the monastic habit, holy water, counting rosaries to assist in prayer, worship of relics and canonization of saints, are alike features of both sects. Both burn candles and incense, and bells are much used in their temples. Both teach a purgatory, from which the soul can be delivered by prayers, and use a dead language for their liturgy, and their priests pretend to miracles." Above all, the female goddess who occupies so prominent a position in Buddhist mythology, finds its fac-simile in the Mary of the Romanists. At the same time, as a corruption of true religion, Romanism carries with it the *debris* of superior doctrines, which remain, like the insulated spots of cultivated grounds, gardens, and vineyards, amidst the desolation wrought by a deluge of fiery lava. These remains of divine truths crop out here and there, amidst the superstition in which they are imbedded, and superior, even in their broken and mutilated state, to any thing which mere heathenism can pretend to, suffice to place the Romish counterfeit in such a position of superiority over Buddhism as to ensure proselytes. But, pervaded as the system is with the most bitter hostility to scriptural Christianity, it leavens its own antagonism, and places them in direct opposition to the Gospel. The Romish Missionaries are proselytizing to a considerable extent, and are employing all their craft, which is by no

were attired as officers generally are, and the executioners as police-runners. The grade of penalties was varied according to the heinousness of the culprit's crime, and the horrors of future punishment were depicted before the spectator in every possible form. To be whipped, to be bastinadoed, to be seared with red-hot irons, to be strangled, to be speared, to be beheaded, to be sawn asunder, to be flayed alive, to be squeezed, flattened, and crushed between two thick planks, to be slit up, to be bored through and through, to have the eyes dug or chiselled out, to have the limbs torn off one by one, to be plunged from a cliff or a bridge into a dungeon or into a rapid torrent, to be pounded in a heavy mortar, to be boiled in a cauldron, to be burnt up in a furnace, to be baked at the stake, to have hot lead poured down the throat, &c., constitute the punishments of future punishment indulged in by the pupils of this school."*

Here are no impressive [illegible] look in the direction of a religious building—[illegible] is dirty and dilapidated. [illegible] support the [illegible] tences from [illegible] may be found [illegible] born in [illegible] Chinese [illegible] power [illegible]

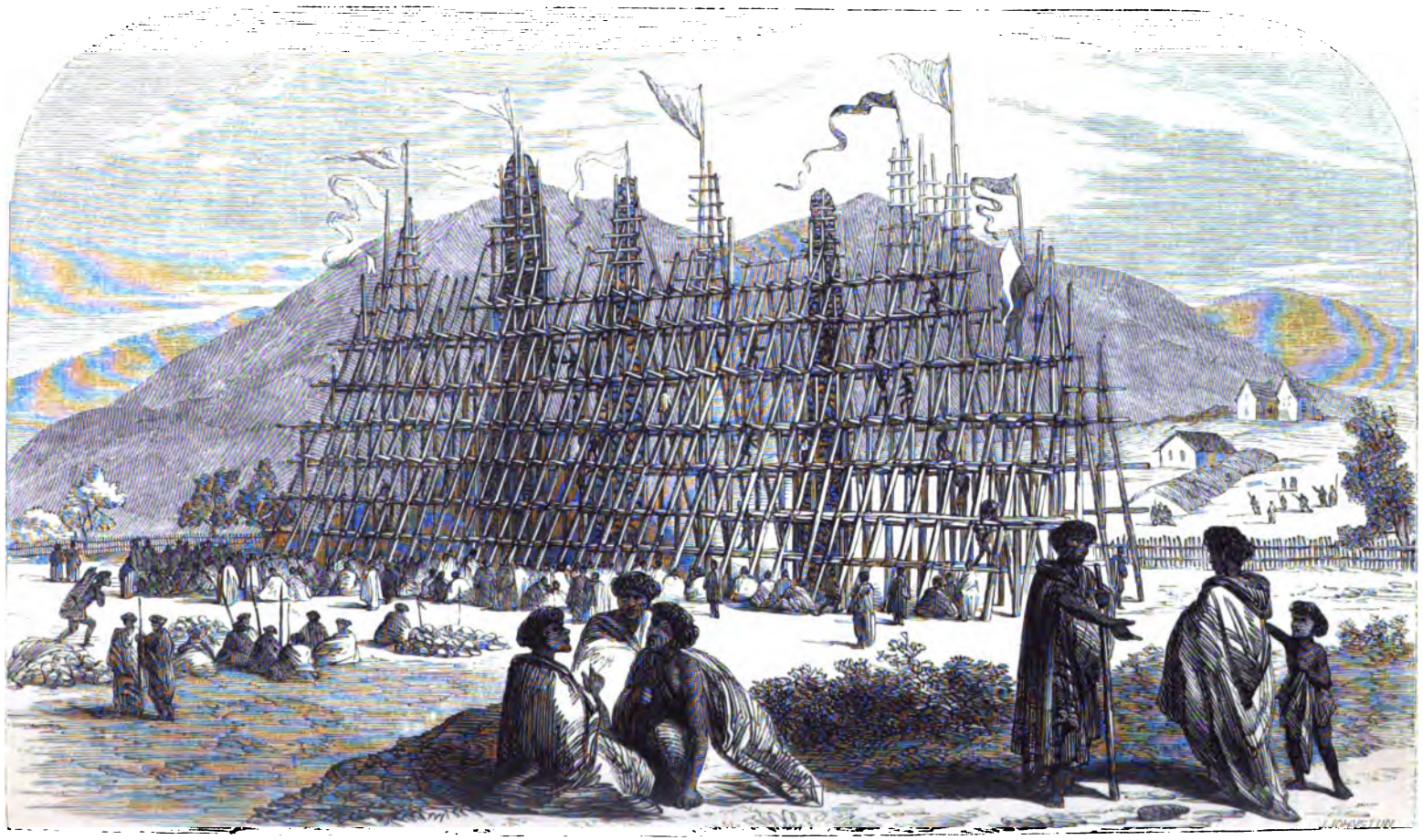
M[illegible] sur[illegible] he[illegible] y[illegible]

[illegible] trained in theology, &c. [illegible] periodical for [illegible] to be from R. P. [illegible]*que de la compagnie de Jesus*. He tells the world that the [illegible]—such is the word he [illegible] the kind of work in [illegible], which shifts immortal [illegible] kind of error to another, and [illegible] from God than they were [illegible] increases day by day. "At first some few families desired to come under the crook of the divine Shepherd; now entire hamlets are eager to enter his fold; and deputations from the heathen continue to arrive, desiring to have catechists who shall teach them the way to heaven." The locality of the Mission is described as "un pays gros d'espérance, une terre neuve qui, bien défrichée, donnerait des fruits abondants. The father adds, "Vous que êtes si devot a saint Joseph, vous apprendrez avec bonheur que ce grand [illegible] coup de main," [illegible] thought which suggested [illegible] when penetrating to a [illegible] district where heathenism [illegible] During the war [illegible] namely, that of dedicating to St. [illegible] verses were [illegible] chapels which he might succeed [illegible] and St. Joseph has been so pleased [illegible] purposed arrangement, that neo- [illegible] and catechists are already sprinkled [illegible] through the territory.

[illegible] however, if the success of the system depended on the aid which St. Joseph is to render it, we might well decide to treat its utmost efforts with indifference; but we fear its crafty adaptation to the requirements of the natural mind, and the unscrupulous way in which it compromises its convictions to its interest.

This we may be assured of, that Ningpo and Shanghae are busy centres of Romish efforts. Numerous foreign teachers are disguised as natives, besides a large staff of Chinese agents. These are spread abroad throughout the villages, where, in the Kiangnan vicarage alone, there are said to be "spiritual children" to the number of 70,000 souls. There are schools for boys and girls, chapels, monasteries, and to these they have added "the institution of religious women." The young women who compose it dedicate themselves to Mary, and consider themselves as chosen agents for the dissemination of her name and worship. Eight foreign sisters of mercy, in 1850, were smuggled into Shanghae for the purpose of raising up this female staff, and, taking advantage of the Buddhist nunneries, appear to have found materials ready to their hand.

In short, there is, amongst the agents of Rome, no lack of energy. Shall the Protestant church appear in the presence of the Chinese with less zeal, with an inferior organization, and disjointed efforts? Not so, we trust.



CHRISTIANITY IN ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND.

In the progress of human affairs, questions occasionally arise of such special magnitude and importance, that any amount of effort and self-sacrifice is well-bestowed in the endeavour to bring them to a satisfactory conclusion. Indeed it usually happens that the objects which may be had with little cost are of no value, while such as are really valuable, require persevering and arduous exertions. Experience shows, moreover, that in all such undertakings, it is precisely as when one addresses himself to climb a steep mountain. The nearer the summit the more precipitous the incline; the severest pinch precedes success. It is just then that the most determinate efforts are necessary, and any faltering in our resolutions, or slackening of our exertions, may undo all that has been done, and involve us in a deplorable discomfiture.

New Zealand has been the stage where, for a series of years, a great undertaking has been carried forward, one which has been attended with many difficulties, and has required, at the hands of those engaged in it, no small amount of labour and patience; but which from the deep interest and importance which attaches to it, has been justly deemed well worthy of being persevered in. The object to be attained has been the preservation of a native race in the presence of a powerful influx of colonization from the old world. The question again and again has been asked, Can the white man colonize without the destruction of the inferior aboriginal race, which, previously to his arrival, had the exclusive occupation of the land? Can colonization be carried on, only at a cost so fearful as the extinction of the inferior races; and is there no way by which a result so calamitous can be prevented, except by thwarting and discouraging that movement towards colonization, which naturally and necessarily arises in prosperous and powerful races, whose vigorous ratio of increase has rendered their native land a homestead too narrow for them? We confess that the history of colonization, so far as it has progressed, casts a gloomy shade on this question, and bears inscribed upon it so many painful records of aboriginal races blighted and perishing before the advancing footsteps of the white settler, that men have pronounced such an issue to be a sad yet unavoidable necessity. There are, indeed, painful and numerous facts extant on this subject. Yet are we persuaded that there exists no sad law of necessity which dooms the native to extinction that the white man may colonize and yet the native survive; and that colonization has been calamitous in its results, only because the white man has been false to the Christianity he professed, and because avowedly Christian Governments have allowed the migratory process to be carried forward on principles which Christianity not only never sanctioned, but plainly and peremptorily condemned. The white man, going forth as a colonist, has been too frequently the oppressor and destroyer of the aboriginal races, because he has acted, not as a Christian, but as a heathen, and has refused to be controlled or directed by the maxims of that very religion, the profession of which he still continued to regard as the great distinctive mark between the heathen and himself. We believe and are persuaded that races can meet, and, with a greater or less measure of difficulty adapting themselves to each other, eventually fuse, provided only that Christianity be permitted to exercise its just measure of control, feeling assured that it has power to restrain the outbreakings of human passions, and so moderate the impatience of selfishness, that the aboriginal race shall be contented to yield enough of territory to constitute a new and ample homestead for the settler, while, by the law of equity and the reciprocity of kindness, the latter is well contented that the native retain a convenient and suitable heritage for himself. The question is, whether Christianity has the power to effect so satisfactory a solution of this difficulty; and it is one on which we entertain no doubt, provided only that the great panacea, when the crisis comes, be afforded sufficient scope for action. Humane men have felt so strongly on this subject, that they have not hesitated to oppose themselves to colonization, and to interfere with its free action. It is in vain to pursue this course. The tide of migration must go on, and the surplus of population transfer itself from the older and densely crowded regions, to those which, while thinly populated, invite attention from their climate, position, and productive power. Enterprising, energetic, and rapidly increasing races must needs swarm when the mother hive becomes too strait for them. Nor is it necessary that so fruitless an attempt should be adventured upon. There is a safer and more suitable mode of action. Let Christianity have free course, going forth on its mission of peace

throughout the world; let it anticipate the outgoings of colonization, and prepare the aboriginal races for the coming of the white man. Let it act with more energy at home, and thoroughly permeate the centres of population. There is the opportunity. The Anglo-Saxon race is the great colonizing element, and Christianity in all its original purity has its place in the very midst of that population. Let it then be energetically worked at home and abroad. Home appliances, Missionary appliances, let them be vigorously employed. All that is needed is more holy consecration of pecuniary means, of personal influence and effort, to the work. Let the United Church of England and Ireland occupy the van. Let every individual holding a position in that church, and with the opportunity of being useful, if only he be disposed to use it, remember that the well-being of the world's population is more or less involved in his fidelity to his engagements, and that a dereliction of duty and service on his part, weakening as it does the momentum of home Christianity, is felt to the uttermost ends of our earth. Many an ungodly sailor, who introduces new vices and new miseries amidst the population of some heathen land, might have been, instead of a scourge, a benefactor of his species, if only the home pastor, who had charge over him in his early youth and boyish days, had more prayerfully instructed him. But this is what we want — only let Christianity precede and go forth with the advance of colonization, and the issues of the future shall not fail to contrast strongly and favourably with those of former times.

Christianity has had a fairer opportunity for the development of its peculiar influences, in this respect, in New Zealand, than in any other sphere of colonization which we can remember. In other instances it has not appeared in the field until after the races have met and mischief has ensued. We speak not now of adulterated and corrupt Christianity, such as the Spaniards and Portuguese introduced with them into the new continent. That exercised no restraining influences on the evil tendencies of human nature. Instead of compassion, there was bigotry; instead of persuasion, the sword. But we speak of that Christianity which is by revelation of God, and which, maintained in purity of doctrine by a constant reference to the written word, in the power of the Spirit exercises a holy influence on men's minds. But even this has, in most other instances, been placed at a disadvantage. Instead of preceding colonization, it has followed in its footsteps, and that slowly and at a distance. It has not reached the scene of action, until the alien races have met in fierce collision, and the surge thrown up at the point of confluence has been stained with blood; and yet even thus, under such disadvantages, it has, in more than one instance, vindicated its power, and has been in time to save some aboriginal tribe, otherwise doomed to destruction. It has found, amidst the ashes of once powerful nations, a seed of vitality, which it has cherished and fostered, until, rekindled into a flame, it has recovered the ground which had been lost, and exhibits anew a reproductive power and healthful increase. Such instances may be found in the now permanized stocks of aboriginal nations in the North-American continent, which once, under the effects of colonization, had so fearfully diminished, that their speedy extinction seemed to be inevitable. Yet, under the invigorating influences of Christianity, the remnants have unexpectedly revived, and the old stock, shooting out new branches, promises, after a season, to emulate the luxuriance of olden times. We would specify, as illustrations of what we have advanced, the Cherokees and Choctaws, as well as the Crees of Rupert's Land.

But, in New Zealand, Christianity had this peculiar advantage, that it preceded colonization. Indeed, so true is this, that unless Christianity had gone before, there would have been no colonization in New Zealand. Christianity prepared the way for the settler. The Christian Missionary ventured where none had gone before, except some outcast Europeans; men who, on its wild shores, sought a refuge from the consequences of their own crimes, and who, in order that they might be suffered to dwell among the natives, cast away the shreds of civilization, and became more heathen than the heathen themselves. The Maori was then a bye-word amongst the fierce cannibals by which those isles were peopled, no emigrant ever dreamed of adventuring himself. Had the original settlers, who landed in Cook's Straits in 1839 and 1840, been aware that the site at Port Nicholson, which they selected for their new town, Wellington, was the *locale* of fearful earthquakes, they would have directed their steps elsewhere; and wasted and desolated as these islands had been by fierce outbreaks of human passions, no Englishman, however anxious to emigrate, ever thought of selecting New Zealand as his new home. Suitable as the climate was to his requirements, its moral aspect was repulsive, and he preferred to di-

rect his steps to Canada, with its backwoods and severe winters. Yet thither went the Missionary. Where other men feared to go, he entered in, not alone, but with wife and children. English families, unprotected save of God, located themselves in the midst of fierce cannibals. We know of no more remarkable exemplification of true courage. When, in the battle-field, the blood is up, and in the strong excitement of the moment the man forgets both danger and himself, great deeds of prowess have been wrought. But the noble Christian man, who, actuated by the simple desire of bringing a savage race to the faith of Christ, entrusted himself to their hands, and fearlessly lay down to sleep amidst the cannibal warriors by whom he was surrounded, presented as grand an exemplification of true courage as the world has ever witnessed. And then to persevere, not for a few hours or even months, but for years, amidst the revelations of new horrors, as, day by day, they came to light; to live on in the midst of a people who seemed more like incarnate fiends than men, with an increasing perception of the danger of their position, and not knowing the instant when some unintentional infringement of native customs might be the signal for their being stripped, ill-treated, and perchance put to death;—this indeed was courage, and the men who endured all this were the conquerors of New Zealand. They won their way, not by law but by love; not by coercion, but by persuasion. They used not the sword, or the rifle, the thirty-two pounder, or serried military array; their weapons were not carnal: and these were the great men of New Zealand. Some from amongst the Missionary body became landowners, and that to a large extent. It is to be regretted that they so far sullied the greatness of their victory, and laid themselves open to reproach; but their circumstances were peculiar. They had large families, and were isolated from their native country. The natives regarded them as benefactors, and readily conveyed to them a portion of their land. They did so as an expression of their gratitude, and as a remuneration for valuable services rendered. They knew these services to be such as to be beyond the possibility of any adequate requital. But it would have completed the grandeur of the moral conquest of New Zealand if these men had kept their hands from receiving earthly recompences for their labours, or committing themselves to any procedure which looked like taking advantage of the grateful feelings of the natives to enrich themselves. Better far, if, resisting the temptation, they had said, "We seek not yours, but you," and had cast themselves, their children, and their family anxieties on the Lord. And many of them did so. In this matter of land acquirement they kept themselves unspotted from the world; and these men are now the most honoured and influential of the Missionary body in New Zealand.

But thus the work was done. Christianity went before, and New Zealand was prepared for colonization. The preparation consisted in the humanizing of the people. They ceased to be ferocious and repulsive. Colonists thought they might venture in where Missionaries so long had dwelt in safety. They did so, and the tide of emigration set in on the shores of New Zealand.

And now we wish to trace the moderating action of Christianity, how it has intervened between the two races, and restrained on either side the violence of human passions. This it has done in a very remarkable manner, and beyond our most sanguine expectations. Difficulties, indeed, have arisen; collisions have taken place; but when affairs looked most angry, tranquillizing influences have come in, like oil on the troubled waters, and the swellings of anger have unexpectedly subsided. A mysterious influence has been abroad, gentle and unobtrusive, yet effective to results, which mere human interference never could have accomplished. The colonist has been grasping, covetous, yet has he been restrained. The native has been distrustful, vindictive, yet, except in some few instances, he has not avenged himself. The colonist occupies lands which once belonged to the Maori, and yet the Maori continues to dwell in the presence of the white man. The colonists increase, the aboriginal native is said to decrease, yet the decrease may be incidental, and be soon arrested. The old stock may recover its vigour, and revive; and the sparse population, for such, whether it be regarded as colonial or aboriginal, it must be acknowledged to be at present, may become a mighty and amalgamated people, filling the whole land. At present the acreage is immensely in excess of the population, the area of the three islands amounting to 65,000,000 of acres; the aggregate of population, according to recent statistics, numbering not more than 115,318.* At present, in New Zealand, human beings, whether colonists or Maoris, are more scant than land, and therefore, on the lowest calculation, supposing men and

* *Vide* "Thomson's Story of New Zealand," vol. ii. Appendix. Tables 16 and 22, pp. 331 and 336.

acres to be of indifferently equal value, human beings are more valuable than acreage. To sacrifice human life to get possession of land is then indefensible policy. In all places human life is too costly to be expended in conflicts about land, but especially is this patent in New Zealand. By tact and patience, land may be had there, not only beyond all that the existing colonial population could ever by possibility require, but even if it were five hundred times multiplied. But if the attempt be made to wrest it from them by force, the Maoris will fight for it; nay, they will die to a man rather than surrender it to injustice and oppression. Men may be contented to pay dearly, if it secures to them the attainment of the coveted object; but in New Zealand the most expensive mode of proceeding is the least likely to be successful. But we must not anticipate our subject.

We shall proceed to mention some few of those eventful junctures in which the moderating influence of Christianity has been apparent, and which encourage hope, as to the future, that the same influence will not be wanting, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to produce like results.

The treaty of Waitangi may be referred to. The chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand ceded to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, "absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which they respectively exercised or possessed over their respective territories as sole sovereigns thereof;" while, on the other hand, the British Sovereign "confirmed and guaranteed to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to their respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties, which they collectively or individually possessed, so long as it be their wish and desire to retain them."* If at any time it became the pleasure of the proprietors to alienate their lands, it was stipulated that the exclusive right of pre-emption should rest with Her Majesty, the land to be taken at such prices as might be agreed upon.

One article more completed this national compact: in consideration of these cessions, Her Majesty the Queen of England "extended to the natives her royal protection, and imparted to them all the privileges of British subjects."

The moderating influences of Christianity could alone have effectuated this arrangement. Its action on the mind of the contracting parties induced that spirit of mutual concession which rendered such stipulations practicable. Without this, British statesmen would never have recognised the native land-title; and unless this had been done, the native would never have bowed his head to the sovereignty of England, until his power of resistance had been broken, and the sanguinary scenes which have stained other pages of colonial history had been re-enacted in New Zealand. Even as it was, some of the chiefs distrusted the arrangement, and spoke against it. "In speeches, full of quotations from ancient songs and familiar proverbs, they stated that the treaty would deprive them of their lands; that it was smooth and oily, but treachery was hidden under it; and these orations so moved the audience, that an unfavourable termination of the conference was anticipated." Eventually, however, after twenty-four hours deliberation, the treaty was signed by forty-six chiefs, a number which, before the end of June in the same year (1840), had increased to 512. "It was a wise measure, a Christian mode of commencing the colonization of the country." By thus recognising the legal title of the natives to all the land in the country, England disclaimed that grasping and oppressive principle which, in other fields of colonization, has been the frequent source of so many evils, namely, that Europeans have a right to appropriate to themselves, without the consent of the native proprietor, such lands as he has not brought under actual cultivation. The treaty of Waitangi, however inconvenient to the adventurer, who, in distant lands, acts as if he were under no law, and had a right to spoil the native so far as he is strong enough to do so, constitutes a grand national compact between the Crown of England and the people of New Zealand. It is the Magna Charta of their liberties to which our national honour stands pledged; and, at whatever cost, it must be preserved inviolate. On one or two occasions only does there appear to have been any vacillation in the minds of British statesmen on the subject. To these we shall have occasion to refer further on.

But, with such exceptions, the voice of British statesmen has uniformly recognised the force of the treaty of Waitangi, and their obligation to respect it. That such is the fact may be established by a series of references to various Parliamentary Papers and despatches. Thus, Lord John Russell, in his despatch to Governor Hobson, of January 20, 1841, states—"Her Majesty, in the royal instructions, under the sign manual, has distinctly established the general principle,

* Thomson, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20.

that the territorial rights of the natives, as owners of the soil must be recognised and respected; and that no purchases hereafter to be made shall be valid unless such purchases be effected by the Governor of the colony on Her Majesty's behalf."

Again, Mr. Under Secretary Hope to the New-Zealand Company, under date February 1, 1843—

"Lord Stanley is not prepared, as Her Majesty's Secretary of State, to join with the Company in setting aside the treaty of Waitangi, after obtaining the advantages guaranteed by it, even 'though it might be made with naked savages, or though it might be treated by lawyers as a praiseworthy device for amusing or pacifying savages for the moment.' Lord Stanley entertains a different view of the obligations contracted by the Crown of England; and his final answer must be, that as long as he has the honour of serving the Crown, he will not admit that any person, or any Government, acting in the name of Her Majesty, can contract a legal, moral, or honorary obligation to despoil others of their lawful or equitable rights."

Sir Robert Peel, in the New-Zealand debate of June 1845, protests against any attempt to evade the obligations of the treaty—

(Referring to a suggestion made by the New-Zealand Company), he says—"I believe there are a good many lawyers in the New-Zealand Company, and this may be the language of lawyers; but what was the language of statesmen?" . . . . (After citing Lord J. Russell's despatch, above referred to, he proceeds to say)—

"That was the language held by statesmen. That treaty was entered into with as much formality as their usages permitted; and are you now prepared, because you find the engagements onerous and inconvenient—inconvenient to yourselves, but injurious to the natives even — are you prepared to disclaim and repudiate the act of statesmen, and to concur with the lawyers that the treaty is a mere praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages? . . . . I ask, will you commence your relations with the colony by an abandonment of the obligations you have entered into? I will say, if ever there was a case where the stronger party was obliged by its position to respect the demands of the weaker, if ever a powerful country, was bound by its engagements with a weaker, it was the engagement contracted under such circumstances with the native chiefs."

Lord Stanley to Governor Grey, June 13, 1845, writes in the same strain—

"I repudiate with the utmost possible earnestness the doctrine maintained by some, that the treaties which we have entered into with these people are to be considered as a mere blind to amuse and deceive ignorant savages. In the name of the Queen, I utterly deny that any treaty entered into and ratified by Her Majesty's command was, or could have been, made in a spirit thus disingenuous, or for a purpose thus unworthy. You will honourably and scrupulously fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Waitangi."

And this assurance on the part of the British authorities was communicated by Governor Grey to a deputation of the principal chiefs, which waited upon him with reference to the land question, and the state of affairs generally. In a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, dated December 10, 1845, he says—

"I think it only necessary to add, in reference to the natives, that I have, in the most public manner, in the strongest terms, and upon repeated occasions, assured them that I had been instructed by Her Majesty most honourably and scrupulously to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Waitangi; that their welfare and happiness was an object of the most lively concern to the Queen; and that it would be my most earnest desire to carry out Her Majesty's most gracious wishes in their favour; and I am satisfied that these declarations on my part have produced a very favourable impression upon many of the most influential chiefs."

In his address to the Legislative Council, December 12, 1847, the Governor announces the same principles of action—

"I feel it to be due alike to the interests of both races of Her Majesty's subjects within this colony, to take this, the first opportunity which has been afforded me, of stating, in the most explicit terms, that I have been instructed most honourably and scrupulously to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Waitangi, by which the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests and fisheries, and other properties which the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and the respective families and individuals thereof, may collectively or individually possess, was confirmed and granted to them, so long as it may be their wish and desire to retain the same."

We cannot but regard the treaty of Waitangi as a grand preliminary arrangement which raised New Zealand above the ordinary level of colonization proceedings, and as a dignified announcement on the part of the British crown of its determination, while it sanctioned colonization in these islands, to provide at the same time for the preservation and well-being of the native race. We may be per-

mitted to notice one more despatch, of a noble character, from Lord John Russell, in which Governor Hobson "is directed to protect the aborigines from injustice, cruelty, and wrong; to establish and maintain friendly relations with them; to turn into useful channels their hitherto neglected capacities for labour; to avoid every practice injurious to their health or the diminution of their numbers; and to educate the young, and diffuse among the whole population the blessings of Christianity. 'If the experience of the past,' observes his lordship, 'compels me to look forward with anxiety to the too probable defeat of these purposes by the sinister influences of the many passions, prejudices, and physical difficulties with which we shall have to contend, it is, on the other hand, my duty and your own to avoid yielding in any degree to that despair of success which would assuredly render success improbable. To rescue the natives of New Zealand from the calamities of which the approach of civilized men to barbarous tribes has hitherto been the almost universal herald, is a duty too sacred and important to be neglected, whatever may be the discouragements under which it may be undertaken.'"*

Let us proceed to trace the moderating influence of Christianity at another juncture in the history of New-Zealand colonization. Collisions have taken place between the two races. This is not surprising. The wonder is, that, with so many sources of contention, the disputes have hitherto been so few, and of such short duration. The grand cause of disquietude has been land and its possession.

Let it be remembered, that, with the Maori, territorial rights constitute a vital question. "Eighteen historical nations of New Zealanders occupy the country." Thomson, in his "Story of New Zealand," enumerates the names and localities of these tribes, with most of whom the annals of Missionary enterprise have rendered us familiar; the Rarewa, at the extreme north of the North Island, where may be found our Mission station Kaitaia, with its European Missionaries and native catechists; bordering on these, the Ngapuhi, Hongi's renowned tribe, the first to obtain fire-arms, and the first to experience the subduing influences of Christianity; around Auckland, where they are intermingled with the settlers, the Ngatiwhatua; southward of the neck of land on which Auckland stands, and in occupation of some of the finest districts, the Waikato and Ngatimaniopoto natives, numbering 9800 souls; on the islands and bays of the Hauraki gulf, and along the banks of the Thames, the blood-connected Ngatipaoa and Ngatimaru natives, 5000 in number. We next approach a widely-scattered people, "the bold and adventurous Ngatiawa, numbering not more than 4000 souls;" yet are they to be found along the east coast of the North Island, on the shores of the Bay of Plenty, on the west coast, along the Waitara river, near Taranaki, and on both sides of Cook's Straits. There is no tribe, which, if unjustly dealt with and unhappily alienated, is so fitted to become a seed-plot of disaffection in New Zealand; and this is the tribe with which we have just had a sharp collision in the Taranaki district.

"At Maketu, on the coast of the Bay of Plenty, and around the borders of the Rotorua, Tarawera, and other lakes of that interesting geological district, live the Ngatiwhakaue natives, a people numbering 3200, and distinguished for good noses and Jewish features." These, from their secluded position, are, of all the tribes, the least advanced in civilization. To those already enumerated may be added the Ngatituwharetoa, around Lake Taupo; the Taranaki tribe west of Mount Egmont; tending towards the embouchure of the Wanganui, the Ngatiruanui; on both banks of the Wanganui, the Ngatihau; the Ngatiraukaua, southward of the Wanganui; the Ngatitoa, in the sheltered coves of Cook's Straits; besides the Whakatowhea, the Ngatiporu, and Ngatikahungunu along the east coast from the Bay of Plenty to Cape Palliser. It may be observed, in glancing over these tribal names, that the prefix "Ngati" signifies "offspring." "Ngati, therefore, corresponds with the Irish O and the Scotch Mac."*

These eighteen nations are subdivided into tribes, to such an extent, that the Ngatikahungunu, numbering not so many as 4000 souls, comprises, in its narrow limits, not less than forty-five tribes;† that is, on an average, about eighty-two persons to each tribe. Each tribe comprising several families, has one at its head, "who, with the tribe, acknowledges the chief of the nation as his lawful lord." The land is the property of the tribe by a communal title. Any individual of the tribe, by clearance or cultivation, may appropriate a portion of the land, and transmit it to his posterity, as, so far as use is concerned, specially their own, but without the power of alienating it from the tribe. The individual

* Thomson, vol. ii. p. 42; and Parliamentary Papers.

* Thomson, vol. i. p. 93.

† Thomson gives some of the names (see vol. i. p. 93), adding, that he only gives a moiety of the clans.

right had force only so far as it consisted with the communal title. Any alienation of the tribal property required tribal consent. "The individual claim did not give the individual the right to dispose of it to Europeans."* The New Zealanders "are rich as tribes rather than as individuals, most of their natural and much of their acquired property being owned, or at least enjoyed, by a group of families in common, rather than by any one exclusive member in particular. Thus there is neither great individual wealth nor poverty among them."†

Now, colonization, at its very outset, infringed upon this tender point of native character, and that in consequence of the irregular proceedings of the New-Zealand Company. They proceeded to locate their emigrants on land which the natives declared they had never parted with. "On the 22d of January 1840, the Company's first emigrant ship arrived at Port Nicholson, and before the end of the year 1300 settlers disembarked. The natives were transported with wonder at the sight of so many white women and men, and inquired if the whole tribe, meaning all the people of England, had come to New Zealand. The natives instructed the settlers in building huts, and cheerfully sold them numerous pigs and abundance of potatoes. There was no quarrelling, and both races lived in confidence of each other." The entrance to the valley of the Hutt was selected as the site of the first town, but its exposure to the sea rendered this spot unsuitable, and a more convenient locality was selected on the other side of the harbour, but one against the occupation of which the natives protested, as they declared they had never sold it, and that the settlers were acting unjustly in appropriating it. This led the emigrants to institute inquiries "into the nature of the Company's land purchases." It was then found that land to the amount of many millions of acres—Thomson says twenty millions—upon which 10,000 souls were actually resident, had been purchased from fifty-eight persons, of tribes different from the population in occupation of the land, thus ignoring the territorial rights of so large a number of individuals, "each of whom, according to native custom, had a vested right in some part of it." It is not surprising that, under such circumstances, misunderstandings arose between the two races; but the forbearance of the natives, so recently brought to a profession of Christianity, does surprise us. "They did not commit personal violence or steal, but pulled down houses erected on disputed lands, and informed Colonel Wakefield beforehand that such acts would be perpetrated. Singular to relate, none of the property within the houses was destroyed or taken away."

Similar mal-arrangements, on the part of the New-Zealand Company, prevailed at Wanganui, on the west coast, where it was proposed to form a second settlement. The settlers, on their arrival, "took possession of the land pointed out as their own by the Company's agent; but the natives warned them off, and announced that they were ready to fight for their inherited possessions." At Taranaki there arose similar altercations, of which we shall not now speak, as the affairs of that district well require to be separately dealt with. At length, in 1843, occurred the fearful collision in the Wairau valley, province of Nelson. This tract was claimed by the New-Zealand Company as their property: the natives denied that they had ever sold it. The Europeans sent in men to survey the valley. "Rauparaha and Rangihaeta, the proprietors, considering this the act of taking possession, burned down the surveyor's huts, but, before applying the match, they carefully removed, and preserved for the owner's use, all the surveyor's property within the huts." Here it might have been supposed the Europeans would have paused, and looked around for some peaceable mode of settling the dispute. Instead of this, a magistrate's warrant was issued for the apprehension of the great chief, Rauparaha, a mode of proceeding of the nature of which he was wholly ignorant, and to which he was not the least likely to submit, and a posse of armed Europeans, headed by the police magistrate and Captain Wakefield, proceeded to execute it. They found the chief surrounded by his armed followers, and occupying a strong position. A discussion ensued, during the course of which Rauparaha deprecated fighting, and desired that the dispute might be referred to the land-commissioner. Instead of this, the Europeans attempted to seize him. A conflict ensued; shots were fired, one of which struck a Maori female of rank, who was present—Rangihaeta's wife and Rauparaha's daughter. That untoward event exasperated the savage nature of the chiefs, so that they could no longer control themselves. Some of the Europeans had fallen; many more had fled. A few remained upon the field. Finding resistance hopeless, they surrendered, and were all butchered on the spot. "Those who fell in the battle were interred on the banks of the Tau Marina, and those who were massacred lie on a knoll in

* Thomson, vol. i. p. 97.

† Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 177.

full sight of the valley for which they lost their lives in vain."

All these conflicts originated in one source, an attempt on the part of the settlers to possess themselves of lands which the native had never sold, and over which he still claimed proprietary; and there is no doubt that they did induce much distrust in the native mind, and an alteration of feeling towards the new comers. The news of the conflict in the Wairau valley "spread like fire among flax from hamlet to hamlet all over the country, and being magnified in the usual manner, gave confidence to the restless and dissatisfied." The settlers, on their side, were equally irritated and disquieted; at one moment fearing lest they might be attacked at a disadvantage by the natives, and then, as the military began to arrive from New South Wales, urgently demanding that hostilities should be commenced, and vengeance exacted for the blood which had been shed. Such was the aspect of affairs on the arrival of Governor Fitzroy in Jan. 1844. "The settlers complained of the natives with bitterness, and the natives stated that the settlers were ill-disposed towards them." The hatred of races seemed to have commenced. In July 1844 there arose, in the Bay of Islands district, the disturbances connected with Heke, who, having married the late Hongi's daughter, seemed to think he ought to be a chief man among the Maoris, and put himself forward as a leader of the disaffected party. His first act was to cut down the flagstaff at Korareka, and carry away the signal balls. The military force at Auckland was forthwith strengthened, and preparations were made to crush this embryo insurrection, when the mediation of some friendly chiefs, who undertook to pay for the flagstaff, and to be responsible for Heke's future good behaviour, prevented the commencement of hostilities; and so matters might have sunk into quietude, and the smouldering fire have died out, but for ill-omened news from England, which reached the islands late in 1844; namely, that a Committee of the House of Commons had declared the treaty of Waitangi an injudicious proceeding. This "produced evil results. Heke made it the means of convincing the doubtful, and of strengthening the zeal of his lukewarm adherents." "He wrote to the Governor that he now believed they were to be deprived of their lands, like the aboriginal Australians." The flag-staff at Korareka was cut down a second time. Set up again, the pole being sheathed with iron, surrounded with a stockade, and guarded by soldiers, it became the point of conflict. "See," said Heke, "the flag-staff does mean taking a possession, or why else should they persist in re-erecting it. "On March 11, 1845, he bore down with his wild bands on the British troops, driving them from their position. Korareka was abandoned, the whole body of Europeans, inhabitants and soldiers, embarking in the ships which were in harbour, and leaving the New-Zealand warriors masters of the field. Yet in the moment of victory were they not forgetful of the claims of humanity: "children left on shore in the hurry of the flight were sent by the enemy uninjured to their parents."

Auckland, it was thought, would be the next point of attack, and the panic amongst the settlers was extreme. Such as were in the country districts, "dreading a war of races, congregated around Auckland. Several colonists left the country, and property might be had at a nominal price." Defensive measures were adopted; block houses built, and earthworks thrown up; men trained to arms, and troops and ammunition summoned from Australia. Ultimately it was resolved to take the aggressive, and attack a fortification at Okaihau, where Heke was. The British force consisted of 400 men; but the effort was unsuccessful, the Pa being found impregnable without artillery. Another Pa, of greater strength, was attacked in June 1845, by a stronger force of 630 British troops, with five guns, besides native allies. After a cannonade of brief duration, a storming party advanced to the assault, but was repulsed with a loss of 100 killed and wounded, besides two officers. Subsequently, during the night, the Maoris evacuated the Pa.

The effect of this resolute stand made by Heke and his followers was precisely such as might have been expected. The excitement in the native mind was intense. Great chiefs, such as Te Heuheu, of Taupo, openly sympathized with the insurgent chief. "He told Mr. M'Lean that he considered Heke in the right, and that the English were an insatiable people, desirous of conquering all nations. The inhabitants of remote villages in the interior often sat up until day-light, in expectation of messages from the seat of war, and none of the conflicts lost any thing in splendour from the distance the news was carried. Heke rose high in the estimation of his race: he was the first warrior who had fought against England's soldiery." What prevented an universal rising on the part of the Maoris? It was precisely the opportune moment. The entire European population of these islands did not amount to 13,000. They were dispersed around the coast in eight settlements—Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, in the Middle Island, Taranaki, Bay of Islands,

reduced from a population of 669 in 1843, to 10 in 1845; Akaroa, Hokianga, Wanganui: of these, the most populous, Wellington contained 3701 Europeans; the least so, Hokianga, 120. The Maoris in force occupied the centre of the island, its mountain fastnesses, and commanded the gullies, which, opening out into valleys as they approach the fertile coast districts, gave them the opportunity of rushing down like a flood upon the European settlements. They might have attacked them simultaneously, or cut them off in detail. What stayed them at such a moment? The repulse of the British troops from before Heke's pa at Oheawai occurred in July 1845; the expected reinforcements did not reach Auckland earlier than October of the same year; while the new Governor, Grey, was a month later in his arrival. This period of four months would have sufficed, had the natives so decided, to have accomplished the utter destruction of every settlement in the colony, and the expulsion, for a time at least, of the settlers from the land; so that the new Governor should have been greeted on his arrival by the ruins of burned houses, and the bodies of men who fell in protecting the retreat of the aged and feeble to the boats and ships. What preserved the infant colony at such a crisis, and warded off a stroke so disastrous? Christianity. The same gentle, unobtrusive, yet powerful influence which prepared New Zealand for colonization, after that colonization had commenced, preserved the infant settlements from destruction. The Missionaries unceasingly exerted themselves in tranquillizing the excited feelings of the natives, and dissuading the chiefs who had hitherto remained neutral from openly identifying themselves with the cause of Heke. But all these efforts would have been unsuccessful had the native character undergone no change—had there been no substratum of Christian principle to act upon. The old war-loving Maori would have grasped his tomahawk and rifle, and preluding by a war dance the work of slaughter to which he was about to commit himself, have rushed forward with fiendish delight to revel in scenes of blood. But however strongly native feelings sympathized with Heke, he was left to stand or fall alone: and Governor Grey on his arrival, proceeded to crush him at his last stronghold of Ruapekapeka. Its fall broke the power of the insurgent chiefs; their followers dwindled away; and they were glad to write penitent letters to the Governor, desiring peace. And although, in 1846 and 1847, partial disturbances took place in the valley of the Hutt, near Wellington, and in the Wanganui district, they were but detached fires, and were soon put out; and in the beginning of 1848 peace between the races was restored.

It was on this occasion the hakari, or feast, was given to which our engraving refers.

"The hakari was a banquet given by natives to each other, for the purpose of making peace, honouring chiefs, talking over important affairs, or in return for a similar feast. Twelve months before the festival, food was planted, and preparations made for it. Previously to the arrival of the guests, the food was piled, either on the ground or on wooden scaffolds. Such erections were square pyramidal towers, having an elevation of fifty feet, or ranges of six feet high, extending from half a mile to two miles. There were several compartments in these receptacles for food, each being filled up with sweet potatoes, taros, maize, fern root, potted birds, dried fish, karaka berries, and other things; but there were feasts where nothing was served but fern-root.

"When the banquet was given in return for another, the quantity of food was expected to be greater than that at the original feast. Taunts of illiberality were cast upon tribes not following this custom. On the day of the hakari, in the presence of the assembled guests, the chief host called out each tribe by name, and pointed out its share of the food; and the guests carried away what they were unable to eat. At several modern banquets the surplus food has been sold to European traders present on the occasion. Six thousand guests have been counted at such banquets. Like battles, they were remembered for years, particularly when the entertainment was sumptuous. The wood of the banquet building was used by the guests to cook their food.

"Like Indians, who fell trees to gather the fruit, the New Zealanders at these banquets overlooked the future for the present. Such feasts are highly characteristic of the people, and were often given to have their hospitality noised abroad. To gain this end, tribes worked hard, and endured hunger for months without repining. Magnificence is displayed by savage races in high piles of food, and by civilized races in banquets where the grand feature is elegance more than abundance."*

We shall ever regard so rapid and comparatively bloodless a termination of a war, which threatened to be internecine, as one of the most remarkable facts in the history of New-

* Thomson, vol. i. pp. 189—191.

Zealand colonization. It cannot be ascribed to the superior character of the British force. On more than one occasion the troops had been successfully resisted; nor was their numerical strength at any time enough to overawe the natives, the strongest body brought into the field, on the attack of Ruapekapeka, not amounting to 1200 men. The restraint put upon the native population at such a crisis reminds us of the manner in which the swellings of the Jordan were stayed that the Israelites might pass over—it was at the time when its waters were at the highest, "for Jordan overfloweth all his banks in the time of harvest." Then it was, at the most unlikely moment, that they stood upon an heap, and were marvellously restrained. And it was at the moment of strongest excitement, when their national susceptibilities had been most keenly wounded; when the idea was general amongst them that the British legislature would not keep good faith in respect to the treaty of Waitangi, and that their lands would be unjustly wrested from them; when the breast of many a powerful chief heaved with indignation, and his followers only awaited the signal to commence war—just then, in the time of overflowing, was the flood restrained, and the colonists permitted to remain in safety. An unseen hand interposed, and prevented a catastrophe. When the natives become weak, and the settlers strong, may the latter remember to exercise a similar forbearance!

Twelve years have passed away since the termination of the Wanganui outbreak. The native and aboriginal races still dwell in the presence of each other; and until recently there has been peace. They had tried one another's strength, and the result taught them, for a time at least, mutual respect. "The New Zealanders came out of the conflict with no ill feelings against the English. They admit that some of their positions were taken, but say these advantages were won more by the mind than by the sword. Never was a war with a savage race conducted with fewer excesses and less barbarity; and on the withdrawal of the troops from the Bay of Islands in the year 1858, the Ngapuhi tribe, as if to remove every vestige of defeat, erected the flag-staff at Kororeka, which had been cut down by Heke in 1845."*

Since then, important changes have taken place on both sides. New Zealand has received a constitution—one intended to be comprehensive in its character, to include both races, and to bestow on each alike the elective franchise and privilege of political status. The seventh section of the Act appears to be very explicit on the subject—"The members of every such council shall be chosen by the votes of the inhabitants of the province who may be qualified as hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, every man of the age of twenty-one years or upwards having a freehold estate in possession situate within the district for which the vote is to be given of the clear value of 50*l.* above all charges and incumbrances, and of or to which he has been seised or entitled, either at law or in equity, for at least six calendar months next before the last registration of electors; or having a leasehold estate in possession situate within such district, of the clear annual value of 10*l.*, held upon a lease which, at the time of such registration, shall not have less than three years to run; or having a leasehold estate so situate, and of such value as aforesaid, of which he has been in possession for three years or upwards next before such registration; or being a householder within such district occupying a tenement within the limits of a town (to be proclaimed as such by the Governor for the purposes of this Act) of the clear annual value of 10*l.*; or without the limits of a town, of the clear annual value of 5*l.*, and having resided therein six calendar months next before such registration as aforesaid, shall, if duly registered, be entitled to vote at the election of a member or members for the district."

This at first was regarded as investing with the electoral privilege all inhabitants of a province, whether colonial or native, who should be of the age of twenty-one years, and who should be possessed of an estate of the indicated value. In the case of the native it has, however, been recently ruled that his estate does not qualify him to vote, unless it be held under a Crown grant. The result of this decision is thus stated by Dr. Martin, late chief justice of New Zealand, in a memorandum on native affairs drawn up at the request of the Governor, dated May 12, 1860—"It is now held that occupation under a native title does not in any case entitle the occupant to a vote; consequently the general assembly cannot claim dominion over a race which it does not represent;" and also by Mr. Swainson, late Attorney-General of New Zealand, in a similar document—"Though the constitution is called 'representative,' it has been decided that it does not confer the elective franchise: they have consequently no voice in the Colonial Legislature; and at the present moment they are subject, under the so-called representative constitution, to the government of a ministry in whose election they have no voice," &c.

* Thomson, vol. ii. p. 151.

The first elections took place in 1853. One hundred natives are said to have been on the electoral roll. The only one which could be designated as a contested one occurred at Auckland, the centre of the native population, where there was a severe contest for the office of superintendent, the New Zealanders being the more interested in the election, inasmuch "as both candidates were personally known to them — Colonel Wynyard, of the 58th regiment, from having held the office of Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, and Mr. William Brown, from his extensive commercial dealings with the natives. "On nomination-day considerable bodies of natives congregated in the streets of Auckland to witness the ceremony. When they heard the shouts of the electors before the hustings, and saw the violent gesticulations of the speakers, they withdrew to a distance; but when roars of laughter were mingled with angry words they looked perfectly amazed. Suddenly, as if comprehending the spirit of the strange scene, so unlike any thing they had ever seen before in the manners and customs of the English, they joined in laughing at the practical jokes played off on the occasion. When the hustings were vacated, several resident Maoris clambered into them, and with much merriment addressed the mob in a sort of monkey-like mimicking of the speakers."*

On the last day of 1853, Sir George Grey returned to England, having governed New Zealand during a most critical period of eight years. He wielded his power with unflinching firmness. A friend of the native, and anxious, in every practicable way, to promote his true welfare, he yet permitted no trifling with the Queen's sovereignty, and crushed every attempt at insurrection with vigorous promptitude. His was just the character and bearing to command the respect of the natives, and they valued him accordingly. His retirement from the government of New Zealand caused them the deepest regret, for they felt they were losing a friend on whose justice and impartiality they could rely. "From tribes resident near the English settlement, from tribes at a distance, from chiefs who had fought for and against the English, addresses were sent to Governor Grey, breathing a spirit of confidence and attachment. Heitikis, and other ancestral ornaments, almost never parted with, were freely given to him; songs were composed, and speeches full of eloquence delivered. Hone Te Paki said, "Let the meeting make known its unanimous wish to keep Governor Grey: the ashes of our fathers are in their tombs, and he has witnessed their deaths; Te Riepa is dead; Mare is dead; Hori Takiware is dead; Wetere Te Pake is dead; and other chiefs of Waikato. Governor Grey, come back to us whom you have left in grief, or whom you leave in their grief.' "*

On the 24th of May 1854, the first New-Zealand Parliament was opened, and the first step on the part of its members was to agitate for responsible government, for which the constitution made no provision. The executive council, with whose advice and assistance the Governor was to act in the administration of the colony, were not necessarily members of the legislative council. They were persons holding office under the Crown, and responsible only to the sovereign. Thus between the legislative assembly and the Government, there existed no recognised mode of communication. The first act, therefore, of the assembly was to move a resolution, desiring the establishment, without delay, of ministerial responsibility in the conduct of legislative and executive proceedings by the Governor. To this demand the head of the executive for the time being, Colonel Wynyard, the senior officer in command of the troops, felt himself unable to give a favourable reply, as he was only acting *pro tempore* until the arrival of Sir George Grey's successor; nor was this demand conceded until the close of the third General Assembly in September 1855, when Colonel Gore Browne, the new Governor, stated it to be his intention to carry on the government by responsible advisers, and in no other way, all questions of importance being deferred until the introduction of the new principle, after a dissolution of the assembly, and a re-election. In making, however, this concession to the wishes of the colonists, one point was excepted—the Governor reserved to himself the direction of native affairs, a reservation which was approved of by the Home Government, and assented to by the assembly. The justice of such an arrangement is obvious. It was to the Crown the natives ceded the sovereignty. A responsible ministry holds its position by a majority of votes in the House of Representatives. In that assembly no native has as yet occupied a place: they remain unrepresented. The Legislative Assembly is exclusively colonial. Its elective members are chosen by the suffrages of the colonists. They are therefore the exponents of the colonial mind, and must be regarded as necessarily and exclusively devoted to the interests of those whose representatives

* Thomson, vol. ii. p. 209.

* Thomson, vol. ii. p. 210.

they are.. The interests of both races are really identical. Whatever conduces to the prosperity of the one is for the advantage of the other, and *vice versâ*. But this is not always and at once perceptible. They not unfrequently appear to be antagonistic. To give to either race the right of administering the affairs of both would be most undesirable. It would place the dominant race under a new temptation, and, even if they rose superior to it, would leave them exposed to obloquy and misrepresentation. The other section of the population would regard themselves as consigned to a position of inferiority, and placed under a yoke. This would render them discontented and distrustful, and induce alienation and disaffection. It was therefore a wise decision that the direction of native affairs should remain in the hands of the Queen's representative. Still it does not seem to have been regarded as a settled point, on which no encroachments were to be attempted. It would have been well, indeed, for the future peace of New Zealand, if the native tabu could have been applied to it, so as to invest it with a recognised inviolability. But it has been far otherwise. The action of the responsible ministry on the reserved point has been like the incoming tide on whatever resists its progress: it still works onward. If obstructed, it retires, but only in order to recover strength for a new effort. If it cannot obtain all, it takes a part, and, step by step, makes good its progress. The Governor, with reference to this his special duty, the direction of native affairs, is placed in very unfavourable circumstances. In financial matters he is in a position of entire dependence on the ministry; and can carry out the details connected with his important branch of the executive only so far as he may be supplied with funds by the colonial legislature. His position, therefore, has been anomalous and painful. Concessions are required from him, and unless he yields, he is exposed to obloquy, and reduced to an incapability of action. However much to be regretted, it is not surprising that he has given way. The first concession seems to have been made in the year 1856, when the Native Reserves Act was introduced. As the Bill originally stood, the powers conferred were left to the uncontrolled discretion to the Governor, but the General Assembly claimed to interfere, and a clause was introduced, providing that the Governor should act only with the advice and consent of the council, by which we are to understand the responsible ministry. The Governor for a while refused to accede, and at last only gave, to use his own words, a reluctant assent, on condition of the correspondence being transmitted, with the Bill, to the Imperial Government. The Secretary of State's reply settled the question. The Governor was informed, that, in legal strictness, the clause was opposed to the principle of native management agreed upon between him and his ministry; but that, in the expectation he would be able to work the two principles in harmony, the Governor's assent would not be overruled. Thus the Governor has greatly embarassed his own position, and shackled his liberty of action. Moreover, the colonial element was placed, by this concession, in the very position which it was most undesirable it should occupy, namely, that of interfering in native affairs without native co-operation. To this concession we attribute the tendency which of late has unequivocally manifested itself among the natives to separate themselves from the Europeans, and, as a distinct race, with dissimilar interests, to raise up from amongst themselves the elements of government and social order—a tendency which has more specially manifested itself in the king movement. The natives are fully aware of the alteration which has taken place, and however unmistakeably loyal they are to the British Queen, and prompt to recognise her authority in the person of her representative, they are resolved not to submit themselves to the rule of the Legislative Assembly, so long, at least, as it continues exclusively colonial, and not until it becomes sufficiently comprehensive to include the representatives of both sections of the population.

We feel that we are anticipating our materials, and introducing matter which will have to be again dealt with in a subsequent place; but however desirable it may be to lead forth with perspicuity the various matters which require the reader's attention, in order that he may thoroughly understand the position of affairs in New Zealand, it is difficult to avoid entirely the foreshadowing of what is yet future on the subject. We shall at present dwell no further on this point, than simply to introduce one passage from a memorandum of the Secretary on Native Affairs, dated September 20, 1858—

"In ceding the sovereignty of the country, the New Zealanders confided in the paternal wisdom and care of the British Government. It is conceived, therefore, that the administration of native affairs cannot, consistently with good faith, be entrusted to any but Her Majesty's Representative, while the Maoris continue a distinct and separate people. As they become incorporate and amalgamated with the colonists, they should take their pro-

per position under colonial institutions. Nor is it at all desirable to perpetuate the distinction of race? Every effort should be used, and every facility afforded, to induce the Maori gradually to come over from the ranks of his countrymen to those of the colonists, and to exchange his aboriginal right on the soil for one derived from the Crown. Under existing circumstances, however, it is deemed of the highest importance that their relations with the English nation should remain in the hands of the Government by which they were established. The personal influence of Her Majesty's Representative has always been great in the estimation of the natives, who are willing to acknowledge it; and it is believed to be of paramount importance to the general weal that this influence should be maintained. To transfer would be to destroy it, and would shake that confidence in the justice of the Crown which is now held by the natives, who are too shrewd observers to be imposed upon by the mere semblance of power without its reality. A very large physical force would be insufficient to maintain a power equal to that which is now exercised by Her Majesty's Representative."

We must here break off this subject. Much more remains for consideration. The existing condition of the respective races, their increase or decrease, their advancement—the one in colonial prosperity, the other in Christianity and civilization; the difficulties which have arisen in the adjustment of their mutual relations, more especially as regards the retention or acquisition of land; the lamentable collision at Taranaki, and the circumstances which led to it; the perils and calamities in which our New-Zealand dependency must be involved, if force, instead of reason and persuasion, be resorted to as a means of solving these difficulties; the necessity that more consideration be shown to the feelings of the native, if we expect him to consider the necessities of the settler in the matter of land; all these yet present a wide field for investigation and reflection.

With the charter of self-government "Her Majesty granted a seal to the colony. It exhibits a New Zealander with his war-dress and spear, and a European covered with a municipal robe. Religion and justice are represented by a cross and scales. The seal is very characteristic; but the spear in the New Zealander's hand has the wrong end upwards, perhaps to indicate that strife had ceased." That it may be so, let all the emblems grouped together in the seal be preserved intact. If the scales be removed, and justice no longer preside over the administration of affairs, the spear in the native's hand will again have the point erected, and strife be rekindled. Indeed, the first blow has been already struck. Unless by generous and prompt action, on the part of Her Majesty's Government and Representative, the mischief be arrested, we shall have a war of races, in which the native race shall perish, and the colonial be miserably wasted, and reduced to a remnant. The Maori, with his war-dress and spear, will be effaced from the seal, and the European remain alone, impoverished and enfeebled, too much so to need, for many years to come, a constitution and a seal; a poor dependent for a mere existence on the generosity of the mother-country; and, if urgent circumstances should render necessary the withdrawal of her military force, as the Romans were compelled to withdraw their legions from Britain, unable to defend himself from a foreign aggression, and living only to lament, when too late, the pitiless extermination of his Maori brother. The Lord avert all such ill omens! That they will be averted we have this as a ground of hope, *the cross upon the shield.* Christianity, which has done so much for New Zealand, to complete her work will do still more.

THE WAR IN NEW ZEALAND.

We had written so far when the painful tidings reached us of a fresh conflict between the Queen's troops and the insurgent Maoris. Since the first unhappy collision with Wiremu King's party the military have confined themselves to mere defensive measures, such being the injunction laid on the officer in command. A great meeting of the Waikato tribes, at Ngaruawakia, on the junction of the Waikato and Waipa rivers, and of other tribes who supported the king movement, was approaching, and the Governor was anxious that, if possible, no fresh cause of irritation should arise, and no ostensible ground be afforded to the Waikato tribes of joining with William King in the Taranaki hostilities. Solicitations had not been wanting to induce them so to do, a deputation from the Taranaki natives having arrived, with the object of handing over their land to the Maori king league, and inducing

the assistance of the Waikato tribes in the war. Hopes were entertained that at this meeting sentiments would be expressed which might lead to overtures for peace. This policy, on the Governor's part, has been highly displeasing to the war party among the colonists. We quote a paragraph from one of the Taranaki papers, which will show the state of feeling on this subject—

"We have alluded in our introductory remarks to the mystery which now envelopes the Governor's policy. Whether its ultimate design has changed we are not in a position to affirm; but that the *modus operandi* by which it was first intended to be pursued has been changed cannot for one moment be gainsaid. It was at first believed by the whole of the New-Zealand public, that the Governor intended, by quick smart blows, to drive the nail home; but having only given a few timid taps, he has so bent it, that it will require a great deal of care to get it straight again, if, indeed, he does not draw it, leaving an ugly hole to show how much injury an unskilful workman may do—how much worse the native question must be if an unsatisfactory peace is now entered upon. When war first commenced at Taranaki every journal was agreed on three points. They concurred in ascribing the cause to be a just one; in allowing that the Governor had commenced a new and wise policy; and in giving His Excellency the fullest credit for adopting decided and vigorous action. But during the three months that have since elapsed, a change has come over almost the whole of the press. While doubts as to the validity of Teira's title have been suggested, nothing has authentically transpired to prove that the utmost caution had not been taken to sift it thoroughly; and the few journals which have given expression to these doubts nevertheless strictly maintain that the rebellion must be suppressed at whatever cost; and until this is done peace cannot for a single moment be honourably entertained. On the second point the whole press is at sea. The Governor's policy, which at one time was supposed to be perfectly intelligible, is now understood by none. Either it was never correctly known, or it has changed. It was believed that that policy only related to the land at Waitara. 'Let William King cease his unlawful interference, and my work is done,' were the words of the Governor's letter to the natives of this province. Now, however, that policy seems to have been shifted, and to comprise either an intention to make war upon the king movement, if reinforcements arrive from India or England, or to patch up a compromise after the meeting of chiefs in July. Public opinion on the third point has completely changed, and so far from being loud in commending the Governor's energy, there is scarcely a journal throughout the islands but what complains bitterly of opportunity lost, unaccountable tardiness, and ruinous delay. The second point—the obscurity of the Governor's policy—is the only one we need attempt to prove. The assertions we have made with regard to the others are too patent to need a single word being adduced in their support."

The king meeting commenced on May 24th, and lasted until May 31st.

"On the 25th of May," says the 'New Zealander's' correspondent, "the whole camp was early astir, and the prayer-bell was heard sounding in various directions, summoning the respective congregations to their morning devotions, for the great majority of the king party profess to base their movement on religion. The loyal Missionary natives doubt the reality of these professions, but feel it their duty to join with their misguided fellow-countrymen, as often as they can, in the hope of being able to restrain them in their rash and self-injurious agitation.

"Breakfast was discussed with more than usual despatch. Those who were to take part in the military display were everywhere busy cleaning their guns and preparing for the war-dance and rush by stripping themselves to the waist, and binding a shawl round their loins, or appearing in the full costume of a shirt, their heads being, for the most part, adorned with fillets and bunches of white feathers; in fact, their whole appearance, on this first day of 'Maori-dom' being proclaimed, was characteristic rather of a disposition to return to their ancient ways, than to inaugurate their 'new era' by exhibiting themselves in as civilized a guise as they could devise. Still, when the Rangiawhia regiment and William Thompson's men mustered on the bank sloping down from 'the king's mound' to the plain where the conference was to take place, they had a highly picturesque appearance; and the lower Waikatos and other natives, who formed the *hui*, furnished a regiment equally lightly clothed, and, though a rather smaller body, they were even finer made men, and their firearms generally appeared to be of a superior description to those possessed by the more decided king's men.

"The combined force consisted of between 500 and 600 men, and a few women: about two-thirds had guns, the remainder canoe paddles. The war-dances were executed with much spirit; but older natives, who were looking on, criticised them rather severely, as,

clumsily gone through, owing to the legs of the dancers having grown stiff 'through long sitting' (*i. e.* the disuse of the dance for many years), and, unworthy of a people who were talking so much of erecting themselves into a separate and independent nation. The affair was understood to have been got up with a desire to rouse the slumbering spirit of nationality among the undecided or wavering, and to stimulate it where it has already taken some root. Many young men joined in it purely for the sake of fun. There was one improvement noticeable—there was none of the thrusting out of the tongue, and very little of those horrid grimaces which used to give the Maori braves such a hideously unnatural aspect. After a war-dance and a rush from both contingents, the hill party advanced to those of the plain, and the two having executed a war-dance together, they broke up with a wild shout, and, after some 'welcome' addresses and songs, the first part of the day's proceedings was at an end. . . .

"The meeting decided on erecting the king's flag, which was accordingly done, the Bishop of New Zealand, the officers of the Government, and the few other Europeans who were present, striking their tents, and refusing to remain to witness this overt act of disloyalty. Some of the Waikato tribes, who still adhere to the Queen, also did the same. . . . .

"With respect to the speeches delivered at this native conference, the greater portion were of such a curiously composite character—partly scriptural, partly political, partly fiercely patriotic, yet, on the whole, cautious and practical—that, even after the enumeration of every tribe and every speaker, we doubt whether more could be said than this, that some were for the Queen and some were for the king, and some were for friendship and others for enmity with the white man; that all admitted they had benefited by intercourse with the white man, but that some now wished to dispense with the white man's aid in any respect, while the more rational (who will eventually be the more influential) party quietly disposed of all this boasting, by asking *how* they would get on without the white man? that while some were disposed to defend the late murders at Taranaki as simply 'accidents of war,' others denounced them as 'murders;' that opinion was widely different as regards Wi Kingi's position at the outset, but, before the close, became almost unanimous in admission that 'the case' of the Governor, as to the purchase of Te Teira's land at Waitara, was unassailable; that therefore the Waikatos should not interfere in *that* quarrel, that they should, as far as possible, preserve peace with the white man, 'unless attacked by the white man,' of which, it was evident, they were in fully as much dread as many of the out-settlers were of them; and that, while they were bent on hoisting the 'new flag' (to which strong opposition was taken by some of the most influential of the native leaders), they were, at the same time, resolved to watch very closely the 'order of events.' That no more land was to be sold to the Governor without 'the king's' consent, was unanimously agreed upon; yet circumstances transpired, before the conference broke up, to show that the Maori kingites have doubtful friends, even in influential quarters. That 'King Potatau,' or, Te Whero Whero, is, to a great extent, made use of by his council, there can be no doubt; that he wishes to see peace preserved between the two races we also believe; and that he would prefer the title originally proposed of 'Father of his People,' to that of 'King,' or all the fulsome and sometimes blasphemous adulation addressed to him, no one who knows him can doubt. And when we have told this, we have said all that can be said as to the apparent results of the late meeting at Ngaruawahia. What may be the real results remain to be seen."

These extracts will serve to show, that at this important crisis in the history of the Maori race, there is far from unanimity amongst the various tribes. In their political feelings they may be divided into three classes: 1st, the Queen's party; 2dly, the moderate king party; 3dly, the extreme king party. The first party are loyal natives, who wish for British law, and for every tribe to use its own judgment in reference to the sale of their waste lands. The second party would, for the sake of peace, give up to the Government the disputed land at Taranaki, but at the same time expect in future the Government not to purchase; but the third party object to its being given under such circumstances.

Meanwhile, during the time when the meeting was being held, events were being precipitated at Taranaki. "The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water; therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with." Little wars are dangerous things; for often, little wars become great ones. "Behold how great a fuel (ὕλην) a little fire kindleth!" and the little blaze, which those on the spot think they can put out whenever they please, spreads as amongst the dry fern, until it becomes a mighty forest-conflagration, which will not be controlled. Hot spirits on both sides were im-

patient under restraint. "Lately," observes one of the Taranaki journals, "when about 250 Taranakis, Ngatiruanis, and Waikatos crossed the ford at the Waitara, the officers and men were most anxious to get at them, and burned with indignation at being compelled by their orders to allow those rebels to pass unmolested, when every one of them could have been picked off as they were crossing the ford." These, we apprehend, were a party of Waikatos escorting back the Taranaki deputation. Had they been fired upon the whole of the Waikatos, who as yet remained undecided, would have risen.

Nor were fiery spirits wanting amongst the Maoris, men who were anxious to put an end to all uncertainty, and decide the tribes for war; men, too, of the old New-Zealand stamp, ready for any savage act. It is the unhappiness of times of confusion that bad men rise to the surface, and compromise, by their evil deeds, others of very different purposes and temper. Towards the latter end of May, Mr. Richard Brown, an old colonist and merchant of Taranaki, riding out from the camp in search of a stray horse, and venturing too near the bush, was shot down by three natives. William King, it is said, and the Waikato natives, repudiate this act. We trust it may be so. This we are sure of, that such atrocities must serve to open the eyes of every well-disposed native, and lead him to say, if Scripture truth has any hold upon him, "Oh my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man." It must be observed, however, that this poor gentleman was more than a simple colonist. He was captain of the native irregular force, and had volunteered some time before, in company with two chiefs and eighty followers, to capture Wi Kingi, and bring him back alive or dead. He was therefore a marked man, and should have been more cautious. But there have been other murders, which show that there are bad natives abroad, whose power of exciting additional irritation is excessive, and who deserve condign punishment.

Reprisals now commenced. Towards the end of May an attack was made upon the coast natives by a column of 500 men, under Colonel Gold. They burned down some Maori huts and a mill, carting a large quantity of wheat, and spreading it over the land.* Such proceedings only increase exasperation. When a blow must be struck, let it be well-directed and decisive; until this can be done it is better to refrain. The natives, now becoming bolder, entered the houses which had been erected on the disputed block, destroying the property, and carrying off the stock of the settlers. Parties of military were sent in pursuit of them, but to no purpose. Meanwhile the town of Taranaki appears to have been almost hemmed in. Travelling in the direction of the bush had become unsafe. The outsettlers had come in, bringing their wooden houses with them. A night attack from the insurgents being apprehended, the town was at night doubly guarded, lamps being put up in various parts, dogs also being in request, "the Government getting all the dogs they can. These they are going to chain up, and feed well, placing them in the gullies around the town;" that in case of any attempt on the part of the natives to steal in, they might give the alarm.

The Maoris had by this time restored an old Pa, at a place called Putekakauere, just outside the boundary of the disputed land. It appears to have been strong in position, as well as strongly stockaded. It consisted of two stockades, one upon the entrenchments of the old Pa; the other new, and apparently without entrenchments. They stood on a ridge formed by two gullies, these gullies meeting a little below the Pa, and opening on to swampy ground in the Waitara valley, forming a sort of long Y, the stalk toward the river, and the stockades in the fork.

The details of the attack on this Pa, ineffectual notwithstanding the bravery of our troops, have been published at full length in the daily papers. The repulse must be regarded as highly disastrous, as we fear it will confirm the disaffected portion of the natives in their unhappy delusion that they can successfully resist the British soldiery. The detachment appointed for the arduous duty assigned to it appears to have been numerically unequal to its work—not more than 350 in number—yet a large body of British troops some 1900, was at the time concentrated in the Taranaki district.

The excitement on both sides is great: on that of the colonists intense. Nor is it confined to New Zealand: it has extended itself to the Australian colonies. To quote the language of the "Sydney Morning Herald," "the die is cast. It is plain we have a foe to deal with who is not to be despised; it is equally so that he must be put down at all cost." To what an extent the war ought to be prosecuted, according to the opinion of some, appears, from the language used by a Melbourne correspondent of the "Times" (September 14th, 1860). Writing in reference

* This is said to have been done on Sunday.

to the repulse at Waitara, he says, "In one respect our disaster will produce a good result. The Governor is surrounded by many, whose sympathy, just on some grounds, has tended to encourage the natives in their resistance of our authority. This would have continued had the Maoris been often worsted. But this decided success of the natives will arm all instincts against them. The sympathizers will find the ground cut from under their feet; and the conviction is becoming practically universal, that we *must* subdue the natives, and establish the supremacy of the Crown. This has now become an instinct."

That which we most dreaded has then commenced—a fratricidal contest between the native and colonial races; and the same scenes of blood and of reciprocal vindictiveness which have stained other fields of emigration, seem about to be re-enacted in New Zealand. Nearly two years ago we sounded a note of warning on this subject, and insisted upon "the great need which the ministry and legislature of New Zealand have of wise caution and undoubted impartiality in the delicate and highly responsible position in which they have placed themselves. They have it in their power to enact a noble part, and fulfil all the expectations of their friends; but a rash and incautious procedure may be productive of results the most calamitous." And again we said, "What if, through some blundering policy, a war of races were kindled? Would that help forward the prospects of New Zealand? Let there be peace and quietude, and the tide of emigration will not fail to visit these shores, and the wilderness be peopled, if once the emigrant be assured that in the Maori he shall find a friend, and not an enemy. Let it only still continue to be with truth recorded that no property has been wrested from the native owners, that no laws of humanity or justice have been trampled upon, and we doubt not that, with God's blessing, the bright vision will be realized, and New Zealand become the Britain of Australasia."

But let us endeavour to trace out the latent causes of the late disastrous events. For some time past there has been arising, like a mist out of the earth, a growing distrust and alienation between the races. Satisfactorily to account for this would require a more careful and lengthened analysis of what has been going forward during some years in New Zealand than is possible at the end of our Number, and at an advanced period of the current month. But the smoke of the smouldering fire has been too palpable to escape notice.

On the part of the natives this feeling has manifested itself in the Maori king league, and, connectedly with this, a determination to sell no more land to the Europeans. Different views have been taken of the king movement. Some regard it as an attempt to set up an independent sovereignty; others, and these men of experience, whose opinion ought to have weight in New-Zealand affairs, think less seriously of it.

But whence is it that these new elements have arisen in New Zealand, for, some years back, they had no existence?

There was a time when the loyalty of the tribes to the sovereignty of the British Queen was undoubted; so much so, that old Potatau, *alias* Te Whero Whero, the first Maori king, during the time of Heke's disturbances had been a firm ally of the British, and up to the time of his death was in receipt of a pension, bestowed upon him in recognition of his services. There was a time, also, when there was, upon the part of the native, no unwillingness to sell his land. It was not the unwillingness of the Maori, but the inability of the Government to purchase, that prevented the extinction of the native title over a far larger extent of territory. Now the native has grown distrustful of the intentions of the colonists. There must be some cause for this alteration. Let, then, our readers carefully peruse the following paragraph, from a memorandum on the future policy which ought to be adopted towards the native race, drawn up by the Bishop of New Zealand, at at the request of the Governor, and dated May 8th, 1860—

"Difficulties have arisen since the partial introduction into the country of a representative system in which the natives have no voice, and but few advocates. They hear of thousands of immigrants brought into the country by the promise of free grants of land; and every vituperative epithet is heaped upon them in the public journals, and even threats used openly in the provincial councils, because they are accused of not selling their land fast enough to supply the new comers. It is but natural that they should cling to their rights with more tenacity the more they are called in question. Land leagues are the reasonable protest of an unrepresented majority against an aggressive minority.

"In what sense it is an offence on the part of the native people, either individually or collectively, to oppose the further sale of land, it is difficult to see. The question is left by the Treaty of Waitangi entirely to their discretion. They may think that they have already sold enough, or they may be waiting

until the land has acquired a higher value; or they may dread the unscrupulous use which English settlers make of their neighbours' land, by trespass of cattle; or they may be taking steps to acquire sheep and cattle for themselves, and require a much larger surface than is needed at present for their crops of corn and potatoes. Or they may dread moral evils, such as the establishment of grog-shops in all parts of the country, for the augmentation of the provincial revenue, but to their own incalculable injury. There may be many good reasons to induce the native owners to suspend for a time all further sales of land; and it is enough to say that they have full discretion in the matter."*

Now, even supposing that the natives had no sufficient reason for the determination to which they had come, to sell no more land, yet even thus the settlers might have been contented to wait a while until this distrust and impracticableness on the part of the Maori had passed away. It is not yet twenty-one years since Captain Hobson landed at the Bay of Islands, and the Queen's sovereignty was proclaimed over New Zealand. During this period, the settlers have succeeded in acquiring from the Maoris no contemptible heritage. Out of sixty-five millions of acres which these islands contain, not less than forty millions are at this moment at the disposal of British emigrants. Over more than a half of the entire area the native title has been extinguished. This splendid acquisition comprises the entire of the Middle Island, consisting of thirty-three millions of acres, and seven millions in the North Island; and all these have been purchased from the natives, at prices varying from a farthing to sixpence per acre. These tracts moreover occupy the choicest and most commanding positions, and include within their limits the chief sea-ports of the islands. We quote again from the Bishop of New Zealand's memorandum—

"The surrender by the native owners of all the best harbours has placed the commerce of the country almost entirely in the hands of the English colonists. Here again the provincial system has an injurious operation. The council of each province looks upon the customs revenue of the province as its own. It is not borne in mind that the revenue which the provincial council administers at Auckland includes, in large but uncertain proportion, the proceeds of the industry of 30,000 natives employed in the cultivation of land, in collecting flax and kauri gum, in felling and hauling spars, and in the navigation of coasting vessels. For a long time Auckland had scarcely any trade but that which resulted from native industry."

Fifty-nine thousand and three hundred settlers constituted the maximum of the colonial population in 1858, of whom 33,585 were males of all ages, with an apportionment of forty millions of acres. Surely an impartial observer would conclude, even if the native had become sturdy, and did not choose for the present to sell any more land, that still they had obtained enough for the present to occupy their attention, and that they could afford to wait quietly until the native had changed his mind. And it has been so with some, but not with all. Men have been impatient, and have used threatening language, in meetings and through the press. We have before us reports of public meetings held at Auckland, June 4th and 18th, 1859, on the subject of the land question. According to the statements of the speakers on these occasions, the condition of the colonists of the northern districts was most lamentable.

"We are at present a large city without a country, obliged to import our beef and mutton, butter and cheese, from other provinces, as well as flour, wheat, oats, &c., which this fine province might very well produce, if we only had the lands opened up. Our farmers are obliged to suspend the increasing of their flocks, owing to the want of lands and the scarcity of food. Many of our herds of cattle are bodering upon starvation, from being pent up upon the already overstocked pastures around Auckland, while there are millions of acres of excellent lands in the interior of this province at present unoccupied, large tracts of which are grass lands, nothing inferior to the plains of Canterbury or Otago, and which the natives are quite willing to lease or sell to the pakeha, but not under the present system."*

Now in 1858 there were in the Auckland† province, 10,218 male colonists of all ages, and on January 1st, 1859, there had been purchased from the natives for their use, 1,211,530 acres. Of these they held in actual possession, at the date mentioned, 579,449 acres, 632,081 remaining at the disposal of the provisional government. Yet at this moment they were clamouring for more land, and complaining of the restrictions put upon the purchase of land by the government right of pre-emption, although there were large blocks of land suitable either for grazing or settle-

* Parl. Paper—New Zealand, Aug. 1860, p. 7.

* Parl. Papers, July 1860, p. 134.

† Thomson, vol ii. p. 331. Table xvi.

ment, lying unoccupied in various parts of the province. But these would not suffice them. They had cast a wistful eye over lands still in the possession of the native, which he had not parted with, and had exhibited no desire to part with, and they organized exploratory parties into portions of the country where the native title was unextinguished. We quote from a letter addressed by some of these settlers to the Colonial Secretary, in which they detail what appears to us to be their very unwise proceedings, calculated as they were to awaken the distrust and alarm of the natives.

"A party was organised to proceed up the Thames, as far as Wai-wero-wero, examining the banks on both sides of the river: having done this, to cross over to the east coast, and examine the country between Tauranga and the East Cape; to return across the country to the Thames, and proceed to the Matamata there to divide, one half returning by the Thames, the other half by the best overland route they could find: the objects required being good land, a port with easy communication to Auckland, and an overland route for cattle, without any consideration as to distance provided the other objects were attainable.

"Our attention was directed to the Thames district; 1st, from its geographical position, in immediate connexion with the harbour of Auckland; and 2dly, should it prove a river navigable for steamboats, and the land on its banks adapted for agricultural purposes, there must be room for a large population. We were led to suppose, from information collected from persons who had visited this district, that the banks of the river were low, and the whole country was composed of impassable swamps, totally unadapted for agricultural purposes. Our party report, that, after proceeding two days up this magnificent river, they were agreeably surprised to find a country containing from 150,000 to 200,000 acres of superior land, level and dry, containing grassy plains, sufficient in their present state to carry large quantities of sheep and cattle.

"Here, then, was the object of their search, within a journey of two days by steam and three days overland to Auckland. On inquiry, they found this immense plain of excellent land held by a few natives, who made no use whatever of the greater portion, yet were unwilling to sell an acre. They were told that the natives had parted with the shadow of the land to the king, and that it was useless prosecuting the remaining portion of the proposed journey, for the natives, from the east to the west coast, including all the Waikato and lake districts, as well as the Thames, had decided not to sell to the Europeans, but they were willing to lease.

"We cannot dismiss this subject without expressing our deep regret that former governments had not extinguished the native title over a large portion of this district, which we do not hesitate to state must become, from its position and quality of land, the granary of the province of Auckland."*

But if more land was needed, why not proceed to occupy the portions in the province, over which the native title had been extinguished, and which were available for occupation? We shall give their own explanation, and the Governor's answer to it—

"That a very large proportion of the land purchased by the government is unfit for cultivation, is proved by the fact that many thousand acres, granted as early as 1845, within a radius of twenty miles from Auckland, remain uncultivated to the present day. . . . .

"It is fully proved that, in a young colony, where there are necessarily so many drawbacks both as to capital and labour, the attempt to cultivate inferior soil can only end in ruin to all who attempt it.

"The settlers are informed by the Government that there is land enough of available quality to supply their wants. They simply answer, that they cannot find it. The testimony to the insufficiency of the supply is overwhelming."†

The Governor's reply is as follows—

"It is grass, and not land which is required. Grass grows naturally only in a very small part of the south of this province: the remainder is covered with fern, and can only be made available by the cultivation of artificial grasses, which requires capital. And though this sort of cultivation has been proved to be amply remunerative, less capital is required to occupy vast tracts of waste land capable of maintaining one sheep to six or seven acres, instead of six or seven sheep to one acre."‡

We think our readers will now be enabled to solve the mystery. The available lands required that the colonist, by cultivation, should substitute artificial grasses for natural fern; whereas the grassy plains in the Thames, districts were capable, just as they were, of feeding large quantities of sheep and cattle. What these colonists really wanted, therefore, was not land, but capital and patient industry. It seemed, however, a more facile way to get possession, by some means or other, of

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* Parl. Papers, p. 136.

† Ibid., p. 148.

‡ Ibid., p. 148.

those tracts as yet in possession of the native, on which they might proceed at once to feed their sheep, without any expenditure of capital or labour. But could any proceeding be more likely to render the native distrustful of his white brother, and thus either originate a land-league, or strengthen and confirm one if already started? When one gentleman openly declared, in the meeting held at Auckland, "Land we want, and land we must have," and that in the immediate neighbourhood and within hearing of the Waikatos, it is not surprising if that people considered that their only security against threatened aggression on the part of the settlers, was to be found in combination with defensive purposes.

The Colonial Secretary, in his answer to these gentlemen, speaks to them in a very wise and admonitory manner—"That there is within easy distance of the city of Auckland a large quantity of fine land, and that the natives are unwilling to part with it . . . are facts patent to every one possessed of the slightest acquaintance with the subject.

"The best and only sure solution of this great difficulty is to be looked for in an altered state of feeling amongst the natives, signs of which are not wanting. Nevertheless, the Government would gladly embrace any expedient which gave promise of accelerating a change so much to be desired.

"Impatient demonstrations on the part of the settlers are most injurious. So also with regard to the threats held out of the illegal occupation of native land, the Government is satisfied that such attempts would result at once in individual losses and great public injury."*

To show how small an outlay of cultivation had been bestowed by these settlers on the large tracts placed at their disposal, it may just be mentioned, that in the year 1858 we find in the province of Auckland only 60,183 acres under crop; and only 90,448 as the total number of acres fenced; and that, as we have already shown, there were available for their use, in that province, 1,211,530 acres, of which 579,449 had been actually taken up and become settlers' property.

But we think we have discovered another secret in these tale-telling Blue Book documents; the reason of this great haste, at any cost, seems to be to get possession of fresh lands, on which, without waiting for the tedious process of cultivation, the Auckland colonists might proceed to feed their stock. One of the speakers at the Auckland meeting of June 4, remarks—"When he looked on the revenue of Nelson, as lately published, amounting to 60,000*l.*, he could not help wondering how Auckland was to maintain her position amongst the provinces of New Zealand for the future. It was impossible under the present system."

A speaker at another meeting, a week later, touches on the same point—"I hope now that the community, which is fairly roused upon the land question, will look ahead in the election of their representatives in future, so as to make this question one of the leading principles upon which they shall be returned. When such a measure shall have been brought into operation, which will have the effect of allowing the natives legally to sell portions of their surplus lands, then this province will have some chance of prospering: we shall then have inducements for capitalists, not only to come, but to settle amongst us; not as at present, where some of our own, and, I may say, old settlers amongst us, are compelled to go to the southern provinces to seek investment for their capital, as has been of frequent occurrence of late."*

In a letter to the Colonial Secretary the complainants are still more candid and explanatory on this subject—

"We are further stimulated to prosecute some course to enable us to feed more stock at less expense, that we may be in a position to compete with our neighbours in the Southern Provinces, who possess advantages for feeding sheep, that will, with the assistance of steam communication, tend, in a short time, under existing circumstances, to drive the settlers of the Auckland province out of their own markets—the large quantities of natural grass runs that they are enabled to obtain at a small annual sum for their sheep to graze on, leave us without a chance in competition, unless we can obtain good and cheap land and sufficient quantity. There is no lack of argument that might have been used in support of our position; but we thought it better to simply state the facts that forced upon your oldest settlers the necessity for going back. . . . We were under the impression that the quality of land in this province was inferior. . . . This hypothesis is now cast to the winds. Practical men have seen and declared there are tens of thousands of acres of good land of equal quality within three days' journey of Auckland, and that they will no longer continue satisfied to occupy the motley patches hitherto provided for their

* Parl. Papers, p. 141.

* Parl. Papers, p. 134.

use. Sheep are arriving from the south, and arrangements have been made for bullocks to arrive from Sydney in our Auckland markets, fat and ready for the butcher. These have been grazed on lands producing natural grass, and held in large quantities at a nominal rent."*

Putting together all these fragments and items of information, some of them incidentally blurted out, we feel ourselves justified in coming to this conclusion, that there has been amongst the colonists of the province of Auckland a strong agitation for the acquisition of more land, and that at a time when more than half of the land, in which the native title had been extinguished throughout the province, remained at the disposal of the provisional government, and therefore, as yet, unappropriated by the settler; that discontentedly refusing to enter upon this, they coveted lands to the southward, which the natives had not alienated, sending exploring parties into them, and openly declaring that they were the lands which they wanted, and were resolved to have; that such proceedings were calculated to disquiet the native population, and lead them to conclude, in their own minds, that the settler, dissatisfied as he was with the ample supply ceded to him for his present wants, would never rest quiet until he had grasped the whole heritage of the Maori, as, indeed, one speaker in the Auckland meeting of June 4th openly declares, "Nearly every acre in New Zealand would ultimately become available." These admissions and discoveries decided a people, naturally sensitive and suspicious, to unite together in a combination against the further sale of land to the European; and it is this land-league which renders the conflict at Taranaki so critical, and induces the apprehension that the outbreak will extend itself to the entire of those powerful and warlike tribes which have entered into that combination, if, indeed, it has not already done so.

Fully to satisfy our readers that we have not presented to them a view of matters which facts do not justify, we shall quote from an authoritative document, viz. a despatch addressed by Governor Browne to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Sept. 20, 1859—

"With the increase of the European population, land has necessarily acquired an additional value; the natives have seen the lands they alienated for farthings, resold for pounds; they feel that dominion and power, or, as they term it, 'substance,' went from them with the territories they alienated, and they look with apprehension to the annihilation of their nationality.

"The consequence of this feeling has been the formation of a league to prevent the alienation of land, commenced by the tribes on the Waikato before my arrival in the colony, and which has since been combined with the so-called king movement.

"Assuming the whole of the Northern Island to contain 26,000,000 of acres, and that the native title has been extinguished over 7,000,000, there remain 19,000,000 of acres owned or occupied by about 57,000 Maoris. A large portion of this consists of mountain and dense forest, but the remainder, which includes some valuable land, is greatly in excess of all their possible wants. The Europeans covet these lands, and are determined to enter in and possess them *recte si possunt, si non, quocunque modo*. This determination becomes daily more apparent. A member of the Auckland Provincial Council stated in the Council that 'the fault lay in the system of acquiring land from the natives. We were called upon to leave them the best land, and sacrifice ourselves to sympathy for the natives

"'The settlers had no room for their stock, and would be obliged to set the government at defiance. Hitherto the settlers here had been a law-obeying community; but when once the Rubicon was passed, it was impossible to say how far they might go. There was something higher than the law, namely, the framers of the law, and the source of all law—the people. They had new arrivals landing here every day, and they might say, what right, for instance, had a parcel of natives at Coromandel, like dogs in a manger, to keep everybody out of that rich district? People would soon begin to act on the old principle of letting land belong to those who can keep it. It was impossible to prevent the Anglo-Saxon overcoming the natives; and the Europeans, if they could not get land with the consent, must get it without the consent of the Government.'

"This speech was highly applauded in one of the journals; while another (the 'Southern Cross') keeps up a continued agitation on the subject of enfranchising native lands, reminding its readers that 'one well-written address placarded at every kainga in the country would raise a fever of excitement (among the natives) which all the anodynes and opiates of the native department would be incompetent to allay.'"

One other paragraph from the same despatch tells in the same direction—

"In the foregoing details I have not alluded to one of many difficulties attending the

* Parl. Papers, p. 137.

management of a race in a lower state of civilization than the dominant one, which is, in a certain sense, associated with it. I refer to the constant abuse and misrepresentation heaped upon the meritorious department by which native affairs are conducted: in speaking of it, the *post hoc* is too often replaced by the *propter hoc*, and it is not seldom looked upon as an obstacle to be destroyed by fair means or by foul. Among Europeans this sort of language is so prevalent, that it has no other effect than that of rendering those most subject to it callous and indifferent to public opinion, but it has a very injurious effect upon the natives. Ignorant of what the press really is, they lose confidence in those whom (it is the undisputed interest of all) they should trust and respect, and believe every idle and malicious report circulated among them by disaffected persons. Articles headed 'Extinction of the native race,' coupled with attacks on Sir George Grey and the native department, have a most insidious effect. I am well aware that there is no remedy for such an abuse of the freedom of the press, but I allude to it as proving the necessity for a council formed of men thoroughly known and respected by the natives, who would be personally indifferent to calumny, and above its influence."*

Nor is this feeling confined to any one locality. In all the settlements similar views are entertained, and in various ways are published abroad. In Bills introduced into the House of Assembly, the Native Secretary complains of assumptions of a right affecting unalienated native territory.

"Ministers include in the term, 'waste lands of the colony,' native territory over which the aboriginal title is unextinguished. It is conceived, however, that this term should properly be restricted to those lands which, having been acquired by the Crown for colonizing purposes, vest in the General Assembly, under clause 72 of the New-Zealand Constitution Act."

The Assistant Native Secretary in a memorandum, adverts to these assumptions as views generally entertained by settlers throughout the country.

"Nothing will more surely hinder the peaceable acquisition of native territory, and rouse a spirit of opposition and hostility to the Government, than the possession of the native mind by a belief that the appropriation of their lands is a thing resolved on, the mode of acquisition only being left an open question, to be decided as expediency may dictate. Under such circumstances, however liberal the terms upon which they might be invited to treat for the surrender of their rights, they would be offered in vain.

"The Crown's right of pre-emption over native lands is generally regarded by the native tribes as a protection against undue encroachment by the Pakeha; and while they believe that the cession of their territory is optional, and is admitted to be so by the government, they feel secure from evils which would otherwise be apprehended from the occupation of their country by a more powerful race. Relying upon the repeated promises made by successive representatives of the British Sovereign, that their rights, as secured to them in the treaty of Waitangi, will always be respected, and that their lands will never be taken possession of otherwise than with their free consent, they contemplate without alarm the rapidly increasing numbers of the colonists. It is essential to the peace of the country that the confidence of the natives in the paternal character of the government should not be disturbed.

"For this reason, I think it important not only that any system adopted by the government for acquiring native lands should secure a proper provision for the owners, but also that it should be so presented as to avoid the appearance of seeking to force it upon their acceptance. They should be allowed to feel that they are free to choose between surrendering their territorial rights to secure advantages they cannot otherwise obtain, and, by maintaining those rights, to forego such advantages.

"I have been led to these remarks from observing the view commonly taken in the colony on this question. Few would admit that the extension of European settlement must be contingent on the consent of the aboriginal owners to cede their territory. Their unimproved lands are regarded as the property of the colony, merely encumbered with a certain native right of occupancy, of which it is the duty of the government to clear them, as from time to time they may be required by the settlers. The government is accordingly held to have failed in its duty in every case where lands eligible for settlement remain in the hands of the natives. The existing system of land-purchase is supposed to be in fault, and the adoption of some new scheme is, from time to time, urged upon the Government, which is thus subjected to a pressure from without, calculated to defeat the very object which is sought to be attained."*

* Parl. Papers, pp. 78 and 82.

* Parl. Papers, p. 84.

The Rev. R. Maunsell in a letter published in the "New Zealander" in 1856, sounded, even thus early, a note of warning. Referring to various painful cases, in which an inferior race was oppressed and injured by a superior colonizing race, he proceeds—

"Of the depth to which even Anglo-Saxons can descend when they obtain the supreme control of another race, we have a remarkable example in the laws passed against upwards of 3,000,000 of negroes in the United States, and the coolness with which judges of the highest standing in that country expound and enforce them.

"That the tendencies of our Parliament [the New-Zealand Assembly] are in a somewhat similar direction, has been more than once most painfully evident to my mind. True, indeed, it is, that they voted in their first session 500*l.* with a view to the vaccination of the Maori population. This grant we accepted with the deepest thankfulness, not so much for the value of the gift, as for the strong practical proof that it afforded of the goodwill of our fellow-countrymen to the native population. Still, that the spirit of self-aggrandisement is supreme is beyond all contradiction; and that that spirit will, unless carefully watched by the mother country, bring on a war of races, it does not require a prophet's mind to foretell. The wrongs that are now endured, and the measures that are mooted, are amply sufficient to create anxiety. . . .

"Let a sense of injustice enter the mind of the native; let him imagine that the white man only legislates for himself; that he cares not for the Maori; that his desire is to shut him out from advantages that he himself possesses; and changes of the most dark and gloomy character will take place in the island. This impetuous and high-spirited people will soon be ready for any thing desperate; and the white man will, before long, feel that a crooked policy will always recoil on itself. Even though they do continue to keep the solitary settler; even though they extend food and shelter to the weary traveller; even though they continue to sell their lands for a nominal sum, and aid the Government in the arrest of Pakeha and Maori culprits; still, if the feeling of wrong has taken up its abode in their minds, the first spark may produce a conflagration."*

Let us now then inquire, Can this war, the outbreak of feelings of alienation originating in causes such as these, be permitted to proceed, until it becomes a war of extermination? The Melbourne correspondent in the "Times" has taken upon him to be the exponent of the feelings of the people of Victoria, and he informs us "that it cannot now be settled by one signal victory; that there must be a succession of successes; that the war may be a protracted one, and that it must be ruinous to many of the settlers." Are the settlers contented that it should be so? What more disastrous to the peaceful emigrant than this outbreak. For years he has lived on friendly terms with his Maori neighbour. His new home has lost the bare appearance which it had at first: it has become clothed and furnished, and has acquired the look of comfort, which is the characteristic of an English home, and which reminds him of the old country. Around him are the lands acquired by peaceful purchase, and which his own hand has brought under cultivation. Must he leave all and fly, or remain and trust himself to the forbearance of the natives? Such is his dilemma.

For ourselves, we too have had our clearances and husbandry in New Zealand. We found it a barren, heathen tract, and have brought it under Christian cultivation. We are not prepared to see our fences broken down, our Christian churches and congregations thrown into confusion, and a native race, in which we have taken so deep an interest, and on which we have bestowed so much time and labour, thrown back from their advanced position into unknown calamities and evils.

Is England prepared for a war of extermination? Is it not enough that we have a war in China, of uncertain result, and carried forward at a heavy cost, and must we now fling ourselves into a new and protracted contest with the warlike Maoris?

We look to the Home Government. The decision is with them, and we have that confidence in them that they will never suffer so fratricidal a contest to proceed. In a despatch from Lord Carnarvon to the Governor, dated May 18th, 1859, in which is communicated to him the resolution of the Home Government not to recommend to Her Majesty for confirmation a Bill introduced into the House of Assembly by the responsible ministry, under the title of the Native Territorial Bill, the following sentences occurs—

"I am bound to ask myself, whether in case the decisions of the Governor in Council on titles to land should be resisted by the natives, the British Government are prepared to promise such a military force as may be sufficient to enforce them. If any such expectation could be held out, it would be clearly necessary that the decisions which imposed so much responsibility and expense on

* Parl. Papers, p. 58.

the Home Government, should be taken by an officer solely responsible to that Government, and not to the colonists. It is more than questionable whether the moral influence of the European Government would not suffer by the issue of certificates of title, which the natives would be at liberty to disregard with impunity."*

The question, then, is, whether the military force of Great Britain is to be employed in a dispute about land, the title to which has never been subjected to any judicial decision, and which, if at all, must have been decided upon by the "Governor in Council."

On the cause of the present outbreak we have not touched in the present Number. Those of our friends who are urgent for some publication on the subject can furnish themselves with a pamphlet just published.† But for ourselves we pause, as well because we have neither time nor space, as also because we desire to give a closer and fuller consideration to the subject. We have read carefully Governor Browne's despatches to the Home Government on the subject of the Maori race, and cannot doubt the real interest he has taken in their welfare. We regret his commencement of hostilities in the Taranaki district, and feel the matter in dispute ought never have been submitted to the sharp action of the sword. But then the Governor's position was one of extreme difficulty, placed between two races, interested in both, yet unable, amidst the increasing jar, to reconcile their conflicting interests: the difficulty, amidst the complication of interests, to preserve an unbiassed judgment; and the danger of misrepresentation and precipitate action.

The important point now is the prompt action of the Home Government. It is for Her Majesty Queen Victoria to interpose her sceptre between these contending races, and say to them, as Moses said to the striving Hebrews, "Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?" Nay, indeed, we entertain the hope that this has been done, although we will not disguise our conviction that the recent repulse of our troops at Waitara has made the prospect of a peaceable adjustment much more uncertain.

Amidst the complications of the moment, we recommend all Christian men, who are interested in the welfare of both races—who desire the colonist should prosper, and the Maori prosper too — who desire that "Ephraim should not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim"—to have recourse to prayer. One Missionary writes—"I feel assured that the good and great work effected by the word of God, will not be allowed to be destroyed by the great enemy. The Lord will preserve a seed to serve Him of the Maori race, and, great as the sifting may be, He will not suffer his wheat to be destroyed." Let that sentence be the groundwork of our supplication. Let the remembrance of what the Lord has done encourage us to entreat Him to do still more. While the cries of war are heard in New Zealand, let other sounds—the sounds of earnest prayer — arise from English hearts and homes, that the great Disposer of events, who so often brings good out of evil, and makes the wrath of man to praise Him, would do so in this instance.

Meanwhile, "Sydney is quite denuded of soldiers," and this in the absence of any effective local force, "the colonists having been singularly remiss in this respect." It is rather *mal-apropos* that it should be so at the present moment, as a visit from the French is expected; and although between us and our Gallic neighbours, a good understanding exists at present, yet it would be quite as well to show them, in case of any unexpected change in the relations of the two countries, that Sydney is not to be molested with impunity. "Two regiments of French soldiers are now on their way to Sydney, *en route* to New Caledonia, and will doubtless come on shore here." Now the French are keen observers. The fact that we have so badly administered our affairs in New Zealand as to disaffect the native population, and arouse a portion of the race, if not the whole mass, to arms and open hostility; the prospect of *protracted war;* the absorption of our entire military force in Australasia to meet the exigencies of that war; all this, no doubt, will be dotted down in a note-book.

One ray of hope breaks in upon our gloom. The Governor has invited to a parley thirty-six native chiefs from the southern ports. That invitation has been accepted by them, and, having arrived by the steamer "Victoria," they were awaiting the promised meeting which stood deferred until the arrival of the mail with expected replies from the Colonial Office to despatches bearing upon the native question. May those despatches so tell on the minds of all assembled, colonial and native, as that, through God's blessing, peace may be restored! We have yet hope for New Zealand. The history of the past encourages us as to the present and future.

* Parl. Papers, p. 172.

† "One of England's little wars:" a Letter to the Duke of Newcastle by Octavius Hadfield, Archdeacon of Kapiti, New Zealand. Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

A NEW-ZEALAND FOREST.—*Vide p* 213.

COLONIAL NEW ZEALAND.

In our previous Number we endeavoured to place before our readers the sparse and yet complex population of New Zealand, between the distinctive portions of which, native and colonial, Christianity has hitherto, in so remarkable a manner, prevailed to maintain peace, thus affording to either section the opportunity of improving and making progress. To this point we now wish to direct attention, that either section of population has had abundant room to strike root and make progress. Assuredly it would be preposterous to imagine it could be otherwise. A scanty population of 115,303 persons in the midst of a splendid heritage of sixty-five millions of acres, of which the glowing language used to describe the promised land of the ancient Israelites might with justice be applied—"a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines; . . . . a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness; thou shalt not lack any thing in it"—how could they by possibility feel themselves straitened? Already, although little more than twenty years have elapsed since colonization set in upon these shores, there has been a fair division of the land between the original proprietors and the new comer—the emigrants having had placed at their disposal forty millions of acres, and the Maori retaining the remainder for his own use. Surely any straitness, under such circumstances, must be imaginary, and not real!

Let us consider, first, the natural advantages of these islands generally: we may next review the lot which has fallen to the colonists, and examine whether we can discover in that section of the population such symptoms of growth and of improvement as suffice to show that the position which they have occupied has not been otherwise than favourable. We shall then turn to the native population, and examine whether there are to be found in them such evidences of progress as justify the hope, that if preserved from those harsh and blighting influences which have proved the destruction of many an aboriginal race, they will rise to a parity with the European, and become thus fitted for the process of amalgamation. These points when sufficiently dealt with, will prepare the way for further consideration.

The islands are three in number—the Northern, the Middle, and Rakiura, the small South island, the only one which possesses a native name. The Northern and Middle Islands are parted from each other by Cook's Straits, a noble channel, 160 miles in length by 50 in breadth, and the Middle from the Southern by a clear deep channel, 50 miles in length, by 20 in breadth. The coast line of the whole group measures 3120 miles. On this vast range of coast many and magnificent harbours are to be found, but it is remarkable that they cluster together at the northern and southern extremities of the two great islands, the vast extent of the eastern and western shores being in a great measure denuded of them. In the indented coast of the northern projection of the North Island may be found the harbours of Wangaroa, Bay of Islands, and Waitemata, on which Auckland stands. The entrance into the Wangaroa harbour is formed by towering perpendicular rocks, and is only 150 yards broad. These rocks look as if they were rent asunder by an earthquake. The water close to this is of great depth, without sunken rock or any hidden danger below the surface. Spacious and deep, this haven possesses anchorage for the largest fleet, and shelter from all winds. On the west coast the indented north projection is bounded on the south by the Manukau harbour, an inlet fifteen miles long. Here the eastern and western seas are divided by a very narrow portage. South from this, along the western coast, the harbours are suitable only for small vessels, until Cook's Straits are reached; while along the eastern coast, from Cape Colville to the East Cape, there are only two safe anchorages; and from the East Cape to Wellington harbour, only one, Port Napier in Hawkes Bay. So again, in the Middle Island, harbours of first-rate capacity are numerous at its northern extremity; but along the whole eastern coast, from Cape Campbell to the Bluff harbour, an extent of nearly 500 miles, Akaroa, Port Victoria, and Otago are the only safe anchorages; while on the western shore from Jackson's Bay to Cape Farewell, a distance of 300 miles, the coast is open and exposed.

The outlines of these coasts, however, cannot be considered as fixed and permanized. "That there is at present a general elevatory movement extending from the southern pole over the whole southern hemisphere, is now a well established fact. In this general movement New Zealand undoubtedly partakes, and has, moreover, her own special elevatory forces continually going on. . . . . These elevatory forces, where they have been slow, gradual, but continuous, have raised the pre-

cipitous chains of mountains from the deep, carrying up with them, as it were in their arms, those extensive plains destined to become the sources of wealth to a new colony. In the same way also, where there were shallow arms of the sea and deep winding bays, the former, by the elevation of a few feet, have become fertile valleys, and the latter have had their dimensions contracted by the narrowing of the gorges at their extremities. In this way have the extensive plains of the Middle Island been formed, and that, too, at a period, geologically speaking, very recent. In this way also have the circular plains to the immediate south of Otago been formed, the first glance of them giving the idea of a bay just dried up.

"These general remarks apply in every way to the province of Wellington. Here all the proofs of recent elevation are very evident. They are to be recognised in the terraces so well defined on the flanks of the hills from Baring Head round the whole coast northwards to Hawkes Bay; and in the formation of the Waidrop Valley, which is but an arm of the sea emptied by elevation of the country generally, and so made dry land, in the same manner as would the habour of Wellington become a grassy plain were an elevation of but fifty feet to take place."* That such an alteration is more than a possibility will appear from the fact, that, since 1848, Port Nicholson has risen to the extent of five feet, and that the last earthquake has given such an additional elevation, that what had been low-water mark is now that of high-water.

"The centre of the North Island of New Zealand is occupied by broad and lofty mountains, which send off spurs in various directions to the sea coast; the valleys formed by these diverging mountain ranges are at first gullies, which open out as they approach the coast into fertile districts, through the centres of which flow the rivers Waikato, Thames, Waipa, Mokau, Wanganui, Rangitikei, Tara Wera, and other streams. It is the abrupt configuration of these mountain chains which renders the land communication between Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, and Hawkes Bay so difficult. Ruapahu, the highest mountain in this central range, has an elevation of about 9000 feet, and its summit is covered with perpetual snow. Tongariro, one of Ruapahu's peaks, rising upwards of 6000 feet above the sea, is an active volcano, and discharges from its crater smoke and cinders. Primeval forests cover nearly the whole of these mountain ranges from their bases to their summits."*

"The Middle Island is traversed by a mountain range, which commences at its northern extremity, and terminates in the south-west, after forming a sort of backbone to the island. The summit of this range is covered with perpetual snow, and as it reaches an elevation in some parts of 13,000 feet, that portion of it has been called the Southern Alps.

"On the west coast, this range of mountains sinks abruptly, leaving a narrow slip of fertile land between its base and the sea; and on the eastern coast, where it falls in the same abrupt manner, extensive and fertile plains intervene between the sea and its base. Through this eastern plain, upon which the settlements of Otago and Canterbury stand, flow rivers of considerable width, subject to sudden floods, occasioned by the melting of the mountain snow. At the northern and southern extremities of the island are hills covered with primeval forests; and between them plains of considerable extent, upon the northern of which the settlement of Nelson now stands."†

New Zealand is the land of green wood. Vegetation runs riot. Its peculiarities are, the excess of trees and shrubs, the paucity of herbaceous plants, and the almost total want of animals. "In England there are forty indigenous trees; in New Zealand 120. Two thousand species of plants have already been collected, and Dr. Hooker anticipates that 2000 more will yet be discovered. . . . .

"Travellers find themselves surrounded in New Zealand with a new vegetation; the landscape is not soft or gay, but grand and sombre. It presents to the eye a dark green colour, and, except in the tree-ferns, little that is striking. Unfortunately for the beauty of the floral scenery, the tree-fern shuns observation, avoids the sun, lives in solitary places, and flourishes best in stagnant air. Almost all the New-Zealand trees, are evergreens: forests are never leafless, and the change of seasons makes little difference in their appearance: in the winter they are greener than in summer."‡

"The mode of growth, too, the general appearance of a New-Zealand forest, is different from any thing in the old world. Thousands of tall columnar trees, of fifty different species, one to two hundred feet high,

* Notes on the Geology of New Zealand. By C. Forbes, M.D.

* Thomson, vol. i. p. 5.
† Ibid., p. 7. ‡ Ibid., p. 16.

struggle up through a wilderness of underwood—their leafy heads so loaded with tufts of rushy parasites, that the true foliage is almost lost in the rank vegetation of the alien polypiæ; whilst innumerable creepers, from the rope-like supple-jack up to the gigantic rata (a vegetable boa constrictor), coil round every stem, run up every limb, glide from head to head, and entwine the topmost branches of a dozen trees in fifty Gordian knots. The underwood consists of three creepers, and of an equally dense growth of young saplings, mixed with forest shrubs; such as the delicate lady's hair, the kopakopa, an elegant plumy fern, the nikau, and many others. And such is the closeness of the growth, the luxuriance of the vegetation in a New-Zealand forest, that sun and air scarce can penetrate, glimpses only of the sky are caught through the leafy canopy above, and at high noon-day in the fields it is always green twilight in the woods.

"If this underwood-thicket contained any prickly plants like our briars and brambles, or the African wait-a-bit thorn, the New Zealand forest (or bush as it is called) would be a jungle physically impenetrable; and, even as it is, it presents so many obstacles to free step and movement, that none but a patient and accomplished pedestrian, experienced in supple-jack snares, root-traps, and other parasitical impediments, would struggle through it at a greater rate of progress than a mile an hour (with three falls) at most."*

"The smaller trees and tree-shrubs ('light bush') growing about the edges of the great forests, or clothing the dells and valleys of the open country, are numerous. . . . . Among the commonest, we find three varieties of that forest houri, the fern-tree, fifty feet high, with coronals of palmy leaves fluttering in the breeze like forest fans; the nikau, more rare but less beautiful than the fern-tree; the fuchsia, thirty feet high; the fruity poroporo, the sweet-scented manuka, the tree-myrtle and fragrant veronica, the ngaio, the elegant titoki, and the laurel-like karara, with its glossy foliage and clusters of golden fruit—the only tree which the Maori-Æneas brought with him in his migration from the sunny shores of Hawaii."†

"Indescribable is the charm of New-Zealand forests for the lovers of nature. There generations of noble trees are seen decaying, and fresh generations rising up around the moss-covered trunks of fallen patriarchs. The profound silence which reigns in these regions produces a pleasing gloom on the mind, and the scene displays, better than the most classic architecture, the grandeur of repose. No sound is heard save the falling of trees, or the parrots' shrill screech, as birds which enliven the outskirts of forests are mute in the interior. Around the graves of past generations of trees the air is hushed into stillness, while the tops of the living generation are agitated with gales and breezes. At Christmas the pohutukana (*metrosideros*) is covered with scarlet flowers, and is then the most gaudy of forest trees; and the rimu (*dacrydium cupressinum*) possesses a melancholy beauty and an indescribable grandeur. Few of the pines recal to the settler's eyes the same trees in England, and, singular to relate, unlike their congeners, the majority of them grow intermixed with other trees. The celebrated and beautiful kauri (*dammara australis*) is the only pine bearing a cone, and the male and female cones are found on the same tree."*

With reference to the surface character, "New Zealand may be called a 'wooded-highland' country, displaying some half dozen noble plains, and thousands of brook-watered valleys, dells, and dales.

"But New Zealand differs from a highland country in one remarkable feature—that of natural clothing. The common, and, indeed, the correct idea of a highland country, is that of a naked, bare-looking country of mountain, lake, and stream, where the soil is poor, and the vegetation scant. But in New Zealand, the soil, though light, is often rich; and the fertility of the earth, quadrupled by the genial climate, literally produces a 'wilderness of vegetation.' Sea-spray crags, shore-margins, plains, valleys, hill-sides, mountain-steeps, are alike clothed with perpetual verdure; and the expression 'smothered in vegetation' is not a mere figure of speech when applied to New Zealand, but a term truly descriptive of the country. . . . .

"One of the most striking natural features of New Zealand is the abundance of water—the blood of the earth—and water power. Taupo is the only large lake, and New River, in Foveaux Strait, the Clutha, Thames, Hokianga, Fovea, Wanganui, Waikato, and Manawatu, are perhaps the only rivers navigable twenty miles up for any thing larger than a canoe. But there are several smaller lakes and lakelets; and the country from north to south is profusely studded with rivers, rivulets, brooks, and burns of the softest, purest

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 134.
† Ibid., pp. 134, 135.

* Thomson, vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

water; running over pebbly beds, and bearing a close resemblance to many of our trout and salmon streams, such as the Dove, Tamar, Tweed, Don, and Dee.

"The natural scenery of New Zealand is both bold and beautiful; though to an English eye, accustomed to trim fields, clipped hedges, and to the smooth-rolled, finished look of every acre in England, it would frequently appear more bold than beautiful. Indeed, many a district would strike the Norfolk farmer, or the Cockney sketcher, whose ideal of beauty was the Holkham turnip-field or the highlands of Hampstead, with far more of amazement than delight. The scenery we admire in England is often the costly coat of art, rather than the primeval dress of nature. As regards polish of cultivation, the garden's glories, the plough's court-robes, New Zealand is much in the state that Britain was when Cæsar landed; and if Cæsar's Britain could now be shown us, many a bright champaign country, which we call beautiful, would vanish, to reveal the gloomy forest and repulsive rugged waste.

"Bearing in mind the extent of the country; that the land is equally verdant and leafy through summer and winter; that the bright breezy light-and-shadow-casting character of the climate is peculiarly favourable both to the display and to the enjoyment of scenery; I think we may say, that in combination of those great natural features which constitute the foundation of fine scenery, New Zealand is not surpassed by any country in the world. She displays noble forests, snow-capped mountains shooting up 10,000 feet from a sea of green and wooded up to the line of snow, tracts of rolling champaign country, dells, valleys, rivers, and rivulets innumerable, and 3000 miles of bay and ocean coast.

"New Zealand, too, with all the elements of fine scenery, this stock of 'raw beauty,' is a fertile, cultivable country; where plough, sickle, and mill would singularly enrich and brighten the landscape. The plough could not improve the natural beauty of a country like the Scotch highlands, because the Scotch highlands are not pecuniarily ploughable; and the plough, if every ploughman were a Mechi, could not create the 'beautiful' in a country like the Lincolnshire fens, or the plains of Belgium. But in a wild, fertile, woody country, more resembling a combination of Derbyshire and Devonshire, it is evident that cultivation would singularly improve the beauty of the scenery.

"Picturesque sites, and sheltered nooks for hamlet, tower, and town, homestead cottage and castle, are multitudinous in New Zealand; and when cultivation has given colour to the landscape, and contrast to the universal background of green; when the hills are more dotted with sheep, and the valleys more golden with corn; when the pheasant whirs from the brake, and the fox bursts from the cover, New Zealand will offer a thousand views which even a Turner might cross the seas to paint."*

The climate of New Zealand is well adapted to the Anglo-Saxon emigrant. "It is a climate assimilating to, but better than, his own; a climate which, endowing him with full powers of body and mind, requires and calls forth the fruitful exercise of such powers. . . . . It is a climate favourable alike to the preservation of robust health and the improvement of weak health; a climate most congenial to all pastoral and agricultural pursuits; one in which every domestic English animal thrives and fattens; and in which every English grain, grass, fruit, and flower, "attains full development and perfection."† It is the opinion of those who have sojourned in different parts of the world, that the Anglo-Saxon race can work and expose themselves in the climate of New Zealand without injury, during more days in the year, and for more hours in the day, than in any other country."‡ "The mean temperature of places in New Zealand is lower than that experienced in corresponding latitudes in Europe, ... but higher than that experienced in corresponding latitudes in America. . . . . No single locality in Europe has a temperature during the whole year like that experienced in New Zealand. The North Island possesses the summer heat, tempered with a sea breeze, of Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, with the winter cold of Rome; while the Middle Island has a Jersey summer, and a winter in mildness resembling that at Montpelier.§

"Though there are more fine days in New Zealand than in England, yet when it does rain, it rains harder; and the annual fall of rain is somewhat greater. But there is no tropical 'rainy season' in New Zealand; and there is probably no country where those 'golden showers,' which Loudon describes as so favourable to agriculture, are so common, and where even moderate droughts are so

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 95—99.
† Ibid., p. 104.
‡ Thomson, vol. i. p. 37.
§ Ibid. pp. 38, 39.

rare. Rain generally falls at or about the full and new moon, particularly about the latter. New Zealand cannot be called a damp country, in any injurious sense. Rains and heavy dews are frequent, and there is considerable moisture. But New Zealand is an upland, hilly country, thoroughly drained by rapid streams. There are no fens. Both surface and subsoil are generally light and porous. Wet rapidly drains and percolates away; and moisture is quickly dried up by the combined influence of sun and breeze."*

"Probably in no country in Europe is the atmosphere so frequently agitated by winds as in New Zealand." "It may not blow furiously so often as it does on the English coasts, but it blows 'stiff' oftener; there are fewer tempests, but more half gales. Early winter is perhaps the calmest season; spring and early summer the most breezy."

"In fine winter mornings, a crust of ice is occasionally seen on pools and road-side splashes. Snow is never seen in the North Island, except on the mountain tops; but slight falls occasionally sprinkle the southern plains of Canterbury and Otago.† Fogs and mists are rare, and thunder-storms are less frequent than in England. There is but little twilight; in summer it is dark about an hour earlier than in England, in winter about an hour later. The nights are always proportionately cooler than the days: when a warm coat would be oppressive in the fields by day, a blazing log would be cozy in the house at night.

"Our experience of the New-Zealand climate is, however, at present, chiefly confined to the coasts. In the interior, the climate is more settled and serene, the winters a little colder, the summer a little warmer, the seasons more advanced; and it seems probable that semi-tropical fruits, orange, citron, olive, and pomegranate, might be cultivated with success in sheltered valleys of the Northern-Island districts."‡

"Such, then, are the elements of the climate of New Zealand, and, under its fertilizing influence, every European plant grows in the colony, while the geranium, arum, fuschia, balsam, myrtle, heliotrope, and Cape bulbs, live in the open air. Flowers blow quickly, but the fragrance of the lily and the rose are equal to that exhaled from lilies and roses in England. Figs, peaches, grapes, nectarines, plums, and melons, ripen in the open air side by side with apples and pears; but the temperature in summer is not sufficiently warm in the southern parts of the colony to bring these delicate fruits to high perfection. At Nelson, in the Middle Island, melons, grapes, and nectarines ripen better than in any other part of New Zealand.

"Camphor, spices, and the luscious fruits of oriental orchards do not ripen in any parts of New Zealand, although the taro and sweet potato, originally brought by the natives from the tropics, still survive, and are cultivated for food by the aborigines living north of Banks's Peninsula. Potatoes and maize ripen side by side on the North Island, a circumstance rarely observed in Europe. The aloe, which seeds in South America in four years, and in England with difficulty after a long series of years, seeds in the neighbourhood of Auckland in eleven years.

"An idea of the seasons in New Zealand may be drawn from English strawberries being ripe in November, December, and January; cherries and gooseberries in January; apples, pears, plums, and peaches in February; and melons, figs, and grapes in March and April. Spring, in short, commences in September, summer in December, autumn in April, and winter in June. The summer mornings, even in the warmest parts of the colony, are sufficiently fresh to exhilarate without chilling, and the seasons glide imperceptibly into each other. The days are an hour shorter at each end of the day in summer, and an hour longer in winter, than in England. The beauty of the day is in the early morning, and at this hour, away from the settlements of men, a solemn stillness pervades the air, which is only broken by the shrill and tinkling voices of birds. Summer nights are often singularly beautiful and mild, and on such occasions the settlers are frequently enticed from their houses to wander about in the open air.

"Happily the climate is as favourable to the health of the settlers as it is to vegetation and beauty. Captain Cook, ninety years ago, remarked the healthy state of his ship's crew while beating about the coasts of the colony, and subsequent experience has furnished convincing proofs that Anglo-Saxon settlers multiply fast by births, and die slowly from disease. Evidence of the fecundity of the settlers is furnished by the census return, but there are no materials among the civil population for proving their healthfulness, except the sickness and mortality among the soldiers stationed in the colony. . . . .

"The soldiers stationed in New Zealand

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 108.

† The mountain snow-line in the North Island is about 7000 feet above the sea-level.

‡ Hursthouse, pp. 109, 110.

enjoyed better health than soldiers stationed n any other portion of Her Majesty's colonial possessions. During the five years ending March 1853, residence in New Zealand saved the lives of eight soldiers annually out of every thousand who would have died had the troops been quartered in the United Kingdom."*

In the presence of advantages so many and varied as those we have enumerated, the New-Zealand settler may well say, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places, yea I have a goodly heritage." And in this land of so great natural advantages, not less than forty millions of acres, which some twenty years back were the property of the native, have been placed at his disposal.

We have before us a map, appended to the Parliamentary Papers, showing approximately the extent of land acquired from the natives. We proceed to examine it, and place the results before our readers. And, first, the Middle Island. A few specks here and there along the northern and eastern coasts indicate the native reserves: but so small are they, that the native title may be regarded as extinct. The great island is exclusively colonial.

This island is divided into three provinces—Otago the southern, Canterbury in the middle, and Nelson to the north. The great mountain range, which constitutes the backbone of the island, approximating, as we have seen, much more closely the western than the eastern coast, attains its culminating point in the province of Canterbury, a little to the north of the 44th degree of south latitude, where Mount Cook rises to the elevation of 13,200 feet. As the range approaches the boundary of the Nelson Province, it strikes more into the heart of the country, travelling into numerous lower ranges, which stretch northwards into the sea at various points on the south shore of Cook's Straits. Thus one range, Kaikora, strikes the eastern shore at Cape Campbell; another range extends along Cape Campbell and Cloudy Bay; a third, forming the north-western boundary of the Wairau plain, subdivides into ridges which enclose the magnificent harbours of Port Underwood, Queen Charlotte Sound, Port Gore, and Pelorus Sound; and a fourth range extends west of Blind Bay, nearly to Cape Farewell. The greater part, therefore, of the Nelson district, which borders on the sea, is mountainous, in general heavily wooded, and steep to the water's edge. Numerous level spots, however, have been formed by the countless streams between the lesser spurs. At the south-east corner of Blind Bay are the haven and town of Nelson, containing about 4000 inhabitants, the European population of the province having increased from 2500 in 1842, to 9272 in 1858. Surrounded by a belt of hills and broken country, nestling beneath which it lies sheltered from cold south blasts, Nelson enjoys a climate of brilliant serenity. Indications of mineral wealth in the encircling hills are already presenting themselves, as well of gold as copper; while at Massacre Bay the first coal-fields have been discovered. These, with the magnificent harbours on the adjoining coast, present the elements of future maritime greatness.

The shores are "indented with a perfect labyrinth of coves, bays, creeks havens, and harbours, of every size, sort, and capacity. Queen Charlotte's Sound, in the centre of the group, twenty-five miles long, with one entrance three, and the other six miles broad, is a gigantic ocean dock, capable of berthing the whole British navy; and Pelorus Sound, a little to the north, is a similar group of harbours, embracing 250 miles of shore and beach."*

Nor are cultivable tracts wanted, notwithstanding the mountainous character of the province. Massacre Bay presents some thousand acres of land desirable for occupation. There is also the fine valley of the Waimea under high and prolific cultivation, and the Motueka, a pleasant district lying across the bay. But the eastern section of the province is that which possesses the greatest agricultural capabilities. Here are to be found the Wairau and Kaipara-te-ao plains, with extensive upland pastures and low grassy downs.

The western portion of the province is a rugged alpine region, a region unexplored, a vast unpeopled tract, where there are "millions of acres, untrodden by human foot since their first upheavement from the sea." Amidst these mountains, in the heart of a very picturesque country, about forty miles S.S.W. of Nelson in a direct line, are the lakes Arthur and Howick, from whence the Buller river has its course, which enters the sea near Cape Foulwind, presenting on either bank a well-wooded and level tract of many thousand acres between the mountains and the sea.

Here, then, throughout the vast interior, lies a noble field of enterprise, awaiting the researches of an enterprising Government. The capabilities of this great island are as yet but little known. But here, without trespassing

* Thomson, vol. i. pp. 44—46.

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 223.

on the North Island at all, may be found ample space for the reception of all the emigrants which England may send forth for many years to those far southern lands. It is a field well worthy of exploration, and we should like to see the Home Government encouraging the provincial authorities to such efforts, and affording to them substantial help. Here is an immense territory possessing great natural advantages, where no native proprietor exists to obtrude his title on the path of some anxious colonist, who, having left the chalk cliffs of Albion, desires to find a quiet home in the sequestered valleys or sheltered nooks of these imposing regions. Here, where the homestead has been raised, there is no fear of a native insurrection. They who shall subdue these alpine wildernesses and their hidden treasures and beauties to the service of man, shall become a great people. The Nelson province in particular promises to become one of the most commanding positions in the New-Zealand isles. "The present capital of the province in Blind Bay, however grand its local advantages of site, is not the natural and accessible outlet-harbour for the noble granary and wool-store of the Nelson country. If, at an outlay of 100,000*l.* it were practicable to connect a new port-town on any of the noble harbours of Queen Charlotte's Sound with the Wairau, and the Wairau with the line of interior districts and the frontiers of Canterbury, such outlay would be amply justified by the result; for a good port-town in Queen Charlotte's Sound, commanding such a cornucopia as the eastern portion of the province must be pronounced to be, climate, centrality of position, and other advantages considered, would become the real capital of New Zealand."*

"Canterbury, the noble centre province of the island, 200 miles in length from north-east to south-west, by 100 miles in breadth, has a coast line of some 400 miles, and an area of fifteen millions of acres, all of which, virtually, have been acquired from the natives." On its eastern shore appears the remarkable projection called Banks's Peninsula, with its mountains, forests, and deep inlets of the sea, presenting many beautiful landscapes. Here have been formed the infant settlements of Akaroa, Port Levy, and Pigeon Bay, all possessing excellent ports, Akaroa being one of the finest harbours in New Zealand. On the north side of the peninsula, at its junction with the mainland, lies Port Victoria, formerly Port Cooper, a fine, land-locked, ocean inlet, bearing on its margin, where the land is level, Lyttelton, the port-town, containing some 2000 inhabitants. Behind the town rises a ridge of hills about 1100 feet high. Ascending this by a zigzag path, the emigrant beholds extended before him "a noble plain of four millions of acres, watered by twenty rivers, rolling back in gentle rise forty miles to the foot of the central highlands, and spreading north and south further than the eye can reach."* This is the great Canterbury plain, about one hundred miles long and fifteen to fifty wide. Although nearly flat and devoid of trees, the monotony of the foreground is nevertheless considerably relieved by "the fine mountain range which bounds the horizon to the westward, and also by the smaller hills of Banks's Peninsula to the eastward. The great mountain range is distant about forty miles from Christ Church, and, in certain states of the atmosphere, is so clear, that a stranger to the country would suppose it to be within twenty. From the town, in clear weather, the mountains can be seen over a length of two hundred miles, some of the highest peaks in sight being upwards of 9000 feet above the level of the sea. In winter, when the peaks are dotted with snow from their crest half-way down, these southern alps assume an aspect of grandeur and sublimity which can be equalled in but few parts of the world." †

"Christchurch, the rural capital of the plains, about ten miles from Lyttelton, over the harbour hills, containing some 2000 people, is a considerable village, pleasantly situated on the river Avon. The country around is dotted with corn-fields, pastures, orchards, and dairy farms; and the luxuriance of crop, the sleek, full-fed look of the domestic animals which these cultivations exhibit, prove that the ragged-looking tracts of similar soil which surround them need but the magic touch of plough and spade to be clothed with a like mantle of blooming fertility.'‡

The population (colonial) of this province has increased from 3273 in 1851, to 8967 in 1858. The bringing of the land under cultivation has progressed from 803 acres, as the total under crop in 1851, to 13,935, as the maximum in 1858. In the former year there were of acres fenced in 2526; in the latter, 22,936. The increase of stock during the same period is remarkable; of cattle from

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 224.

* Hursthouse, vol. i, p. 226.
† Hodgkinson's Canterbury.
‡ Hursthouse, p. 232.

2043 to 20,739; and of sheep from 28,416 to 495,580.

"Otago, the southern province, 150 miles in length by 200 in breadth, has a coast line of some 500 miles, and an area of fifteen millions of acres, all of which, virtually, have been acquired from the natives." Perhaps three-fourths of the Otago province consist of interspersed pastoral and wooded agricultural districts of great fertility; and there is probably no province in New Zealand capable of producing a greater annual export of wool, and meal, and corn.

"Dunedin, the village capital of the province, 230 sea miles from Port Lyttelton, (S. lat. 45° 46′, E. long. 170° 44′), containing about 2000 inhabitants, stands at the head of a fine loch, thirteen miles in length, which may be said to form two harbours; "the deep or seaward half running up to Port Chalmers, beyond which large ships do not come; and the shallow inland half extending to Dunedin, and accessible only for small craft and light steamers." The beautiful valleys of the Taieri and Tokomoriro, a few miles to the south of the town, and the banks of the Clutha, a fine semi-navigable river fifty miles southward, suffice for the present to meet the agricultural wants of the infant settlement.

In Foveaux Straits, 140 sea miles from Dunedin, a new settlement, Invercargill, has been formed. The combination of natural advantages is such as to render it one of the finest sites in New Zealand. "It is central between two harbours, the Bluff and the New River, and commands a fine river, navigable for twenty miles. These harbours are practically nearer the Australian harbours, and a week's sail nearer to England than any settlement-harbour in New Zealand. There is no large native population in the country to impede colonization, but there is a scattered population of old squatters, civilized natives, and intelligent half-castes, which may materially strengthen the first efforts of colonization; while, as to land, there is probably no part of New Zealand where so great an extent of agricultural country could be found lying in open communication with a sea-board and shipping harbour." This portion of the Otago province is described by those who have visited it as a splendid district, where extend "thousands of acres of beautiful undulating land, with natural grasses, studded with large masses of bush, containing excellent timber, reminding one of a gentleman's park on a scale '*magnifique*:' small streams of excellent water are interspersed through the country. To the westward, beyond a range of wooded hills, appear the snowy southern alps."

Opposite Invercargill, across the strait, lies Rakiura, or Stewart's Island, well wooded, possessing many fertile little valleys, and many excellent harbours. Various little communities of old whalers, natives, and half-castes, are scattered about its bays and coves. Port Pegasus, on its south-east coast, is a splendid harbour, about sixty miles S.S.W. from which lie "the Snares, a land-mark and point of departure, which the Australian homeward-bounders generally sight in running past the south end of New Zealand."

Eastward from Invercargill some hundred miles, a group of splendid inlets and harbours is found, corresponding to those which we have already described as existing in the north-eastern projection of the island, both being formed by the extremities of the great mountain ranges which, at these points, lose themselves in the ocean. An extract from the Admiralty Blue-Book will briefly describe these "ocean docks of New Zealand."

"The only places of shelter for shipping along the whole extent of the west coast of the Middle Island, a distance of 500 miles, are those singular, and truly remarkable sounds or inlets, which penetrate its south-western shores between parallels of the 44° and 46° south latitude.

"The precipitous and iron-bound coast-line which forms the sea-wall, as it were, in which these extraordinary inlets may be almost likened to so many breaches, runs in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction; and the whole, thirteen in number, are included within a space of little more than one hundred miles.

"With the exception of Cook's excellent description of Dusky Bay (explored during his second voyage in 1773), nothing has been recorded of this remarkable region; nor, until an examination by H.M.S. 'Acheron' in 1851, was it known to any but a few adventurous whalers, whom stress of weather alone had compelled to seek shelter on its desolate and silent shores. The character and features of these sounds so much resemble each other, that it seems desirable to offer a description of them generally, before entering into any detailed account of their capabilities individually.

"In approaching from seaward, there is so much sameness in the appearance of the land, that unless a vessel knows her position accurately, it is not easy at a distance to distinguish the entrance of one sound from another; and the smaller inlets, at a distance of four or five miles, have more the appearance of ravines between the high and rugged mountains, than the entrance of harbours. . . . .

"The larger of the sounds are generally

divided into several arms, penetrating the coast, in some instances for a distance of twenty miles, with a breadth rarely exceeding a mile, and studded with numerous islets. The smaller sounds generally run in for a distance of from six to eight miles, with a width of about half a mile, and anchorage is seldom to be found except at their inner extremes.

"The shores, which rise almost perpendicularly from the water's edge, are, in the immediate neighbourhood of the sounds, covered with trees suitable for all purposes; among them the red pine, which, although heavier and inferior to the kauri, is well adapted for masts, and a vessel requiring spars could procure them of any size, up to a sloop of war's lower mast, with little difficulty: for this purpose the southern inlets are preferable."

The growth of the Otago settlements suffices to show that they have struck root in a good ground, where they are likely to thrive and prosper. The European population has increased from 1776, in 1851 to 6944 in 1858; the land under crop during the same period from 1015 to 9320 acres; and the fenced acres from 1974 to 19,066; while the stock has augmented—the cattle from 3161 to 20,971, and the sheep from 34,829 to 223,589.

Having thus presented a very cursory sketch of this magnificent island, with all its great natural advantages and capabilities, let us now sum up its population, at the present moment more especially, when, in the North Island, portions of the two races have thrown themselves into bloody conflict with each other, the cause of contention being a few hundred acres of land in the Taranaki province.

The colonial population of the Middle Island amounted, in 1858, to 25,183 souls, to which 2283, the entire amount of the native population, so far as we know, being added, gives us a total of 27,466, for this magnificent island, the area of which is thirty-eight millions* of acres, according to Thomson. In the map appended to the Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand, the area is reduced to 29,000,000 in round numbers. Why here we have an uninhabited land, healthful, temperate in climate, with large productive capabilities, and features of great natural beauty, all the property of England, and a suitable appanage for her emigrant children. It invites the application of human effort, that its energies may be developed, and that the peculiar charm which cultivation gives may be superadded to its natural loveliness. It is this which would render it all that a Briton could desire, "where the charm of our home beauties, suffused over the wild grandeur of this favoured land, would be heightened by a climate, of which the most lovely of English days can scarcely convey an idea." Why, then, pause to struggle with the Maori for the possession of lands, which, for whatever reason, he is unwilling to alienate? With this splendid central gem at his disposal, the colonist can well afford to content himself with such portions of the Northern Island as have been already purchased. If the opportunity of making further acquisitions in that island be for the present precluded, let the tide of emigration set in more decidedly on the shores of the Middle Island, where no such difficulties exist, and which, peopled by British settlers, must rise to the sovereignty of these seas, and become the Great Britain of the southern hemisphere.

Let us now, however, direct our attention to the North Island, and consider somewhat more closely what may be the position and prospects of the colonist, and whether he be so lamentably straitened, that a death struggle with the native is preferable to a continance in his present state. We shall review the provinces in the order in which they present themselves, commencing with that of Wellington, in which we shall include the newly-constituted province of Hawkes Bay on the eastern coast.

Wellington, the southern province, "200 miles in length from north to south, by 100 in breadth, has a coast-line of 500 miles, and an area of some twelve millions of acres." The Parliamentary map reduces the area to less than 8½ millions of acres. "The native title to the whole of the available land in the Wellington province, excepting about one million of acres, is already extinguished."* The European population amounted, in 1858, to 13,242, the native to 7983; the total, 21,225.

Wellington, the first settlement founded by the New-Zealand Company, and containing about 6000 inhabitants, is situated on the shores of a fine bay-harbour, at the entrance of Cook's Straits, and midway between the northern and southern extremities of the two islands. Central and commanding as its position must be admitted to be, it has serious disadvantages. It is liable to volcanic action:

* In our last Number, p. 234, it was stated to be thirty-three millions of acres, the manuscript figure 8 having been read by the printer 3, and the error not having been detected in the correction of the proofs. Had the greater number been introduced, the argument would have been stronger: of sixty-five millions of acres the colonist has now forty-five, and the native twenty!

* Blue Book, p. 36.

"nine-tenths of all the damage ever done in New Zealand by earthquakes has been done in the town and immediate neighbourhood of Wellington." It has also the disagreeable peculiarity of a boisterous climate. "Standing on the edge of the funnel of Cook's Straits, and surrounded by steep hills, pierced by a hundred deep ravines and draught-holes, it enjoys, for six months, an almost continual gale of wind, bursting out into occasional typhoons." Again, "with the exception of the Hutt, a market-garden valley eight miles distant up the bay, there is no cultivable land near the town. Picturesque wooded steeps rise almost perpendicularly from the water's edge, and the country, for a radius of twenty miles round, consists of densely-timbered mountain ranges, cut up by innumerable ravines."*

There are, however, outlying districts which have been secured by the settlers, and with which communication has been opened.

The province is divided into two nearly equal portions by a range of mountains called the Ruahise in their northern part, and the Tararua and Rimutaki further south. Under the shelter of this range, along the western coast, extend a series of fine districts, and here, for a hundred miles, in an almost continuous chain of cultivation, the settlements of Porirua, Kapiti, Otaki, Rangitiki, Manawatu, and Wanganui, have been planted, several of them being situated on rivers flowing from the mountains, two of which—the Wanganui and Manawatu—are semi-navigable. But more than these have been secured. Eastward of the dividing range extend a series of plains called the Wairarapa. These plains, rising gradually from the sea-beach in Palliser Bay, near Port Nicholson, and Hawkes Bay on the eastern coast, to a considerable elevation at about forty miles inland from either spot, and buttressed up from the eastern coast by a mountain range called the Maungaraki and Rumahanga, extend from Cape Kidnapper Point, the southern projection of Hawkes Bay to Palliser Bay. At Hawkes Bay, to which these plains, expanding in their more northerly portion, stretch down from the interior, a new settlement (Ahuriri) has been formed, and large tracts of land, to the north and south of Hawkes Bay, have been secured.

Such are the advantages of this new settlement—a fair coasting-harbour, central position, much good land, fine climate, and communication with Wairarapa and Manawatu, and such the promise of its becoming an extensive producer of wheat and wool, that in November 1858, by an Act of the General Assembly, it was declared to be the seventh province of New Zealand. Almost over the entire of this new province the native title has been extinguished. Lastly, between the eastern range and the cliffs on the seashore, the country forms a table-land, covered principally with open pastures, and watered by several streams. This also has been transferred from the native to the settler.

Thus, with narrow intervals, all the maritime districts of the province of Wellington, those along the east coast from the north shore of Hawkes Bay to Cape Palliser, the Wellington districts on Cook's Straits, and then along the western shores as far north as Wanganui, belong to the colonists. Even of the exceptional districts which break the chain of continuity, considerable portions appear to be under treaty. The native, thus deprived of the coast districts and other more valuable portions of the province, the harbours and embouchures of rivers, is thrown back on the wild interior between the Ruahine range and the Pipiriki river, and towards the great central group of mountains where the Ruapahu and the Tongariro lift their summits to the skies.

New Plymouth now claims our attention. This province, lying along the western shore, and including that projection of the coast which is crowned by the snow-capped mountain Egmont, has a coast-line of some 150 miles, and an acreage of three millions, or with the reduced area of the Parliamentary map, of 2,044,688 acres, being about 100 miles in length by about 150 in breadth. Its population consists of 2652 colonists and 3015 natives, making together a total of 5667 souls. Of the between two and three millions of acres, about 60,000 have been acquired by the settlers, and of these they appear, in 1858, to have had not more than 12,156 acres under crop, and 12,706 as the total number of acres fenced. The colonial population has increased from 1532 in 1851, to 2652 in 1858. Of these, 1414 are males. They possessed, in 1858, 452 horses, 4052 cattle, and 16,000 sheep.

This province has been designated the garden of New Zealand, and "in soil, scenery, and climate combined, she well merits the title." Of her two millions of acres and upwards "about one-third, the back or inland portion, consists of forest tracts of excellent timber; and the remainder, the open undulating country along the coast, consists mainly of agricultural and pastoral tracts of the finest character, watered by a hundred Tamars, Doves, Dees, and Deverons." Above the generally level territory

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 220.

rises the magnificent landmark of Mount Egmont. This remarkable mountain "may be seen from a vessel's deck, in clear weather, from a distance of more than a hundred miles." It rises in a perfect cone from a base of thirty miles in diameter, to a height of 8270 feet above the sea, and presents nearly the same appearance viewed from every point: its summit, which is an extinct crater, is flattened, and is covered with perpetual snow for nearly a quarter of its elevation. About half the circumference of the base, from Sugar-Loaf Point to the mouth of the Waimate river, is formed by the sea coast; and Cape Egmont presents at once the western-most point of this circle, and the northern headland of the western entrance of Cook's Straits." Along the coast to the south of this commanding feature, a broad track of undulating country extends in a south-easterly direction as far as the Wanganui district; while to the north, a similar tract extends in a north-easterly direction as far as the river Mokau, being separated by a low range of wooded mountains from the country watered by the western tributaries of the Wanganui river." A saddle-shaped eminence rises to the N.W. of the mountain to a height of 4000 feet, as a kind of offshoot, while a low range of hills diverges to the north-east in the direction of Tongariro.

The village-town of Taranaki, or New Plymouth, lies nearly twenty miles north-eastward from Mount Egmont. It is well marked from seaward by the Sugar-Loaf Islands and by the still more remarkable dome-shaped hill Paretutu, or Main Sugar-Loaf, a cone of trachitic porphyry, which rises to the height of 500 feet, with one side of its base washed by the sea. The islands are five in number. One of them, Moturoa, is a conical rock, extremely steep, about one mile in circumference, and 300 feet high. Here, in the days of heathenism and cannibal wars, the vanquished portion of the natives used to find a refuge from the fierce wrath of the more powerful, the huts they were wont to inhabit being perched in niches on different parts of the rock. New Plymouth has no harbour but only a roadstead, exposed to W. and N.W. winds, which occasionally blow with great violence.

"The appearance of New Plymouth, in fine weather, from sea, is generally considered beautiful. The taste for sylvan scenery, and quiet rustic beauty, is gratified by the combination of stream and forest, glade and valley, pastures and trim fields dotted with cattle, or yellow with corn; whilst, for the Salvator Rosa eye, there is the giant snow-capped mountain towering up from a sea of lustrous foliage 8000 feet in the golden sky.

"The settlement, snuggly planted on the margin of the beach, embosomed amid gentle hills, and watered by the Huatoki, Mangotuku, and tributary burns, displays its granite church and chapels, its little mills and breweries, snug hostelries, customs, post-office, stores, and primitive shops; but affecting no 'town airs,' stands out before the world a robust, hearty-looking village—famed throughout the land for troops of rosy children, fat meat, and rivers of Devonshire cream."*

"There are no outlying little settlements in this province. The inhabitants are concentrated in the village-capital, and in a belt of farms and clearings, lying around within a radius of ten miles." It is well that it is so for war has broken out, and here, in this peaceful spot, as it might be but for the fierce outbreak of human passions, the colonist and the settler have met in sanguinary conflict. The area of land in possession of the settlers appears to be limited, and we doubt not it is desirable that they should acquire more, but not, surely, at a price so costly as that of war. We do not now propose to examine the Taranaki land dispute: it will require separate consideration. But even supposing that more land was urgently required, would it not have been better patiently to have waited until opportunity presented itself, rather than imperil, by a rash collision with the natives, the very existence of this interesting spot?

We insert here as having reference to this point, extracts from a letter written by Mr. Fox, a member of the House of Representatives, dated April 27th, 1860, taken from the "Wellington Independent."

"Sir,—I have been requested to sign a memorial addressed to His Excellency the Governor by settlers in the Wanganui district, which expresses 'the warm approval of the memorialists of the policy pursued by him in the native disturbances at Taranaki;' and states that they 'regard the grounds on which His Excellency has taken up arms to be just and necessary,' and concludes by tendering 'their cordial support.'

"I have declined to sign it; and as representative for Wanganui in the General Assembly, I am desirous of stating to my constituents, through your columns, my reasons for my refusal. . . . .

"The conclusion at which I have arrived is, that it is impossible till the affair is sifted

* Hursthouse, vol. i. pp. 212—216.

by the General Assembly to say whether the purchase from Teira was valid or not. I do not believe there is an individual of the European race in this province who *knows* the merits of the case; and I think it would be exceedingly presumptuous in me to prejudge a case on which I shall probably have to adjudicate in the House of Representatives, by expressing my belief that this war is either a just or a necessary war, when in fact, neither I, nor any other colonist in this province, has the means of knowing the truth.

"The responsibility which rests upon the Governor for appealing to the sword for the settlement of this land difficulty, without apparently having attempted any milder method of adjustment, is great. Great also is the responsibility he has incurred by plunging the colony into war with so little preparation, and without any warning to large numbers of settlers, whose position was such as to place them absolutely at the mercy of tribes with whom King was known to have intimate relations, and who might, if they had so chosen, have swept away the population of whole districts before their victims could almost have heard that a war was impending. Nor is the responsibility less, which will shortly rest upon the General Assembly, of investigating these matters, and making provision, if they shall think proper to do so, for the very heavy expense which this war must of necessity entail on the colony. My desire is to preserve my mind entirely unbiassed on these matters, that I may come to their consideration in the House of Representatives free from prejudice, and with a determination to see justice done where the right may be.

"For these reasons, Sir, I have declined committing myself by any expression of opinion such as that contained in the memorial referred to. I trust that the explanation I have given will be satisfactory to my constituents."

We have nearly completed our circle, and have reached the Auckland province, the one which is of most importance in our present consideration, because within its limits is concentrated the largest proportion of the population, as well native as colonial; and therefore it is here, as might be expected, the difficulties concerning the land question have originated—the demand for more land on the part of the colonists, and, on the part of the native, the refusal to concede more. Let us review its characteristics.

"Auckland, the northern province of New Zealand, 400 miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and nearly 200 miles in breadth, at the broadest part, has a coast line of 800 miles; and an area of seventeen millions of acres, or, according to the Parliamentary map, of 15,456,000.

"The chief local characteristics of this noble province are these — a warmer climate, almost capable of ripening maize and a few semi-tropical fruits; great area and coast line; the possession of Lakes Taupo, Rotorua, and innumerable hot springs and chalybeate waters; numerous fine harbours and facilities of coast and inland water carriage; the exclusive possession of the kauri forests; the presence of nearly two-thirds of the native population, and the absence of great pastoral plains.

"Auckland (south lat. 36° 50′, east long. 174° 50′) the flourishing capital of the province, containing about 7000 inhabitants, was founded by Governor Hobson, and a body of pioneer colonists, in 1840. One of the finest commercial sites in the world is that of Auckland. Planted in the centre of her province, she stands, Corinth-like, on a narrow isthmus between her two noble harbours and outlets to the ocean, Waitemate and Manakau. An easy canalization of four miles would unite these waters; when, through gay villas and suburban gardens, a line of battle-ships might glide from sea to sea. Indeed, Auckland is the centre of a net-work of marine highways —a young antipodal Venice, surrounded by natural canals. Close to her, on the east, she has the Wairoa, the Thames, and the deep and placid Tamaki; close, on the west, the great estuary of Kaipara, pushing its arms up to the head waters of the Waitemate; whilst on the south she has the beautiful Waikato, meandering a hundred miles through the valleys of the interior, and floating the rich harvests of Taupo and the Waipa down to her very wharfs.

"A chain of military pensioner villages surround Auckland to the south, at a distance of from six to ten miles; and are connected with each other, and with the agricultural suburbs of the town, by excellent roads, displaying a continuous line of beautiful road-side cultivations.*

"At present, four-fifths of the colonist population of the province are centered in the town and in the suburban districts surrounding Auckland. Russell (Bay of Islands), 150 miles to the north, is the only place besides the capital which affects the dignity of a town; but there are various little coast settlements scattered along the shore, such as Coromandel, Otea, Wangari, Wangaroa, Manganui (the favourite recruiting resort of the American whalers), Hokianga, Kiapara,

* Hursthouse, vol. i. pp. 195, 196.

Whaingaroa, Kawhia, and Tauranga, counting from 50 to 100 pioneer settlers, which will grow into considerable importance as the extraordinary natural resources of the province become developed under the magic touch of capital and labour."*

The colonial population in 1858 numbered 18,177, being an increase, in seven years, of 6747. The native title has been extinguished in 1,959,974 of the 15,456,000 acres of the province. These acquired territories are massed together, almost exclusively, in the northern projection of the island, extending from the north bank of that portion of the Waikato which runs from east to west, as far as Land's End and Cape Reinga, the whole of this area, with the exception of a strip extending across the island from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands, having been either actually proclaimed, or being under negotiation for that purpose. Considering the maritime position of Auckland, of which we have just given a glowing description — an antipodal Venice, surrounded by natural canals—all portions of this territory must be regarded as of easy access.

We have already seen, if their own statistics are to be depended upon, that the Auckland colonists consider themselves to be suffering under a great deficiency of land. "Our farmers," observes one energetic remonstrant at the Auckland meeting on the 'Native Land Question,' held June 18, 1859, "are obliged to suspend the increasing of their flocks, owing to the want of lands and the scarcity of their food."† The Superintendent of Auckland, who, from his position, might be supposed to be sufficiently acquainted with the statistics of his own province, appears to have become so strongly imbued with the same idea, as to forward, in November 1858, an official complaint to the Colonial Secretary's office, that, with the exception of 'certain blocks of land situated at the Bay of Islands, which for the present, for certain reasons, were not to be dealt with, there remained but one block of land, over which the native title had not been extinguished, available for survey and disposal"‡ by the Provincial Government;' and that at a time when a large number of immigrants, entitled to received land, were expected at Auckland. He prayed, therefore, that the Native Land Purchase Department might be moved to increased activity. This called forth the following counter-statement from Mr. M'Lean, the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, dated Jan. 25, 1859—

"It appears to me that there must be some misapprehension as to the Provincial Government having no blocks of land to operate on. In 1857, 119,095 acres were proclaimed in the 'Government Gazette,' and of this extent there are several blocks of good land in the Kaipara district alone, which have not been touched by the Provincial Government, such as the Tatararake, of 12,000 acres; Okahu, 19,000; Waikiekie, 12,000; Toka toka and Wakahara, 7000. During the year 1858, 277,800 acres were proclaimed: of this extent 86,000 acres, near the North Cape, is more adapted for grazing than for subdivision or settlement. There are, however, in this vicinity, two blocks of 16,000 acres of good volcanic soil, the Otengi and Wharemaru, well adapted for settlement, and situated beyond the limits of lands required under the Bay-of-Islands Settlement Act 1858. There are other blocks in different parts of the province that I have not adverted to, independent of 22,000 acres recently handed over for proclamation from this department. I cannot, therefore, conceive how the statement has been arrived at, that there is only one block over which the native title has been extinguished, available for survey and disposal by the Provincial Government."

In this document the Kaipara district is specially referred to. Into the Kaipara harbour several rivers fall, the whole adjoining district being well irrigated, and presenting such a combination of natural advantages as to induce Dr. Dieffenbach thus favourably to report of it—"Kaipara harbour, into which the Wairoa and other rivers fall, seems to me —on account of the number of timber-trees on the shores of the rivers, the length of their navigable course, the extent of the available alluvial land on their banks, and the immediate neighbourhood of the seat of Government (Auckland)—to be deserving of an early attention as a place where capital and labour may be very profitably employed."* Again, the settlers had especially complained of the want of pasture land on which to feed their flocks, "those in the neighbourhood of Auckland being overstocked, and many of the herds of cattle bordering on starvation;" and yet at the very time there were not less than 86,000 acres at the North Cape, well adapted for grazing purposes, awaiting the pleasure of the colonist.

This response on the part of Mr. M'Lean,

* Hursthouse, vol. i. p. 208.
† Blue Book, p. 134,
‡ Ibid. p. 135.

* Dieffenbach, vol. ii. chap. 14.

conclusive as it would seem to be, because referring to facts which were undeniable, does not appear, however, to have been satisfactory to the Auckland colonists. On May 24, 1859, they again approach the Colonial Secretary on the subject, and repeat their tale of fast-approaching ruin in consequence of the failure of land-supplies. "Difficulties have arisen, and are increasing to such an extent as to render it imperative on the settlers to inquire, How are our increasing stock to be fed? Where is the land to produce wheat and other necessaries for our present population?" And they then proceed to impress upon the Government the necessity of acquiring native land in the district of the Thames, which the colonist considered would be advantageous for his purposes, but which the Maori preferred retaining in his own hands. Thus driven to bay by increasing importunities, the Colonial Secretary, in a letter dated June 6, 1859, requires from the Superintendent of Auckland an abstract of lands, available for survey and settlement, in possession of the provincial authorities on January 1, 1859; and the very same official, who, in November 1858, had declared, "but one block of land, over which the native title has been extinguished, is now available for survey or disposal by the Provincial Government," remits a return by which it appears, that on January 1, 1859, there were in the possession of the provincial authorities no less than 632,081 acres of land, of which, after the deduction of mountainous tracts or of inferior soil, as well as other portions, the settlement of which, from various causes, was deferred, there remained 344,224 acres available for immediate survey.

These circumstances appear strange, and difficult to be accounted for. The colonists complain, first, of there being no available land. This position being untenable, they are compelled to fall back upon the improving of the large tracts which were awaiting their acceptance. But this, also, being found weak and indefensible, the true reason at length is unwillingly avowed—their distance from the provincial capital. We refer to a speech of Mr. Forsaith's at the Auckland meeting on the land question, June 4th, 1859—

"Some people said that Government was in a good position, so far as regards the number of acres which they had required. If only an abundance of land were required, it would be true, but it was the quality which had to be looked to. He (Mr. Forsaith) could not himself make an exact estimate of the quantity which Government had acquired, but he would read a statement, which he believed to be correct, of its average and quality. [Mr Forsaith then read a paper describing the quantity and quality of the land at present held by Government in the Auckland Provinces.]

"Mr. Forsaith did not wish to deny the character of land in this province, for that which he had mentioned, though unfit at present, might become in future ages of very great value; but it was land not at present required, and which the province was not in a position at present to make available. Nearly every acre in New Zealand would ultimately become available, but all of it was not the land to offer to new comers. He believed that if they went on a large proportion of it ruin stared them in the face; and when he (Mr. Forsaith) saw new comers arriving, and finding all their hopes fallacious, he considered it not only as a private, but a national calamity. One asked, 'Was there no land in the country?' and was told that there was at the North Cape. The new comer comes, and says, 'I do not want to go there.' And it was not to be expected that he should till the circle of civilization and colonization had extended so far. It was a mockery and delusion to expect him to go there, and they ought to take measures for preventing the necessity for his so doing."

We have been in the habit of thinking that the emigrant went forth for the purpose of extending the circle of civilization and colonization; that he was to be the pioneer into the wilderness, and, addressing himself to the cultivation of lands which had been left since the deluge in the wildness of nature, to raise up for himself a new homestead and heritage, until others, encouraged by his example, should go ahead of him, and place him eventually in the centre, instead of being in the extreme frontier of a new civilization. So it has been in Canada; but, in Auckland, the colonist waits until the circle of civilization and colonization has so extended itself as to afford to him a safe position within its limits. But by what mysterious process is this extension to take place, and who is to prepare the way for the emigrant? Are we to understand that the districts to which the colonist is so indisposed are lands on which no native labour has been expended, and that he prefers those tracts on which the Maori has bestowed the force of that recently-acquired industry which he has learned under the influence of the Gospel of Christ? Is it that, instead of being at the cost of breaking up wild land for himself, the emigrant would prefer those lands which the native has brought under cultivation; and that what he is really agitating for, is, per-

mission to dislodge the Maori from those productive acres which yield the wheat and, maize and garden produce conveyed by native canoes to the Auckland market, and driving the original proprietor further into the wilderness, to enter upon his labours, and quietly proceed to reap the fruits of them? "There are," observes the Colonial Secretary, in reply to the remonstrant colonists of Auckland, "within easy distance of the city of Auckland a large quantity of fine land that the natives are at present unwilling to part with;" and because they are not willing to part with fine land, so advantageously situated, they are pronounced to be very unreasonable and impracticable persons. But we are inclined to think that the native is in a position to show that the unreasonableness is with the European, and not with him. He might justly reply, "Why urge me to the sale of more land, when, of the territories already acquired by you, hundreds of thousands of acres of good land remain unoccupied? You urge the remoteness of their position as a reason why they are so, and desire that we should alienate lands more conveniently situated with respect to Auckland. But the very circumstance which would make them convenient for you—their vicinity to Auckland—renders them convenient to us, for we also are agriculturists. We raise crops of wheat, maize, potatoes; we rear pigs and poultry; we catch fish; and the proceeds of our industry, with fruit, vegetables, firewood, flax, and kauri gum, we bring to your market at Auckland, and, by their sale, benefit you and ourselves too. If you had no land left, and the case was one of necessity, we might be disposed to listen; but if it be merely a matter of convenience, then we are justified in asking, Is it reasonable to expect of us, that, to convenience you, we should inconvenience ourselves? Auckland has hitherto been the great point of *reunion* between the two races. You are in almost exclusive possession of the territories on the north; considerable blocks to the southward of its site we have also permitted you to acquire, so as to afford you the opportunity of surrounding your colonial capital with a colonial population. Those other districts which you now wish to have, because of their contiguity to Auckland, are for the same reason convenient and profitable to us to retain, and therefore we will not part with them. It may be very disagreeable to the new immigrant to be compelled to enter upon new localities, and erect his homestead in positions remote from Auckland; but we cannot regard it otherwise than unreasonable to disembarrass him of this necessity by inflicting upon us the very disadvantage which he is so anxious to avoid."

In truth, the more we investigate the subject, the less justification do we find for this intense agitation respecting land, on the part of certain Auckland colonists. It appears, that up to December 31, 1857, 568,288 acres, in the province of Auckland, had been alienated, that is, had actually come into the possession of settlers;* and yet, that in 1858, the European population of that province had only 60,183 acres under crop, and 90,448 as the total number fenced in. In grass there were only 50,320 acres. These appear to be but fragmentary portions, indeed, of the magnificent area of upwards of half a million of acres actually in their possession; and it seems unjustifiable that men should agitate for the augmentation, *recte si possunt, si non, quocunque modo*, of fresh lands from the natives, when, of the acres over which the native title had been extinguished, upwards of 600,000 remained at the disposal of the Provincial Government; while of the half million and upwards actually in the possession of the colonists so recently as 1858, little more than 50,000 acres were in grass, and 60,000 under crop. At that date, Auckland, with 18,000 population, had only 31,700 cattle, and 58,792 sheep; Wellington, and Hawkes Bay, with a population of 13,000, had 40,291 cattle, and 336,314 sheep; Nelson, with 9000, had 19,485 cattle and 393,041 sheep; Canterbury, with less than 9000, had 20,739 cattle, and 495,580 sheep; and Otago, with less than 7000, had 20,971 cattle, and 223,589 sheep. We are constrained, therefore, to conclude that the European population of Auckland does not want more land; but more of that patient, persevering, industrial action, which, needful as it is in every man, is more especially so in an emigrant, and without which all the acreage in New Zealand will not avail to make a thriving and prosperous colony. The fact is, that Auckland, with all her advantages of early colonization, and largest amount of European population, is not retaining that advanced position among the settlements of New Zealand, which properly belongs to her as the metropolitan province, in which is placed the colonial capital and seat of Government. The other settlements, especially the southern ones of the Middle Island, are fast overtaking her in the race of progress. Statistics of the territorial revenue, published by order of the General Government, have proved beyond a doubt the humiliating fact, that

* Blue Book, p. 140.

"both in accession of population and increase of exports" the province of Auckland is being left far behind. The territorial revenue of Auckland, arising from sales of land, licenses, and assessments, which in 1855 had reached a maximum of 60,000*l.*, in 1858 had sunk to less than 2500*l*; while that of Wellington had increased from 15,000*l.* to 31,000*l.*; Canterbury from 9200*l.* to 38,900*l.*; and Otago from 1800*l.* to 17,000*l.* and upwards.

Hence we conceive the restlessness at Auckland. The colonists there have attributed the falling-off to the want of land-supply. Hence the public meetings in connexion with the native land question, the rash words which have been said, and the rash things which have been done. Hence the ceaseless complaints and remonstrances addressed to the Government officials, praying for an alteration in the laws regulating the purchase of land from the natives, the abandonment of the crown right pre-emption, and the renunciation of those stipulations in the treaty of Waitangi which recognised the native title, and pronounced the land to be the property of the Maori until it became his pleasure to alienate it. We quote an extract from a paper drawn up by certain Auckland colonists, and which appears to have been put into circulation. After advocating the necessity of some system, which would work with greater facility in the acquisition of more land, they proceed to say—"We venture to suggest that the most feasible and promising method by which this object may be obtained, is *the enfranchising of the lands of the colony, now encumbered with the native right of occupation*, and the royal right of pre-emption."*

When such assumptions are thus openly put forward, and a number of settlers append their names to a public document of this character, which asserts that the lands of New Zealand belong to the colony, and that the native is merely permitted to occupy them on sufferance, we cannot be surprised if the Maoris conclude the time is come when they must unite for self-defence. The view prevalent amongst the colonists on the subject is, that "the unimproved lands are the property of the colony, merely encumbered with a certain native right of occupancy, of which it is the duty of the Government to clear them, as, from time to time, they may be required by the settlers;" and "few would be disposed to admit that the extension of European settlers must be contingent on the consent of the aboriginal owners to cede their territory." "The Government is accordingly held to have failed in its duty in every case where lands eligible for settlement remain in the hands of the natives."*

Nor can we be surprised if the colonists adopt such views, when they have been avowed by the responsible ministers themselves. A certain Bill, designated the "Native Territorial Rights Bill," was introduced by them into the General Assembly, the object of which was to empower the Governor to make free grants to individual natives of lands in reference to which they were willing to cede the native title, that they might receive in lieu of it, and as the future basis of their holding, Crown grants. In this a limitation was proposed to be placed on the exercise of the Governor's power, although in a matter purely native, by making the consent of his responsible advisers necessary to his taking action; and this, on its being objected to, the ministry defended by reasoning, of which the following sentence is an exemplification—"The fallacy is in assuming that to be a right in the natives, which is really a gratuitous concession by the Government. The legislature, very properly, will not trust Governor or ministers, or both together, with any such extravagant discretion as an unlimited power of granting away the *colonial territory* to natives in fee simple."†

To return to Auckland and its prospects, we think our readers will conclude with us, that whatever deterioration has taken place, this cannot be ascribed to want of land, for of that, and good land too, immediately available without trenching on the natives' rights, there appears to be abundance. If we might be permitted to point out one injurious element, we would specify the credit system of Auckland, whereby she offers five years credit to purchasers of land. A lease for four years is granted at a yearly rental of sixpence per acre, and at the expiration of the term, rent having been paid, and the conditions of occupancy fulfilled, the occupant receives his provincial Crown grant in fee simple.

"This is offering a direct bribe to labouring emigrants to do that which they are always only too eager to do, but which, for their own good and that of the whole community, they never should do, namely, instantly to throw aside the well-paid axe and

* Blue Book, p. 126.

* Memorandum from Mr. T. H. Smith, Assistant Native Secretary. Blue Book, p. 84.

† Remarks of Ministers on Memorandum of Native Assistant Secretary. Blue Book, p. 40.

plough, and to rush to the land office for two or three hundred acres of wild land, without having a penny in hand wherewith to aid cultivation." It is not enough to obtain emigrants for the land, and land for the emigrant, but there is a further necessity to be provided for, that when the emigrant is placed on the land he should have the means to cultivate it. A double evil accrues when an emigrant obtains land without any means to cultivate it—the land of the penniless emigrant is left without cultivation, and the emigrant capitalist left without labour. The emigrant who ought to be a labourer instead of a holder of land, becomes a mere squatter on acres, which, from his inability to cultivate them, remain in the wildness of nature; while the man who has the capital to improve his land, if he had the labour, is embarassed and hindered; and thus rich and poor suffer together, simply because, from injudicious arrangements, they are disjointed from that proper relationship in which they ought to stand to one another. The labourer ought to remain a labourer "until the quick savings of his high wages make him a little capitalist, and thus arm him with the one other weapon necessary to enable him to convert his wild acres into golden crops."

We have dealt particularly with this part of the subject, because we cannot but feel that the restlessness on the subject of new acquisitions of land, amongst the European population of Auckland, has engendered amongst the Maoris that distrustful feeling which has exhibited itself in the land-league and king-question, and the further complications in the Taranaki district. Will the prospects of Auckland be improved by the war between the races which has broken out? "The true paramount end and aim of any land and emigration policy of an infant colony, where there is one human being to 1600 acres of fertile wilderness, should be that of attracting population, that of tempting to her solitary shores the *primum mobile* of civilization—people!"* Has the North Island of New Zealand been rendered more attractive by the war which now rages there?

* Hursthouse, vol. ii. p. 128.

VALEDICTION OF MISSIONARIES, AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS ADDRESSED TO THEM.

We present to our readers the instructions addressed to several Missionaries going forth to the various fields of labour appointed them. The Special Meeting of the Committee, on the occasion of which these instructions were delivered, was held at the Church Missionary Children's Home, Highbury, on September 28th, General Alexander occupying the chair.

These valedictory meetings are of special interest and importance, inferior in these respects to none which are held in connexion with the Society. From the nature and object of these assemblings, and the elements of which they consist, there is a deeper chord struck, one which lies more close to the human heart, than can be the case in meetings convened simply for the purpose of communicating Missionary information. The great work in which the Society is engaged, the blessed character and yet high responsibilities of that work, come out with peculiar vividness. The Missionaries, in the surrender of home ties and prospects, prepared to receive and respond to the farewell of their Christian brethren ere they set forth for the Mission fields to which they have been appointed; the anxious relatives and friends assembled to pray for them and bless them ere they go; the Committee, with all the solicitude of a parent, prepared to address to them a few last weighty, and yet most affectionate words of godly counsel and admonition; combine in a very peculiar manner to move the heart, and call forth earnest and united prayer. The Missionary work, in its importance and amplitude, is brought out as a great reality. It has its representatives there in the men who have been led by the grace of God to consecrate themselves to it. Certain portions of the field have a significant prominence given them, according to the designation of the Missionaries — sometimes Africa; sometimes India; sometimes poor suffering China; not unfrequently several at the same moment; but although the light falls strongly on these points, it is reflected on the whole extent of the work, and, in the persons of the Missionaries, the brethren who are present feel themselves brought near to those far-distant lands, and are enabled to identify themselves the more with the joys and sorrows, the encouragements and reverses of the Missionary work. In sending forth their soldiers, and helping to equip them for the conflict, they are brought down into the arena themselves, and feel what need there

is, that there should be much and earnest prayer at home, if there is to be much and successful effort abroad. We believe that these meetings are regarded by those who frequent them as means of grace of no ordinary unction and power, and that they are valued accordingly. We only wish that more of the friends of the Society could be convened on these occasions; but this would require a larger place of meeting even than the noble hall of the Children's Home, and there is a certain private and domestic character pertaining to such meetings which would be lost if they were transferred to more public places of assemblage.

The meeting of September 28th was one of no inferior interest. The number of Missionaries, viewed in the light of the as yet scanty measure of supply which the church at home is wont to yield to us, was large—fourteen, with the wives of some of them. Some were returning to the scenes of former labours; others going forth for the first time; some already exercised in the ministry at home, one of the brethren having been curate of St. Peter's, Southwark; another curate of St. Saviour's, York; four were for Africa seven, including William Sandys, a Burmese student, were for India; one for China; one for Ceylon; and one for Smyrna. Thus a large portion of the Society's work was brought immediately under the consideration of the meeting; some of the designated localities awakening at the present moment more than usual solicitude, and requiring a more than usual outpouring of prayer on their behalf—the Yoruba country, distracted with intestine war, while along the western coast the slave-trade is being prosecuted with more than usual intensity—India, subsiding after the severity of the great cyclone of 1857, and yet not so settled down as to dissipate all anxiety for the future; but in its Missionary aspect a field from whence the inundation has just retired, and where we are urgently called upon to go forth and sow—China and Turkey, in the throes of great national changes, the old *régimes*, from their utter decay and rottenness, breaking up, but by what new aspects of government to be succeeded no one can tell—all in a suffering condition, and all urgent for help: like the man of Macedonia crying, "Come over, and help us." Never has any body of Missionaries left England at a more momentous period; and they appeared all to feel that it was so, for never have we heard the entreaty to be remembered and helped by the prayers of friends at home more universal and earnest than on this occasion. And so it should be: if some go forth, the home church should watch and pray the more. In this watchfulness and prayer there should be no relaxation. "I stand continually upon the watch-tower in the day-time, and I am set in my ward whole nights."

The instructions were such as befitted the occasion. They dealt more especially with a point which has been for some time forcing itself on our attention, and requiring to be approached with judgment and discrimination. Our readers will peruse them, we doubt not, with interest. There are several thoughts which they have suggested to our own minds, but which the limited space of our present Number will not permit us to introduce.

The Missionaries addressed were the following—

"The Rev. M. S. Jackson, proceeding to Sierra Leone;

"The Rev. G. F. and Mrs. Bühler and the Rev. J. Buckley Wood, returning to the Yoruba country;

"Dr. A. A. Harrison, M.B., Trinity College, Cambridge, proceeding to Yoruba;

"The Rev. Theodore F. Wolters, proceeding to Smyrna to join his father;

"The Rev. T. K. Weatherhead, S.C.L., St. John's College, Cambridge, and late Curate of St. Peter's, Southwark, proceeding to Bombay;

"The Rev. J. M. Brown, B.A., St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and late Curate of St. Saviour's, York, proceeding to North India;

"The Rev. J. Barton, B.A., Christ College, Cambridge, proceeding to Calcutta;

"The Rev. E. L. Puxley, proceeding to the North-west Provinces;

"The Rev. Nigel and Mrs. Honiss, proceeding to Tinnevelly;

"The Rev. J. B. and Mrs. Simmons, also proceeding to Tinnevelly;

"The Rev. R. B. Tonge, B.A., and Mrs. Tonge, London University, proceeding to Kandy, Ceylon;

"The Rev. Arthur E. Moule, proceeding to China;

"William Sandys (Shwai tui), a Burmese Student, returning to India.

"DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,

"We are met together to take leave of a large body of Missionaries going to distant and widely differing fields of labour—to West Africa, India, Ceylon, China, and the Mediterranean.

"The Committee have so frequently addressed their Missionaries upon the main principles and chief motives of Missionary work, that they feel justified in omitting these

upon the present occasion, in order to touch upon a topic of great practical importance, which the present aspect of the Missionary field brings into prominent notice, namely, the proper conduct of a Missionary in respect of social and political questions which may seem to be connected with the progress of his spiritual work.

"The one object of the Church Missionary Society is to provide for the preaching of the Gospel of Christ to those who have not yet received it; and to train up the Christian converts in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

"But the blessings of the Gospel, when received, tend to elevate the social position of the converts, and to instruct them in the true principles of justice and humanity; and so to quicken in their minds the sense of the wrongs they may suffer through oppression and misgovernment. A knowledge also of Christian duty, while it secures obedience to the sovereign powers, limits that obedience to things lawful in the sight of God, as defined in his word, and so far often interferes with the institutions of heathen and Mohammedan Governments.

"The relation, also, in which the Missionary stands to his converts, necessarily connects him with their temporal welfare. Going among the people with a message of love upon his lips, and with the spirit of love in his heart, he soon wins their confidence beyond all other persons of his race. He becomes their best friend—their faithful adviser. His message embraces their temporal as well as their spiritual interests, for 'godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.' They have, therefore, a claim upon him for advice and assistance against injustice and wrong.

"The Missionary has, moreover, a message to declare, on proper occasions, to those in authority, on their responsibility to God, by whose ordinance they exercise the right of government.

"However earnestly, therefore, the faithful Missionary may strive to confine himself to his one great work—the ministry of the Gospel of salvation—he is liable to be involved in many questions of a social and political kind; and he cannot always escape the reproach cast upon his divine Master, and upon his apostles, of being the enemy of Cæsar, or of turning the world upside down.

"The difficulty which a Christian Missionary always finds in shaping his course in such matters, with 'the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove,' is much increased in seasons of national, political, or social excitement. And the fields of labour to which you are designated are so circumstanced. In India, society yet heaves under the recent terrible catastrophe, and questions have been lately raised, in respect of the civil rights of Christian converts, of the system of ryotry and the cultivation of indigo, of the Christian action of Government, and of its officers, in which the Missionary may be more or less necessarily involved. In the sphere of our Missions in Africa and in China, civil wars rage, and in the former country our Missionaries are severally living under Governments at open war with each other. In Asia Minor, and throughout the Turkish empire, social and political affairs are in a state of terrible effervescence.

"Into such fields of labour you are going forth as the messengers of the Prince of Peace—to preach 'glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.' How blessed the commission! yet how arduous and perilous its right execution!

"The Committee would therefore desire to furnish you, by the divine blessing, with advice for the guidance of your conduct, and with an affectionate assurance of their sympathy, to encourage and cheer you in your future difficulties.

"I. The general rule in such cases has been laid down in the printed 'Regulations explanatory of the relation between the Church Missionary Society and the Missionaries connected with it,' in these words—'Every Missionary is strictly charged to abstain from interfering in the political affairs of the country or place in which he may be situated.'

"The terms of this rule are necessarily broad and somewhat indefinite—political affairs is a wide term. There are worldly politicians who would desire to include in their exclusive province national education, the state support of idolatry, the social institution, as it is called, of slavery, the treatment of the aborigines, the private religious action of Government officers. As soon as a minister of religion touches these questions, an outcry is apt to be raised, as if he were meddling with politics.

"But such subjects as these are not simply 'political affairs.' They are of a mixed character.

"The great principles of justice, humanity, and Christian duty lie at the root of these questions. Those principles are, as matters of investigation, and of public exposition, the special province of the minister of religion. It is for the minister of religion to propound the principles, and to suggest their proper application. Such questions, therefore, cannot,

by any just interpretation, be included in those 'political affairs,' from interfering with which the Missionary is to abstain. A Missionary is bound to remonstrate if he believes the great principles of justice, humanity, and Christian duty to be violated; and the politician is bound, on his part, to vindicate his adherence to those principles, in the course which he thinks it right to pursue. In all such questions, therefore, it were the wisdom of the governing powers to listen to the suggestions of the Missionary body, and to secure their co-operation: if the authorities, on the other hand, decline or oppose their suggestions, the Missionary is driven to an appeal to public opinion as a last resource, and the Government may be, sooner or later, compelled to yield that which Christian principle demands, and too often after loss of time and opportunity, and after controversial dissension equally disadvantageous to all the parties concerned.

"A few specific cases which have occurred in the history of this Society, will serve to illustrate the foregoing statement.

"(1) The earliest political question in which the Society was involved was that of slavery;—first, the abolition of the slave-trade; afterwards, the abolition of slavery. This Society nobly and prominently denounced the sin and evil of slavery, while it was yet maintained as a social institution, and protected by numerous acts of the legislature. Other Missionary Societies, having labourers before ourselves in slave colonies, bore the brunt of the contest upon the spot. Their Missionaries were denounced as political agitators, till at last the Missionary, Smith, was cast into a jail, and tried as a rebel. This act called forth the indignation of the British Parliament, and the authority of the Imperial Government was interposed to vindicate the rights of justice and humanity in the person of the injured Missionary. Through such conflicts the good cause at length triumphed, and slavery was abolished.

"(2) Another great political question, in which Missionaries were involved, was the liberty of preaching the Gospel to the natives in India. Here, again, the first brunt of actual conflict was borne by the Missionaries of another Society—the illustrious Carey, Ward, and Marshman. Their memoirs, lately published, exhibit an instructive example of the delicacy and difficulty of such questions as we are handling, and how gradually the right and liberty were conceded, for which the Missionary and his friends contended.

"(3) So, also, by the Missionary and his friends, the question of Government connexion with idolatry in India was first raised, and was mainly supported by the evidence of the Missionary. Here, also, the advocates of a Christian policy were frequently denounced as disturbers of Government. Even the eminent Christian bishop, Dr. Corrie, received an official rebuke for pressing this question upon the attention of Government. The cause of Christian duty was, however, supported by the voice of the nation, and at length the very principles which had been at first opposed as the theory of fanatics, were embodied in a formal despatch of His Majesty's Government.

"(4.) So also, in Travancore, the Missionaries have thought themselves compelled, on several occasions, to stand up for the civil rights of the converts, and their efforts have been blessed with success. Even when the Government of Madras censured the Missionaries for appearing in courts of justice as the friends of the oppressed Christian, the Home Government reversed the censure, and vindicated the conduct of the Missionary, as being the natural and proper guardian of the just civil rights of the convert.

"(5) On a late occasion, a Missionary of this Society furnished this Committee with a statement of the effects which he had witnessed of an order of the supreme Government of India, in respect of the private action of Christian officers towards Christian inquirers of the 24th Punjab Native Infantry. The Committee thought it right publicly to remonstrate against this proceeding. The Government, in consequence of this remonstrance, issued a despatch explanatory of that order, which has happily removed the difficulties which a misunderstanding of the order had created; and the Committee rejoice now to add, that the good work in the regiment, arrested for fifteen months by that misunderstanding, has been renewed, and the baptism of several soldiers of the regiment has since taken place.

"(6) At this present time a social question is agitated between the indigo-planter of Bengal and the ryot cultivator. When, a few years ago, the case of the ryot was advocated by the Missionary, the Missionary was denounced as a meddler in matters beyond his province. At length, however, the supreme Government has instituted a Court of Inquiry, and has placed a Missionary, as a fair representative of the ryot, among the Commissioners, and has subpœnaed other Missionaries to give evidence on oath of the cases of alleged oppression which have come under their notice; thus vindicating the right of the Missionary to assist in the adjustment of

this question. The result of the inquiry is not yet known, and therefore the Committee abstain from further remark upon this particular case.

"These six instances will sufficiently illustrate our position, that there are many questions of a mixed character, which, though partly political, fall within the province of the Missionary, and, in the adjustment of which, the authorities may advantageouly avail themselves of the co-operation of the Missionary body. These questions, it is impossible to deny, are becoming daily more and more prominent and important. For it is a characteristic of the age, that the religious element enters into every great question — even in the Congress of European nations.

"II. The Committee now proceed to offer you a few practical directions in respect of such questions as have been described.

"1. The Committee affectionately, but earnestly, warn each Missionary, especially every young Missionary, not to take up supposed grievances too hastily; but to wait and consult with other Christian men till they have ascertained the reality and importance of any alleged social or civil wrong. Remember that these 'mixed' questions form the exceptions to the general rule of strict abstinence from interfering in political affairs. This rule must be applied to all such matters as do not palpably involve the great principles of justice, humanity, or Christian duty. The Committee say *palpably*, because the ingenuity of some minds will see a connexion which is not generally recognised. All political measures might be thus excepted from the prohibition, and the rule become a nullity. But common sense has established a distinction, and it will be well for the Missionary to err on the side of abstinence from doubtful questions, rather than to interfere in matters which will not be allowed by sober judges to belong to his province.

2. When, however, the Missionary is unavoidably involved, in the line of his duty, in questions having a political aspect, let him guard against a political spirit—that is, against the spirit in which the politicians of this world strive together. He must stand clear of all party strife. The apostolic injunction is—'The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves, if God, peradventure, will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.' In conformity with this rule, the Missionary should never assume a position of hostility to the ruling powers, or have recourse to public censure, or the lash of newspaper invectives. Let him rather address the authorities in respectful and confiding terms, as those upon whom God has laid the responsibility of upholding the great principles of Christian duty. If such addresses be unheeded, let a temperate statement of the case be transmitted to the Missionary Directors at home, with such particulars as will bear the closest sifting, and as the Missionary is prepared to avow before the public.

"3. Avoid, even in the most pressing cases, being drawn into the vortex of mere political discussions, for it will prove a painful interruption to your happier duties. Much precious time is necessarily lost in those discussions, which might have been spent in winning to Christ, souls, who should have been your crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord. Even your conferences with your brethren on such topics will be far less profitable to the soul, than if the time had been wholly devoted to spiritual things. And you will be liable to be drawn into still less profitable connexion with the men of the world, who will court the aid of a spiritual man for the sake of a secular object, though they sneer at his religion. All these, and many other considerations, make the true Missionary shrink from political discussions, make him walk very warily while engaged in them, and make him most thankful to escape from their entanglements.

"4. When compelled by a sense of duty to take an active part in exceptional cases, be the more careful to observe the standing rule of the Society, in its legitimate scope and intention, in all other political relations. These will embrace the ordinary course of Government, in respect of which you must exhibit in your own conduct, as well as inculcate upon all others, the spirit of the apostolic injunction, 'Tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.' You must especially strive to stand aloof from all questions of political leadership—of political partisanship. Whether officers of Government be favourable or unfavourable to Missionary work, whether they patronise or oppose, let the Missionary avoid all appearance of political intrigue. The cordial and courteous recognition of the official position of an opponent will be the best means of disarming his opposition. A candid construction of his measures will conciliate, while a severe criticism will raise needless animosity.

"III. The Missionaries who labour under Christian rulers, in the dependencies of Great Britain, will be enabled, under ordinary circumstances, to carry on their work without concerning themselves with the course of the Government. But the case is more dif-

ficult with those who labour amidst uncivilized nations and Governments. The injunction to abstain from all interference with political affairs is obviously not applicable when the native Government is mixed up with national superstitions and social institutions which violate all justice and humanity; when the magistrate's sword is in the hands of every petty chief, or self-constituted oppressor; when human sacrifices form a part of the political constitution.

"In such a situation, the first Missionaries found themselves in the Susu Mission of Africa and in New Zealand. Yet while the rule stood, some conscientious men hesitated to instruct the natives in political maxims, or to protest against their existing atrocities. For the relief of their consciences, the following note was added to the rule by the Committee, and was printed for many years in the 'Explanatory Regulations.'

"'It is not intended, however, by this regulation, to preclude Missionaries who may be stationed in New Zealand, or in other regions which are uncivilized, and which do not enjoy the protection of a fixed Government, from bringing the natives acquainted with such Christian and civil institutions, as, in process of time, their situations may require, or from using their influence in such countries to preserve or restore peace, in conformity with the spirit of a minister of the Gospel.'

"In the spirit of this explanation, the Society at home and the Missionaries in New Zealand took a leading part in the discussion of the great national question of the colonization of those islands. When the first Governor, Captain Hobson, was sent out to negotiate with the chiefs for the transfer of the sovereigty to the Queen of Great Britain, he obtained the assistance of the Missionaries of this and of the Wesleyan Society to bring about that event. No one took a more prominent part than the senior Missionary of the Church Missionary Society. The services of the Missionaries were publicly acknowledged by the Governor and the Home Government; and, on a special occasion, the Governor thus addressed the Legislative Council on its being opened, December 14, 1841—

"'Whatever difference of opinion, may be entertained as to the value and extent of the labours of the Missionary body, there can be no doubt that they have rendered important services to this country; or that, but for them, a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand.'

"The voice of the Missionary, which was thus mainly instrumental in bringing the New-Zealand chiefs to accept the Treaty of Waitangi, is now rightly lifted up on the behalf of the chiefs, against, as they believe, the attempted violation of its letter and spirit.

"On a late review of the printed form of the 'Explanatory Regulations,' this note was omitted, because New Zealand had become a British colony, and the Missions of the Society in Western Africa were then under British Government, and it was thought that the good sense of Christian Missionaries would sufficiently qualify the rule in exceptional cases. But the state of the Yoruba Mission recalls one part of the appended note to our attention. In the present day a civil war has broken out between three of the towns in which Missionaries reside. Ijaye and Ibadan have made war against each other, and Abbeokuta has unhappily joined in the conflict. The several Missionaries in these towns have been thus placed in most difficult positions. The Committee are not prepared to judge of the conduct of each Missionary, or of his conduct in all respects. But the Committee have seen quite enough to induce them to urge upon you, who are going to the Yoruba Mission, with affectionate importunity, the old injunction, of 'using your influence to preserve or restore peace in conformity with the spirit of a minister of the Gospel.'

"IV. The Committee will conclude with a few words of general encouragement and advice, suggested by the circumstances which have called forth these instructions.

"1. Remember that seasons of special political conflict, or social excitement, have always been seasons of special promise and hope to the church of Christ. The King of Zion has an iron sceptre to break down all opposition to an advancing Gospel. Political convulsions are the execution of his judgment. At the very time when He thus wields that iron sceptre, He enjoins upon his church to proclaim the message—'Kiss the Son, lest He be angry.' 'When the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.' We have seen this most manifestly in the improved prospects of our Indian Missions since the mutiny. And every observer of God's dealings with the world will supply abundant illustrations. It is refreshing to think how often the work of mercy and grace is silently advancing amidst the crash of human affairs. Let the man of faith repose upon this thought. In the darkest hours the eye and ear of flesh may discern nothing but the flash of lightning, and hear only the roll of thunder; but let the ear of faith catch the sound of the still small voice, and let the man of faith then ply in patience, prayer, and faith, his special mission.

"2. Let the Committee remind you, also,

that such critical times as they allude to, are also to the Christian times of special trial and temptation, and he needs then to place a double guard upon his temper and spirit, lest he be carried away by the stream into an exhibition of worldly tempers, lest his good should be evil spoken of through his hasty language or exaggerated statements. There will be perils on all sides. The Missionary may be often in personal danger; such a time is an occasion for showing his faith in a special providence; that he does not fear with the fear of men of the world; that he can stay himself upon his God. There may be dangers to his reputation, especially when the Missionary stands up as the friend of the aborigines, in opposition to the oppression of unprincipled European settlers. Those of us who are old enough to remember the agitation of the slavery question can remember the torrents of calumny and of coarse abuse with which the white man attempted to overwhelm Wilberforce, Macaulay, Stephen, and all other champions of the negro race. We can remember, also, the calm and loving composure with which it was borne, as a part of the costs which had been counted.

"3. The Committee do not attempt to give you more than very brief hints on these topics. They have confidence in the reflections which will arise in your own minds; but above all, they commend you to the grace and guidance of an ever-present Saviour, who has promised to send you the almighty aid of the Holy Comforter, who will manifest Himself to his servants who suffer for his name's sake at the present day, as he did to his Apostle Paul. When, 'the night following' the tumult in the council of Jerusalem, 'the chief captain feared lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces,' 'the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul, for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.'"

"You, Brother Jackson, are appointed to Sierra Leone, with a special view to the educational department of that Mission. You have expressed your entire willingness to accept this commission. The Lord has work there to be done. He calls. He will meet his servants there, and his presence can make all places the paradise of God and the very gate of heaven. You have the advantage of the experience in tropical climates of the excellent prelate now with us, who goes forth to that field of labour out of love to the African race, and in him you will have a wise and tender father in God.

"You, Brothers Bühler and Wood, are returning to the Yoruba Mission, and the Committee have only to exhort you to act in the same spirit of patient faith and persevering labour in which you have hitherto carried on your work.

"You, Dr. Harrison, are going out for the first time as a medical Missionary: you have gained medical knowledge and skill by a course of study, first at Cambridge, and then at a London School of Science, and, for a short time, by practising in South Africa. You have nobly offered to carry these 'talents' to the work of Christ in Yoruba; hoping—and the Committee confidently share in this hope—that you may materially promote the social elevation of the Yorubans, by the confidence which your medical skill will conciliate of all classes of the community.

"The present state of the Yoruba Mission is an anxious one. The Committee have already touched upon it. They only here add, let *peace* be the message of the Christian Missionary—peace, peace peace—peace spiritual, peace social, peace political. Some of the Missionaries have asked how far the converts are bound to obey the summons of their rulers to go to the war. This question can only be decided by local usages, and by the necessity of the case. But let all the Missionaries unite in deprecating as an unmitigated evil — as the work of Satan—all aggressive warfare. Let them point out the distinction between the defence of hearth and home, and aggressive warfare. If there be any possibility of choice, let the Christian converts choose the home defensive branch: here let their patriotic zeal find its expression, as in the volunteer movement at home. And let all the Missionaries, when residing under different and hostile governments, be bound together more closely than ever in oneness of spirit: let them sink all differences, especially those of local policy. If a Missionary be not allowed to maintain this neutral position, it is a question whether he should not retire from that place. But as long as they can maintain their Christian independence and unity, let them remain as oil upon troubled waters; and may He who stilleth the madness of the people be their shield and refuge—their guide and friend —their all in all.

"You, Brothers Barton, Puxley, and Brown, are going to North India.

"You, Mr. Barton, are designated by the Committee as a Joint Secretary of the Corresponding Committee. But for the first year or so it is hoped that you may be relieved from all official duties, and be enabled to visit the various stations in North India, to make yourself as far as possible well acquainted with the Missionaries and their work. At present we address you in the character of one of our Missionaries, which

we trust, and you, we know, equally trust, you may ever sustain. You and Mr. Puxley have most generously determined to bear your own charges, though acting in all respects as Missionaries of the Society—an appropriation of your private fortunes which you consider it a privilege to offer, and which many others would be prepared to make, if the providence of God had put it in their power. May the Lord accept your offering, and fulfil all your vows.

"You, Brother Brown, are welcomed by the Commitee as the son of one of their own body, therefore as possessing a double claim upon their affectionate interest and sympathy. Your self-devotion to the ministry at home is a good pledge that the work to which you and we feel assured the Lord has called you, will prosper in your hands; and if so, your excellent father will have the best recompense for the sacrifice he makes in parting with a son and brother in the ministry, cheerfully for Christ's sake.

"One word the Committee will address to a native brother, W. Sandys (Shwai-tui), a Burmese by birth, whose parents were the fruit of the labours of the Baptist Mission in that country, and who has been for a time under instruction in Islington College. You are to go, in the first instance, to North India, as you are acquainted with the Hindustanee language. At Benares you will see a Mission in full work, and there you will be trained with advantage for whatever post of duty the providence of God may open before you. The Committee have always much satisfaction in combining on these valedictory occasions the representatives of native agency with European Missionaries.

"You, Brother Weatherhead, after some experience in the church at home, have devoted yourself to the Missionary church, and the Committee have much pleasure in assigning you to the Bombay Mission, with a view of your occupying the post of Secretary of the Bombay Corresponding Committee, when it shall be vacated by Mr. Robertson. Your first work, as in the case of Mr. Barton, will be to make yourself fully acquainted with the Missions, to acquire the language, and to identify yourself with the Mission.

"You, Brothers Honiss and Simmons, are going to South India. The Madras Corresponding Committee will assign you your particular locations. You go to a Mission which, in many ways, the Lord is largely blessing. May your union with your fellow-labourers be an occasion of increased blessedness to them and to yourselves.

"You, Brother Tonge, are to proceed to Ceylon, with a special view of carrying on the Collegiate School at Kandy, at present under the direction of its zealous Principal, Mr. Jones. Your long experience and success in tuition give the Committee every confidence in your future work; and they rejoice to know that you desire to become as much a Missionary as any of the brethren around you, and that all your instruction will have the one supreme end of training up your pupils for Christ. The Committee need not give you any specific directions, for you will be guided by able and now experienced friends of education, Mr. Christopher Fenn, at Cotta, and Mr. Jones, at Kandy.

"You, Brother Moule, are appointed to the China Mission: your station is not definitely fixed. Each mail brings intelligence which throws new light upon that most interesting but now unhappy country. The Committee rejoice in the prospect of your being associated in the same Mission with your brother, our excellent Missionary at Ningpo, and they would gladly place you at the same station, if the exigencies of the work allowed of such an arrangement. But the Lord will direct, in all things, both you and ourselves.

"You, Brother Wolters, have the blessed prospect of association with a revered and beloved father in the Mission at Smyrna. For many years your excellent and veteran father has sustained single-handed his position in that Turkish city and mart of commerce for all nations. His faith and patience have been severely tried while he looked upon the inert mass of dead superstition in the oriental churches, and of stiff and menacing bigotry in the Mohammedan population. The dispensations of divine judgments have now broken up the dead level. Your father's hopes are at length raised of a future harvest, especially among the Turks. He now asks for a coadjutor; and he will have the joy of receiving, as a fellow-helper in the ministry, his own son. You have the great advantage of an acquaintance with the Greek and Turkish languages. You are acquainted with the work, having already laboured zealously and wisely as a catechist at Smyrna. You have diligently improved your opportunities of acquiring knowledge, both at Malta College and at Islington College; and now the Committee trust that you will carry all these advantages, sanctified by the blood of Christ, and by the unction of the Holy One, to the post to which God has called you, to deliver at ancient Smyrna the message of Him 'who walketh amidst the seven golden candlesticks.'"

VIEW FROM THE MISSION BUNGALOW, SURANDEI. Page 1 200.

THE REVIVAL IN NORTH TINNEVELLY.

More recent tidings of the Revival in North Tinnevelly have only served to confirm our previous estimate of its importance and reality. Apprehensions were at first entertained by a few of the more cautious friends of the Missionary work that it might prove only a transient excitement, leaving behind it no practical results. In past years, the history of our Tinnevelly Mission has certainly had to record remarkable movements among the Shānar and Retty castes, which seemed to indicate a national instability, and suggested care in judging of the precise value of the present stirring amongst the dry bones. We exercised such discrimination, according to our ability, in the instance now under consideration, before placing the narrative in the hands of our readers, and we feel assured that we should have been sinful and faithless had we not recognised the presence and power of God the Holy Ghost in the marvellous events of which North Tinnevelly has recently been the witness. Their satisfactory results are the seal of their truth.

There were many points of difference between the present Revival and the movements of former years, to which we have just alluded. They have, in fact, hardly one feature in common. Let us take as an illustration of these previous cases the movement among the Retty caste in 1844, described in Mr. Pettitt's valuable narrative,* as being the case which obtained most notoriety in England, affected several thousands of the population, and was marked by some of the most questionable features connected with such events. These cultivators were for the most part tenants of the Zemindār of Ettiāpuram. Zemindārs in South India are large contractors or farmers under the Government, to whom they are responsible for a fixed amount of revenue—an arrangement customary from time immemorial, and adopted by the British from the previous indigenous Indian dynasties. Though no magisterial or police authority is now recognised on the part of the Zemindār, yet it will be readily seen how great a temptation to fraud or force the system offers to any, if unscrupulous or covetous. Custom permitted the employment of compulsion in order to constrain payment of tribute, often illegally demanded. "The party refusing was dragged off by the Zemindār's people, frightened, and even beaten till he had paid it; or else some article of greater value being forcibly taken from his house, was either kept or sold to pay the amount." The advice and aid of an European merchant long enabled these Retties to resist the extortion of their native "Lord of the Manor;" but their English friend having suddenly died, and not without suspicion of foul play, they bethought themselves where they might best find protection elsewhere; and with this design obviously as their main object, they resolved to place themselves under the instruction, and so of the patronage, of English Missionaries of the two Societies labouring in Tinnevelly. "We felt," adds the narrator, dealing very gently with their case, "that the sincerity of persons under such circumstances must, for a time, be a matter of doubt, but were willing to afford them the opportunity of hearing the truth and forsaking error. Too much was said out of Tinnevelly respecting them, and hopes too sanguine were entertained while this doubt continued, and disappointment, not so much to us as to others, was the result. They were unwilling to give up some immoral practices which prevailed among them. Christian discipline, especially where the headmen were concerned, was unpalatable; and when their affairs did not succeed to their satisfaction, they gradually withdrew and returned to heathenism; and only a few, I believe, either in Mr. Pope's district or in ours, retained any real benefit from the small amount of instruction which it was possible, under the circumstances of the case, to afford them. Still, good was done; some seed was sown; and we cannot but hope that 'the bread cast upon the waters will be found after many days.'" We believe that the Missionaries were right in receiving these people under instruction as catechumens, low and ignorant as were the motives that actuated them; for we know that "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind," and the parable proceeds to teach us how the process of discrimination and separation is to go on afterward; but still we cannot be surprised to learn that there was but little satisfactory result.

Such cases as these, however, only make us all the more hopeful as to the recent Revival. It stands out in bold contrast. It is unprecedented in the history of Indian Missions. The labours of William Johnson at Sierra Leone in 1816 offer the only parallel

* "Pettitt's Tinnevelly Mission," pp. 353—357.

in the annals of the Church Missionary Society. These previous movements in Tinnevelly originated with the heathen, the present in the bosom of the Native Church. Sordid and worldly objects stimulated the one, spiritual blessings alone prompted and could satisfy the other. The former inquirers recoiled from practical reformation, practical reformation has marked the latter as strikingly as in Ireland.

We are able to lay before our readers some valuable confirmations of these statements. We have received from the Rev. W. Gray voluminous details of the progress of the work since we last noticed it; but they offer but few new features of general interest. It is to the edification of the converts that his attention has been chiefly directed. We learn, however, that no less than 112 candidates for baptism may be traced to the recent movement. At Vāgeikulam and at Rājapāliam two of the native ministers have each a class of thirty inquirers. A most encouraging spirit of attention is manifested among the heathen, as their towns and villages are visited by the itinerant preachers, and a readiness to purchase Christian books and tracts, in places where the Missionary had before been glad to give them away, is a symptom of interest which will be appreciated by any who remember a Hindu's fondness for money.

We turn, however, to other testimony. Some of our Missionaries of the southern districts have now had the opportunity of examining the Revival for themselves, and we rejoice to welcome the two subjoined letters.

The Rev. A. Dibb writes (Sept. 15th) from Mengnānapuram, the important district of the Rev. J. Thomas, to the charge of which Mr. Dibb has been appointed, during the latter's projected visit to England—

"You will have heard," he writes, "no doubt, of the Revivals in the Tinnevelly Mission lately. I am happy to say that the movement is still progressing. It is chiefly observed amongst careless and nominal Christians within the Church; but it is not confined to them. Heathen without the Church have here and there been benefited and brought in under the influence of the movement. But how forcibly does the fact of a larger outpouring being vouchsafed to nominal Christians teach us to use all diligence and forbearance in preaching the word and keeping up the ordinances, even where for a long season no great blessing seems to accompany them. For years and years have some now revived congregations been in an all but hopeless state. It seemed as if they were—to use what I think is one of the most awful words I know—'Gospel-hardened,' or as St. Jude has it, 'twice dead;' and now at last the promise, after long tarrying, is fulfilled. The word does not return void; and we see an illustration of the meaning of Rom. iii. 1, 2—'What advantage hath the merely nominal Christian, or what profit is there in sermons or sacraments? Much every way; chiefly because that unto him are committed the oracles of God.' He has those means of grace which, though long ineffectual through the power of his own corruption, may one day be made effectual by the greater power of Divine grace."

Still more explicit and discriminative is the following letter from the Rev. A. B. Valpy. While our Missionaries thus deal with the question, we may be sure that it is in safe hands.

It is dated September 7th—

"You will, I fear, have felt not a little surprised and disappointed in that, whilst Mr. Fenn, Mr. Dibb, and Mr. Gray have written so fully and so hopefully of the 'Revivals' in their respective districts, I should hitherto have maintained a strange and unaccountable silence, with regard to what has taken place in my own district of Surandei. And this surprise and disappointment will have been increased from the fact, that more than one allusion has been made to the Surandei district in the letters of my brethren above mentioned.

"The reason which made it appear to me essential that I should delay committing to paper my opinion respecting the movement, arose from the way in which that movement commenced. The small band of native Christians from Mr. Arulappen's congregation, who, after the Revival in their own village of Wartrap, set out with the intention of seeking to promote 'Revivals' amongst their own Christian relatives in other parts of Tinnevelly, made their way almost immediately to the village of Ukkirankottei, in the Surandei district. This visit was attended with marked results. There followed much outward expression of deep mental anguish amongst many of our congregation, and they spent whole days in prayers and tears. But the external gesticulations and emotions of these people became at length so monstrous—the heathen around them imagined them to be all under the powerful influence of evil spirits—and those who had been affected appeared to consider them so essential to a proper conversion or revival, that I was fairly at a loss how I should act in the matter. Indeed, for some time the extravagancies of our Ukkirankottei people were bringing almost a scan-

dal, I thought, on the Christian name. After a time, however, many of these excesses began to abate, and the reality of the work became apparent. Still, not having seen any thing of the kind before, and feeling anxious that the whole movement should have time to manifest itself in the *lives* of the newly awakened, I deemed it, on the whole, my wiser course to reserve my report of the matter to a future day.

"Now that the movement has been going on for five months, accompanied too with increasing manifestations of God's blessing, and the outpouring of his Spirit, I cannot any longer keep back from you an account of what our eyes have seen, and our ears heard.

"As you are by this time aware, Ukkirankottei was the first village where the movement commenced in the Surandei district. In this place there is a congregation of about 220 souls. This congregation has been established for upwards of eighty years. The people were originally Romanists. Up to the month of March of the present year, they were, perhaps, one of the most disorderly and unsatisfactory congregations in Tinnevelly. Drunkenness, and other species of the lowest vice—neglect of the Lord's-day—continual quarrelling, &c.—were the striking features here. Nineteen months ago I heard Mr. Pickford's farewell sermon at Ukkirankottei. His address was full of earnest and affectionate entreaty; and his text was, 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God.' Blessed be God! I can testify that a marvellous reform has taken place since that time throughout the whole village.

"In the first place, with the exception of four cases, drunkenness has entirely disappeared from amongst them.

"Secondly—There is a general acknowledgment on the part of the heathen, that those who were formerly a disgrace to their religion, have now become respectable and decent living people.

"Thirdly—One fact more than many has been an evidence to my own mind of the reality of this work, namely, their entire desistance from lawsuits, from which, at one time, they were *never* free. Now they have resolved to abstain from them altogether. Their principles have already had one or two severe tests; nevertheless, prayer to Almighty God is the only lawsuit they can be induced to make.

"Fourthly—I can speak with great satisfaction of their regular attendance at the daily services in the church—of increasing intelligence evinced at those services—of a better observance of the Lord's-day—of a larger attendance at the Lord's Supper—and of a deeper interest generally in the concerns of their souls. It is worthy of remark, that on the very Sunday, May 6th, on which Mr. Fenn speaks of having enjoyed such a delightful day at Vāgeikulam, it was my privilege to be ministering at Ukkirankottei. This was after the 'Revival' had commenced there. I seldom remember to have ever witnessed a more animating spectacle than this congregation then presented. We had on that occasion no less than seventy persons assembled for the Lord's Supper.

"Fifthly—There is now scarcely a house in the village in which private and family prayers are not regularly observed. Frequent prayer meetings are also held amongst the people in their own houses, and I must not forget to add, that many of those meetings have been held for the special purpose of interceding for some hitherto unconverted member of their congregation.

"Sixthly—I am thankful to notice a desire to go forth into the neighbouring villages to preach to the heathen. Sunday afternoon is the time that I suggested, as affording the most suitable opportunity for this.

"Their plan is, for several to meet in the church for prayer after the noon service, and then they divide themselves off into little companies of twos and threes, to go and invite others to seek the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I was very greatly rejoiced whilst in the town of Tinnevelly a short time ago, to hear a person say, 'One of your Ukkirankottei people was having prayers with some others in the Peittei here the other day.'

"God has been pleased already to give a measure of blessing on this aggressive effort. A man of the Asari, or carpenter caste, has commenced attendance at their church on Sunday. This is the more pleasing, in that our Christians are of almost the lowest caste, and no others have hitherto ever joined their congregation, though, as I mentioned before, it has been established for eighty years.

"Before concluding, I cannot refrain from mentioning two cases of individual conversion, as tending to show forth more especially, the wonders of God's grace.

"The first is of a man formerly in Mission employ. He appears almost a counterpart of Moses, schoolmaster in the Sivagāsi district, and of whom Mr. Fenn makes mention in a letter written in May last, except that *this man* seems to have been permitted to have gone to greater lengths in a course of vice and sin. He is a man of great ability, and has been exercising his talents as a Vakīl (attorney) for many years past. He was a terror to not a

few of those who are high in Government employment. He has frequently devoted his energies against the cause of the Gospel. He was engaged in a bitter and violent law-suit against the catechists and people of Ukkirankottei almost to the very time of his conversion, whilst his shameless life (for he has always retained his Christian name) has often brought disgrace on our holy religion. But the Spirit of the living God, which had descended on the congregation of Ukkirankottei, where he was residing, did not spurn even this poor slave of sin and Satan: let it suffice to say, that he and his wife were both awakened almost at the same time, and both were for several days under the deepest agony of mind on account of their past sins.

"The sequel of this man's conversion is intensely interesting, as affording an instance, as mentioned by Mr. Dibb, of 'indigenous' effort on the part of the native church for self-extension, so peculiar to this present movement. A short time since, a meeting was held at Ukkirankottei, at which catechists from Nallūr, Paneikullam, Sivagāsi, and Surandei were invited to attend. The result of this meeting was the appointment of two persons to set forth in company to preach the Gospel through the length and breadth of these above-mentioned districts. They are to be out for a month at a time, and then to return to Ukkirankottei, to give an account of their labours. I believe that three rupees a month is ensured to each of them, and they trust to the liberality of Christians and others, for what more they may require for their daily subsistence.

"This newly-converted man is appointed as one of these itinerating preachers, and he and his colleague are now on their first tour.

"If in any village where they may be preaching their message is received with more than usual interest, they are to remain there for several successive days. In case a desire is manifested on the part of any, of becoming Christians, these are to be handed over immediately to the Missionary of the district, and the evangelists are to go forth elsewhere.

"I wish to make it quite clear that this, from beginning to end, is a purely spontaneous movement on the part of our native Christians.

"The second case, which I wish to notice, is that of a man, also an inhabitant of Ukkirankottei, who has been a confirmed drunkard for many years past. All efforts to reclaim him have hitherto been unavailing. Soon after the 'Revival' in his village, he appears to have been alarmed by some words which fell from the catechist during one of the Sunday services. For some days he was under impression of sin, though he did not make known the state of his mind to others. After returning, however, one day from his work, being no longer able to bear the load that oppressed him, he broke forth into the most fearful and distressing paroxysms of grief, and for a time his reason seemed almost to have forsaken him. He rushed to the church, where the catechist and some others happened to be gathered together for prayer, and threw himself down, literally shouting for mercy at the hand of his offended Maker.

"This man has maintained, up to this time, a singularly consistent walk. Though upwards of fifty years of age, and very ignorant, and though he had never offered up a prayer in his life before, he now prays with great fervour and fluency, in the presence of large numbers of the congregation. He is at this time setting himself with great diligence to learn to read, and I have every hope of his proving a great blessing to many.

"In two other villages, the 'Revival' has commenced, and one of them lies within a mile of Ukkirankottei. The chief person who has been awakened in this congregation was formerly a Mission agent, but resigned his employment some years ago, and has since devoted his attention to agriculture. This man is mentioned in Mr. Dibb's letter as the one who, in company with five others, went to preach in the Paneikullam district, at the very commencement of the 'Revival.' This man's subsequent conduct has also given me the greatest satisfaction.

"The other congregation lies far away to the extreme west of the district, twenty-five miles from Ukkirankottei. The people here are poor, though not related to those of Ukkirankottei. The congregation consists of 100 souls. It was visited by Mr. Arulappen's party, in company with one of our catechists, in the month of June last. On my last visit, a short time since, I noticed a very great improvement amongst them. One pleasing feature here, which I must not omit, is a slight awakening amongst the heathen relatives of these people. I look for considerable increase to our numbers in this congregation.

"It is not without some anxiety that I allude to a work of grace which has been going forward amongst some of the children of the Surandei boarding schools.

"At one time we entertained the hope that this awakening had extended throughout the greater proportion of the children. Now that much of the excitement has subsided, I can, I think, speak with confidence of some

six or seven of the girls, and nearly the same number of boys: some of these latter belong to the Sivagāsi district. Six of the girls voluntarily came forward this month as candidates for admission to the Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper.

"With regard to our Mission agents, I have observed, during the last three or four months, an increasing spirit of earnestness in several of them.

"I cannot bring this letter to a close without expressing my firm conviction, that the blessing which has been vouchsafed to us in this district is mainly owing, under God, to the efforts of the party of native Christians, of whom mention was made in the early part of it. To God be all the glory!"

The engraving at the head of this Number presents the general features of the country which has lately witnessed such scenes of deep moral and spiritual significance. It is a view from the Missionary bungalow of Surandei,* looking westward over the plains towards the chain of the Western Ghāts—the Appennines of Hindustān. A group of native Christians occupies the foreground. Groves of the tall palmyra are dotted here and there in the middle distance—the tree which is the main wealth and sustenance of the Shānar people farther south. The landscape is bounded by the range of hills just mentioned, a secluded valley towards the centre, leading up to the beautiful waterfall of Courtallam, the resort of Europeans during two or three of the hottest months of the year. To the distant peak towards the left hand, the natives of Tinnevelly attach no little importance. It is called *Agastya-malei* — "Agastya's Hill." Agastya is the favourite poet and philosopher of South India, and some of his verses are in every mouth. He was no Brahmin nor Brahmin's son, but a simple Pariah, and therefore perhaps all the more popular. A very remarkable stanza of his appears to foretel the future triumph of Christianity, and it is at least so regarded among the Tamilians.

Worship thou the Light of the Universe; who is One:
Who made the world in a moment and placed good men in it;
Who afterwards himself dawned upon the earth as a Guru (teacher);
Who without wife or family, as a hermit practised austerities;
Who appointing loving sages to succeed him,
Departed again to heaven: worship Him!

Doubts have indeed been thrown on the authenticity of the lines. Even the historical existence of the Tamil poet has been questioned, and the tenth century after Christ has been fixed as the earliest date of some of the poems attributed to him. It may be so; but these critical matters do not affect the social influence of the maxims that go by his name. The natives often refer to them in connexion with the wonderful religion which has reached them from the West: they think that its time is at hand, and begin to forebode the ultimate triumph of the Cross. Similar vague surmises, as we know, in other heathen and Mohammedan countries, attest the present expectancy of many tribes and peoples and tongues. Suetonius tells us how at the first Advent of our Saviour, which we at this season are commemorating, the whole East was pervaded with the anticipation of a great potentate about to arise amongst them. The origin of the rumour is lost in conjecture, but it contributed, we know, to "prepare the way of the Lord." There appears no reason to doubt that it may have concurred to prompt the Magi to go to worship at Bethlehem—those visitors in whom the early Church recognised not only the first-fruits of the Gentile world, but the types of its different races. And can we contemplate unmoved the present attitude of restless expectation, which so strikingly characterizes the so-called changeless East, and the remarkable events transpiring there, political, social, spiritual? Ought not the Church of Christ to be awake and watchful too? "Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts." "It seems certain," writes one of our Missionaries from the field we have now been contemplating, "that a strong spirit of inquiry is abroad amongst the heathen. We need your most earnest prayers that the work may be sustained and extended. 'He that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.' It is in truth a harvest time from the Lord."

* From a sketch on the spot by the Rev. W. Knight.

MISSIONARY DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PARABLES.—THE SEED.

We resume this subject, which the critical state of affairs in New Zealand, and the necessity of giving them full consideration, interrupted.

The particular parable which we proposed to regard in a Missionary point of view, is that of the Sower and the Seed, one of great importance, comprehending as it does the history of the professing church from the first preaching of the Gospel until the time of discrimination—the harvest season—when the angels, the reapers, shall go forth to gather together, first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them, but to gather the wheat into the Lord's barn.

We have already considered the field which is to be brought under cultivation, the human element in all its variety; a soil, in its natural state hard and indisposed to the reception of the seed, and often requiring to be dealt with in the way of afflictive and subduing dispensations, in order to overcome this reluctance.

The seed, which is to be sown far and wide amongst the millions of the human race, in all their variety of character, language, and country, next claims our attention; and no more important subject could be presented. "The seed is the word of God."

The things which it most concerns us to know—those which relate to our eternal interests—of these we are naturally altogether ignorant; nay, not only ignorant, but no efforts of our own, no exertion of our intellectual powers, could ever avail to remove that ignorance. Of various branches of physical science a man may be ignorant, and yet, by application and mental acumen, he may break through the mist which is around him, and attain to a clear and masterly conception of deep things which he once knew nothing of. But the realities of the unseen world, and our relation with respect to them, are beyond our reach; and of those grand remedial measures which God has instituted in order to bring fallen man back into communion with Himself, we could know nothing, unless by revelation. That God has done. He has adopted that mode of communication which is most suitable to our nature and necessities —He has spoken to us. "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." This revelation of his mind and purposes respecting us, gradually opened out from age to age, until, in the advent and Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, it attained its full measure of light and illumination, is the word; a word first spoken, and then written down for our instruction; for "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" and this word is the seed of the kingdom. This seed can alone yield such results as God will recognise and deem worthy to be finally reaped and gathered in as an acceptable harvest. There is a determined effort going forward at the present time to depreciate revelation, and, displacing it from the important position assigned to it as the exclusive seed of the Messiah's kingdom, to substitute for it the emanations of the human intellect. No one, in the discharge of a painful duty—for unless duty constrained to the task few would choose to read them—can peruse the elaborately-woven sophistries which, complex as spiders' webs, pervade the "Essays and Reviews from Oxford," without the full conviction that such is the intention of these writings. One essay associates other mentalities with revelation in the great *rôle* of educating the world. A sphere of usefulness is indeed assigned to it, but partial, limited; and important lessons, essential to the well-being of mankind, which revelation could not teach us, are taught by Greece and Rome.* And thus the nation which was under the light of revelation was only a class in the great scholastic establishment of universal education. "Other nations also had a training parallel to, and cotemporaneous with, the Hebrews. The natural religions—shadows projected by the spiritual light within shining on the dark problems without—were all, in reality, systems of law, given also by God, though not given by revelation, but by the working of nature, and, consequently, so distorted and adulterated, that, in lapse of time, the divine element in them had almost perished." But originally they comprised a divine element from whence they had emanated; and thus *natural religions* are placed on a parity with revelation; and Greece and Rome, and the early church," "although not friends to one another," are "the three friends whose companionship is most deeply engraven on the memory of the world." Educated to his manhood by these combined influences, "the spirit or conscience of the man comes to full strength, and assumes the throne intended for him in the soul. As an accredited judge, invested with full powers, he sits upon the tribunal of our inner kingdom, decides upon the past, and legislates upon the future, *without appeal, except to himself.*" Yet,

* *Vide* "The Education of the World, p. 17."

although thus advanced, is he still a learner, and under "the one condition of all learning —obedience to rules." Law may have two forms; external, governing from the outside, "saying you must, and making no effort to make you feel you ought;" or "an internal law, a voice which speaks within the conscience, and carries the understanding along with it."* When revelation is to be placed in this category, we are candidly informed—"a revelation speaking from without, and not from within us, is an external law."† Thus revelation helps to educate the spirit or conscience until it becomes independent of revelation; and then, mature life being attained, the man proceeds ungratefully to discard the friend by whose aid he had progressed towards maturity. Such precisely is the action of these men. But for the light and illumination which revelation gives, the human intellect never could have attained that grasp and power to deal with the various wonders of knowledge and scientific discovery by which it is characterized at the present day. As a nation, we have been much more under Bible education than is generally conceived. The truths of the Gospel have largely benefitted even where they have not converted. There is an indirect influence abroad, flowing from these truths, of the most healthful character. As the sun, when below the horizon, still by his light reflected from his handmaid the moon so illumines the night-time, that even then there is light, so it is with Christ, "the Sun of righteousness." Even when not yet risen in converting power on the soul, he still imparts a twilight; there is a more correct standard of right and wrong, conscience is more determinately active and admonitory, and there is a larger measure of self-restraint; and thus low and debasing vices, which are alike debilitating to the physical and mental powers, being avoided, the intellect becomes more vigorous, and has opportunity to strengthen and expand; and thus we have, at the present day, the painful spectacle presented to us of men of scholarship and ability, who are far more indebted to revelation for their measure of intellectual power than they are disposed to admit, ungratefully using these energies and powers against that revelation to which they owe so much, and labouring to degrade it from that tribunal of appeal (*vide* Article VI. of the Church of England) which it has so long and so advantageously occupied, that they may set up in its place the vain conceit of an "inner law." According to the first of these essays, the Bible is to be read, not to override, but to evoke the voice of conscience; and "when conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian" is immediately to conclude "that he has not really understood the Bible."* And thus, instead of the Bible correcting and adjusting the action of conscience by presenting to it, as the standard whereby it is to be regulated in accusing or excusing the true will of God, the conscience is to decide the sense in which the Bible is to be received; and thus "conscience is the supreme interpreter."† Thus the safe embankments which have so usefully restrained within suitable limits the spirit of inquiry, are being removed, and an endless field of speculation presents itself, in which the educated mind of the world, having reached its maturity, may extravagate. "Precise statements of faith, or detailed principles of conduct," resolve themselves into an "outer law," and interfere with the great work of self-education. They are to be put aside. In that sense, instead of dogmatism there is to be toleration: the spirit is to be substituted for the letter, and "practical religion for precise definitions of truth." "The mature mind of our race is beginning to modify and soften the hardness and severity of the principles which its early manhood had elevated into immutable statements of truth." But these belonged to a time of immaturity. The advanced manhood of the present day cannot be bound by these, for "physical science, researches into history, and a more thorough knowledge of the history of our world, have enlarged our philosophy;" and "all these must influence our determinations of religious truth."

Language such as this is intelligible enough: it aggresses upon the authority of revelation, and cautiously but determinately moves on one side, that the bold and speculative action of this school may not be interfered with. And this is regarded as the evidence of a matured state: rather does it exhibit that impatience of wholesome restraint which is the precursor of declension: "professing themselves to be wise, they become fools."

> Learning itself received into a mind,
> By nature weak, or viciously inclined,
> Serves but to lead philosophers astray,
> Where children would with ease discern the way.

Such is the character of the entire series.

* *Vide* "The Education of the World," p. 34, 35.
† Ibid, p. 36.

* *Vide* Essays, p. 44.
† Ibid., p. 45.

There is a veil thrown over the intention of the first essay, transparent indeed, yet manifesting some sense of decorum; but the others are more bold, and openly aggress upon the truthfulness, and, inferentially, the inspiration of the sacred records. After the fashion of Bunsen, the "long lives of the first patriarchs are relegated to the domain of legend or of symbolical cycle." "The historical portion," that which is reliable, "begins with Abraham." Having adopted certain theories, Bunsen shifts about historical events as may be most convenient, and on his principle that "there is no chronological element in revelation," varies admitted dates according to his pleasure. He puts back Abraham's going down into Egypt by nearly a thousand years, in order to allow sufficient time to account for the great increase of the Israelites while sojourning there, without being necessitated to admit any interference, in the way of a special blessing, with the "laws of matter," and the ordinary operation of physical causes. This is the principle which pervades Bunsen's researches. The miraculous element at any cost, is to be eliminated from the belief of man. The historical facts recorded in the Scripture have been invested, according to his view of them, with a supernatural character which does not properly belong to them. The avenging angel who slew the first-born was "a Bedouin host, akin nearly to Jethro, and more remotely to Israel;" the angel that smote the Assyrian host which besieged Jerusalem, was a pestilence; the passage of the Red Sea is a description "to be interpreted with the latitude of poetry."* Nor are we to be surprised at conclusions so startling, which, if they were to be admitted, would deprive us of the alone standfast point in this world of confusion, and, robbing the statements of the Bible of that reliability which has rendered them an ark, a place of repose to the wearied soul in its searchings and inquiries, submerge them with every thing else, into one vast flood of vagueness and uncertainty: for the Bible, after all, is but "an expression of devout reason, and therefore to be read with reason in freedom."† Availing himself of this self-conferred freedom, or, as it might with more propriety be termed, licence, Bunsen pursues without hesitation his bold career, a modern Phaeton, who, in urging his fiery steeds towards the sun, seems smitten with blindness as his punishment. And as with miracles, so with prophecies: the idea of their being prognostications, and predictive of future events, is openly spurned. In the most audacious manner, the various passsages of the Old Testament, which are expressly referred to in the pages of the New, as having had their fulfilment in the facts of the Redeemer's life and crucifixion—such as Psalm xxii. 17—are taken up and lightly turned over as misreadings or misinterpretations, or, as in the case of Daniel's prophecies, "a history of past occurrences;"* until at length, in the judgment of the critic, nothing directly Messianic remains, except, perhaps, one passage in Zechariah, one in Isaiah, "and a chapter possibly in Deuteronomy, foreshadowing the final fall of Jerusalem." Even the 53d chapter of Isaiah, which our Missionaries to the Jews have used with such effect, in contending with the unbelief of that ancient people, is no longer to be understood of Christ. If its reference is to a single person, Jeremiah is to be the selection; but Dr. Williams, by whom the review of Bunsen's Biblical Researches is written, prefers to find the interpretation of the writing in "Collective Israel," and thus deserting the Christian standard, ranges himself on the side of the Jewish sceptic, and adopts and sustains the gloss of Rabbinism.

Dr. Williams's review is promptly followed by the late Professor Powell's Essay on the "Study of the Evidences of Christianity." Dr. Williams having, with the aid of Bunsen's speculations, endeavoured to breach the fortress, this writer rushes to the assault with all the ardour of a forlorn hope. He labours sedulously to disprove the idea of miracles being regarded as an evidence of inspiration. Such supernatural interferences are rejected as unworthy of belief. "Any modification whatsoever in the existing condition of material agents, unless through the invincible operation of a series of externally impressed consequences, following on some necessary chain of orderly connexion,"† is pronounced an impossibility. He who is the author of physical law is supposed to be so bound by his own laws that he cannot interfere with them. To admit this is indeed an impossibility. There are moral laws which have their foundation in the character of God, and which He could never wish to alter, and therefore they are eternal and unalterable; but the physical laws by which the universe is regulated, are as the rules which a householder has laid

* Essays, p. 57.
† Ibid., p. 60.

* Essays, p. 69.
† Ibid. 133.

down for the due regulation of his household, and which it is at his pleasure to suspend and modify, if higher interests render this desirable. Such theories of unalterable laws and eternally impressed consequences may agree with the atheistical principle, but are wholly inconsistent with the recognition of God.

To disencumber themselves of miracles and prophecy, *per fas et nefas*, is the grand object of this school, for with them they get rid of an authoritative revelation. These evidences afford no opportunity for the exercise of the speculative principle. They appeal, the one to the sense of the man; the other, to that ordinary understanding which he applies to the every-day transactions of life. They are both facts: the one a sensible fact, the other an historical fact; the unlearned and the learned can judge of them alike. There was no intellectual subtilty needed to decide whether Jesus had truly risen. The appeal was to the senses. "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see." It requires no nice discrimination to read the historical facts of various kinds in which the fulfilment of prophecy stands out patent and public before the world. These evidences once admitted, substantiate the revelation as from God, and the man, without the opportunity of cavilling, is at once assigned his proper place, that of a learner, receiving with the docility of a child the authoritative communications of God. This is offensive to intellectual pride; men who consider they have attained the manhood of intellectualism do not like to be dealt with as children. They forget that it is written, "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise." They would have submitted to them, not the evidences, but the subject-matter of revelation, and, placing themselves in the seat of judgment, proceed to examine and decide upon the doctrines whether they be such, as, according to their conceptions, might be expected to proceed from God. Hence the pains taken by this school to get rid of external evidences of miracles and prophecy, and throw the proof of inspiration exclusively on internal evidence, such as, excellence of doctrine, &c. It is to afford to man the opportunity of constituting himself a judge. That men should desire to occupy such a position is the strongest proof of their unfitness for it. They are well aware that the decision in favour of the apostle's principle, "*πασα γραφη, θεοπνευστος*," is one by which they must be bound: they will endeavour to defer it as long as possible, and so to regulate the finding of the court, as to throw all into uncertainty, and leave them free to question and speculate as they please Such innovators must be withstood.

We have dealt only with the first three essays of the series, because they strike more directly at the foundations of faith. But they are all woven in the same loom. They are like the decoys of the fowler, carefully constructed and adroitly laid, so as to lead on the unwary reader, step by step, entangling him more and more in their subtleties, until, like the bird, when it has reached the pursenet, he is first bewildered and then snared.

The publication of these treatises is marked by sufficient boldness. Sympathizers they must be aware that they have amongst the literati of the land, otherwise the writers would not have so adventured. But we more than doubt whether the public mind is sufficiently *educated*, in their sense of the expression, or sufficiently emancipated from the trammels of what they are pleased to term dogmatism, as to receive and digest such ultraisms. At the same time they are not to be despised and passed over *sub silentio* as unworthy of notice. They are ominous of the coming struggle for which we must prepare ourselves. They show the force of the reaction which has been produced by the extreme views which reduced the Scriptures to a dead and inoperative letter, except when interpreted and animated by the living voice of the church. In flying from the dreaded restraints of a sacerdotal domination, these men have rushed into the opposite extreme, and refuse to accept of any thing as a guide in religious truth which does not accord with their own inward convictions.

It is remarkable the efforts which are being made in our day to get rid of revelation. "The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," is too sharp, too decisive for the enemy. He dreads the naked weapon. He would have those who are against him either not use it at all, or else, if they will retain it, use it in a sheath. He swaddled it for a time in old traditions, so that when wielded it might not hurt; and now that it has cut through these, and gleams forth in its original brightness, he would persuade men, that so far from being the divinely-tempered blade which they imagined it to be, it is of inferior workmanship, and not to be depended upon; that thus in their folly they may cast away this two-edged sword, this irresistibly-aggressive and defensive weapon, and so be placed completely at his mercy. It is for the friends of truth to avoid the two extremes, between which, in its impatience of divine restraint, the human mind is being swayed. We may not, in refusing to recognize a spurious authority, break loose from authority itself. We

may not, in declining to submit our consciences in religious matters to the tyranny of man, refuse to submit ourselves to the direction of God. Ecclesiasticism has attempted to dominate over the Bible, and we have protested against it; but we have not dethroned one tyrant to put up another pretender and usurper in his place. The Holy Scriptures, accredited as the revelation of God by evidence of the most incontestable character, this we receive; by this we desire to be taught; and from this we desire to teach others.

This medium position between two dangerous extremes is the only safe place for us: and it is encouraging and confirmatory to find that precisely at this point St. Paul placed himself. This he selected as his battle-field, and there he entrenched himself as in a secure position. "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God." He takes his stand on revelation; on that which constitutes its chief glory, Christ crucified; one of uncreated dignity, submitting Himself in that humanity which He had assumed to the penal consequences of our sin, and putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself; that great remedial fact, in which God's hatred of sin, and God's compassion for the sinner, are so wondrously reconciled; which was predicted in prophecy, foreshadowed in promise, verified in fact, and treasured up for remembrance and continued reference in the inspired writings;—by this, as his standard, he plants himself, and that in contradistinction to two errors, antagonistic to each other, and yet each not the less antagonistic to God's truth; on the one hand *wisdom*, or a reliance on the intellect; on the other hand, *a sign*, or a reliance on what is sensible and external.

We need to take up precisely the same position at the present day; for we perceive the same old fallacies which the apostle condemns, forgetful that they have long since been tried, found worthless, and of no power in the great work of man's regeneration, coming forth from the hiding-places whither they retreated on former discomfitures, soliciting support, and preparing to renew the oft-repeated effort to displace and thrust aside, from the pre-eminence which has been so justly conceded to it, that revelation of God which has wrought amongst mankind results of such surpassing value. On the one hand, we are told, that "at this time, in the maturity of mankind, as with each man in the maturity of his power, the great lever which moves the world is knowledge, the great force is the intellect;"* while, on the other hand, the external is preferred to the spiritual and gracious; and symbolism, as more effective to the religious progress of man, is preferred to the preaching of the cross. Thus, while the fabric is sumptuously embellished, the pulpit utters a feeble sound, and men are ready to die as martyrs, not for the truth, but for ceremonies and vestments.

Thus we perceive the old weapons of attack refurbished, and brought once more into action. The wisdom of the Greek seeks to glorify the intellect, and disparage revelation. The object is to get the Bible out of the way, and to cast such a doubt and haze upon it that men shall cease to regard it as a reality. These cavillers would take away from us the firm substratum on which we stand, and set us in the midst of doubts and uncertainties, to which, when men have unhappily committed themselves, they feel as one sinking in a bog. On the other hand, the men of the past, who would resuscitate, if they could, the faded glories of the Hebrew ritualism, forget that these were but figures for the time then present, and necessarily died out when the great reality, whose advent they were intended to announce, rose in his promised glory on the world. But with them the symbol is every thing, the reality of little value. The ritualism, which was of divine appointment, helped men to the realization of that which was yet distant. The poor imitation of the present day, dims and obscures that great means of regeneration which, as now realized in fact, is intended to be placed distinctly and fully before the minds of men. Unlike the sceptic, they do not deny, they do not subtract; they injure by unauthorized additions. Professing to receive with all deference the doctrines of Scripture, they yet deal uncandidly by them, and endeavour to evade their force. Professedly receiving Christ as the one Mediator, they yet interfere with the majestic oneness of this Mediator, and foist in other reliances between the sinner and Him. He is not placed next to the sinner so unreservedly that the sinner may at once lay hold upon Him. Something is interposed. Christ may be had, but yet through the sacraments. Through these alone they teach that He is apprehensible. Not first Christ, and then the sacraments, but first the sacraments, duly administered, and then the Saviour. When Elisha found the dead son of the Shunamite stretched on his bed, he laid his living body upon the dead body of the child, and "the flesh of the child waxed warm." The living

* Temple "On the Education of the World," p. 48.

Saviour, in the teaching of his truth, must be approximated so closely to the sinner that nothing whatever shall intervene, otherwise the dead soul shall not be reanimated.

If, then, the destructive influence of sin is to be counteracted—if sinners are to be converted, and souls saved—we must recognise the *Gospel of Christ as the great lever which moves the world, and the great force, not the intellect, but the Spirit of God;* for it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." The wise men of Athens had their philosophical researches, and carried on their disputations with much show of learning; but they did nothing for the world around them, for they lived in a city which was "wholly given to idolatry." The Pharisees were rigid in the observance of their ritualism, yet it left them narrow and exclusive, without compassion for sinners whom they admitted to be perishing. They gave no help themselves, and discouraged others from so doing. The seed of the world's regeneration must be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in that which now, as of old, is to "the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God;" and therefore, however men, wise in their own conceits, may despise them as vain enthusiasts, they who would do God's work on earth, by opening blind eyes, and turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, must, with the great apostle of the Gentiles, determine to know nothing "save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." The revelation of God, in this its chief glory, and the kindred truths, this is "the seed of the kingdom," the seed which the Lord of the husbandry has commanded to be broadcast over the field of the world.

Let us briefly consider some of the peculiar and valuable properties of this seed.

It has been prepared with special care, and with a view to the special requirements of the human heart. A seed is the essence of the fruit, and contains the rudiments of a new vegetable. The word is that in which is embodied all the wondrous acts of Christ for the salvation of men. He Himself, in his offices and acts of love, is summed up and presented in the word. There is thus concentrated in this small compass the essence of the Gospel. The heart of the seed, in which its vitality specially resides, is the death of Christ, possessing as it does a peculiar power to lay hold upon and affect the human heart. In this consists, in a great measure, the suitableness of the seed to the requirements of the sinner. Nothing so moves the hardened heart as to be told of the dying love of Jesus; to have placed before us his great sufferings; and in their intensity to understand what a crushing weight of penalty attaches to sin, a weight so ponderous and overpowering, that even God manifest in the flesh groaned and travailed beneath its burden. That is wondrous love which led one so high above all sorrow to stoop to such a depth of sorrow. It is this which, applied in the power of the Spirit of God, melts the hard heart, until, as from the smitten rock, the tears of godly sorrow flow forth.

Stupendous in its character is the divine act of Gospel interference on behalf of sinful man. It was this which led David to exclaim, "When I survey the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of man that thou visitest him." And such considerations have lost nothing of their force; with increasing knowledge, our wonder and admiration may well increase, for we know more of the vastness of the creation and more of the wickedness of man. Each century, as it has rolled past, has opened only more of the riches of creation, and each generation, as it has lived and died, has demonstrated more forcibly the measure of crime of which the human heart is capable; and as, in both these directions, our knowledge increases, our wonder deepens and strengthens, that amidst such a vastness of creation, amidst the gradations of glorious and intelligent beings, principalities and powers, angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, which occupy its mansions, there should have been bestowed such a measure of the divine regard and concernment on guilty, fallen man, whose sins, could they be materialized, would exceed in bulk the world in which he lives. If the earth was one amongst a few worlds, our own narrow range of thought might afford to us an explanation. If, for instance, the solar system constituted the whole material creation, we could conceive that one world amongst a few was of importance. But it is far otherwise. The solar system lies indeed in the midst of a vast solitude, and around it extend, on every side, vast regions of unoccupied space. This we know from the comets, the *feelers* of the system, which penetrate into vast distances beyond the orbit of Neptune, and yet return without any alteration of their period, which must have taken place if these bodies of extreme levity had approached any stellar body. The minor limit of the distance within which no stellar body lies is 19,595,175,000,000 miles. All those points of light which, in the night season, glitter in the firmament, lie beyond that

limit. How densely they appear to cluster over the firmament, especially in the galaxy, or milky-way, where, in a space in length not more than thirty times the moon's diameter, and eight in breadth, 50,000 stars may be counted! And yet each one of these stellar bodies is as remote from his nearest neighbour, as the one which is to us the nearest (*a* in the constellation Centaur) is remote from our sun. Nor is this all. The stars which are dispersed over our firmament constitute one great mass or stratum of stars, together forming a universe of solar systems; and yet this stupendous agglomeration of stellar bodies is only one amongst many, other stellar clusters like our own being dispersed throughout immensity.

In the contemplation of all this we may well pause, and marvel and exclaim, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him?" How is it that the Lord of so many worlds has so occupied Himself with one world, this speck in creation, which, if removed from its place, would have been like a leaf falling from the dense foliage of a forest, or a grain of sand taken from the shores of the vast ocean; a world where his authority has been slighted, and man, the inhabitant of it, has so adventured himself into acts of rebellion? It is that there has been with God "philanthropy," *a love toward man* (Titus iii. 4), a love not manifested towards fallen angels, but which rested upon him; and, in the exercise of that love, He who said, "Let us make man," was pleased to add, "Let us redeem man."

For this mighty work of interference Jehovah girded himself with his majesty, and came forth in his triple personality to the deliverance of sinners. Acting concurrently, and yet distinctly, the three divine persons assumed distinct covenant offices, and resolved themselves into new relations towards each other with reference to this great procedure, the recovery of sinners. The Father willed; the Son devoted himself to the fulfilment of that will—"Lo, I come to do thy will, O God"—and became flesh, that in sorrow of the most extreme kind he might fulfil it. The Spirit applies that which the Son executed. Amidst the amplitude of creation there are doubtless glorious spectacles to be met, repertories of grandeur and of beauty; but in this little earth, lying hid in its minuteness amidst the folds of creation, there is something more glorious, a manifestation of the divine character which angels desire to look into. And this is one of the divine purposes in this wondrous interference on behalf of those who not only had no claim, but had forfeited all claim to the care and concernment of God, that "now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God." For the church, consisting of lively stones, built on the one living stone; the temple of redeemed sinners, which shall stand throughout eternity, as a praise and glory to the Lord; is the accumulation of those results which the Gospel has effectuated, of battles fought and victories achieved over the power of the enemy; of sinners converted and souls saved; of evil crushed and God glorified; and therefore the angels "desire to look into these things," that with increasing knowledge of the wonders of God's character, they may turn to Him with increasing adoration, and delight to join in the song of redeemed man—"Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour and glory, and blessing."

Such is the Seed, the revelation of God's love to sinners, prepared with such special care and at such a costly price; and its properties are such as from its origin might be expected.

It is incorruptible. There is what is called mummy wheat. The seed from which it has been raised was revived after a protracted death. It had lain for centuries buried in the mummies and catacombs of Egypt. But it was discovered, brought to light, and resown; and it sprang up and bore fruit. And so the seed of the kingdom is incorruptible. It was buried in the traditions and ceremonials of a corrupt church, from which vitality had departed, and which, but for the cerements with which it had been swathed, would have lost even the form of Christianity. Out of this grave the seed was recovered at the Reformation, and resown. Need we say that it was found to have lost nothing of its power, because it was incorruptible seed? It sprang up abundantly, and has never ceased to bring forth fruit.

And so we use it now. The sowers go forth to sow it when opportunity presents itself. It disappears and seems to be lost. But it is not so. It is working unseen beneath the surface. Deep in the recesses of the human heart, the spirit of God operates thereby to the production of wondrous changes, and after a time it reappears in beautiful and unexpected results, making the heart of the sower glad. (Is. lv. 10, 11.)

Again, the reproductive power of this seed is astonishingly great. All this precious seed of truth, which is ample enough to be sown all over the face of the habitable earth, if only we had the sowers to go forth, all sprung from one seed. "Except a corn of wheat fall into

the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit."

And thus He was, as a seed, put into the ground; He was slain, buried, and his disciples thought that He was put out of the way, and that his death was the extinction of all their hopes. Yet equally strange would it seem, were we not familiarized with it, to put the natural seed down into the earth, that it might die in order to reproduce itself, that thus by a wonderful process, out of death might come life! And so Christ died, that out of his death there might spring life in abundance, and that He might become the parent seed of many.

And now from his personal acts is yielded that seed of truth which is to be sown amongst men. How great its power of reproduction! With what energy it wrought upon the day of Pentecost, when a single sermon yielded to the church three thousand souls! How the work of evangelization continued to extend itself, the seed, wherever it fell, whether in Palestine, or the provinces of Asia Minor, or throughout Macedonia and the cities of Greece, at Rome, or in Spain, or the far off shores of the Ultima Thule of the then known world, still bringing forth fruit. Nor has this precious seed of pure Gospel truth, taken from the storehouse of the written word, lost in our day its power. It retains all its vitality. It is as new and efficacious as when first fresh from the life and death of Jesus. The glorious work still proceeds; sinners are being converted, souls saved, great changes effected in the most hopeless and far gone characters, invaluable results gathered in, victories achieved. "There shall be a handful of corn in the earth, upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon." It has been so. There was at the first but a handful of corn. But the divine blessing rested upon it as it was sown, and its product is to be found in fields white unto the harvest. A few grains have been dropped on some distant land, and they fell amidst the multitude and seemed lost. A few converts were yielded, and the world despised the poor return; until at length, as the skies dropped down in blessing from above, and the heavens poured down righteousness, the earth opened and salvation was brought forth, and righteousness sprang up together. The results are to be found in the churches and congregations raised up in heathen lands through the instrumentality of modern Missionary effort. And these are yielding new seed, peculiarly adapted to the necessities of the countries in which it has been raised, because it is a *vernacularized* seed, having got hold of the native heart, and having enlisted in its service the native tongue. The work initiated by foreign Missionaries is now being carried forward by native Christians raised up from the midst of the heathen masses that are to be evangelized, and the great difficulties connected of necessity with the commencement and introduction of a work like this having been in a great measure overcome, it will soon advance with an increasing rate of progress, and as the sowers go forth to sow the seed, their feet shall be beautiful upon the dark mountains of heathenism.

The value of a ministry, whether it be for home or foreign parts, depends upon the purity of the seed which is sown by it; whether it be the pure word of revelation, or some mixture of man's devising. Of old it was commanded, "Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed;" but how presumptuous to sow the Lord's field with mingled seed, and thus violate the laws by which the spiritual husbandry is to be ordered! how criminal to deliver to men, as God's message, what He has never warranted! Surely this is the very act of the enemy, who sowed tares among the wheat, and mixed the seed that he might spoil the crop. This is not to do God's work, but the work of his adversary. We repeat, the value of a Missionary Society depends upon the character of the seed it sows, whether it be the pure truth, reverentially taken from the granaries of revelation, or whether it be "another Gospel"—an adulterated seed, over the preparation of which human prejudice, and human folly, under the name of wisdom, have been permitted to preside. "Charge some" says the apostle, "that they teach no other doctrine" (*μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*); and the same caution needs to be repeated now; for where this unhappily is done, there can be no blessing: no results can be produced that will be acceptable to God or of real benefit to man. No carefulness of organization can make amends for unfaithfulness, and carelessness in the deliverance of the message. Better far pure water in an earthen vessel, than a vitiated liquid in a golden cup; and if the choice lies between extremes, a defective organization with a pure Gospel is better than one ecclesiastically perfect, yet defective in the utterance of truth. For ourselves we are thankful not to be necessitated to such an alternative, and that in the Church Missionary Society we have alike the becoming organization and the truthful message. But of this we may be assured, God's word, by whomsoever sown, will never fail to be "the seed of the kingdom."

But if it be so needful that the seed be "good," what should those men be who are selected for its sowing? Of that we may speak at another time.

THE TAI-PINGS.

Six years have elapsed since we placed before our readers such information as we could collect respecting the Tai-ping movement and its politico-religious character. Since that period it has been forcing its way onward amidst the density of China's population, sometimes bursting out into a fierce glare of attack and devastation, and then, as though it had exhausted itself, falling back from its new conquests, but only for a time, to gather new strength, and resume, with increased impetuosity, its onward course. At its birth, it appears to have been of an exclusively religious character, the effort of a partially enlightened Chinese desiring to correct the gross idolatry of his fellow-countrymen, and lead them to become God-worshippers. This man, Hung sew tsuen, soon gathered disciples around him, whose inconoclastic zeal brought them into collision with the mandarins. Obliged to take up arms in self-defence, they resolved themselves into a military organization—at first resistive, and then aggressive. To the mission to which they considered themselves called — the destruction of images— was now added the extermination of the imps, or Manchoos; and in carrying out both these objects they have shown an untiring zeal. In March 1853 they stormed Nanking; when, out of a population of 20,000 Manchoos, which constituted the population of the inner city, not more than one hundred escaped. "We killed them all," was their stern cry of triumph; "we killed them all, to the infant in arms; we left not a root to sprout from."

In November 1854 we find them in possession of Tsing-hae, in the Chih-le province, about twenty miles to the south of Tien-tsin, and about one hundred miles from Pekin. Here they met with the Mongol hordes from beyond the great wall, the same barbarous yet fearless troops with which the allied forces have had to contend, and their onward course was arrested. Reinforcements coming up, they stormed the important city Lin tsing in the face of the Manchoo and Mongol cavalry; and in this and the adjoining parts of the Chih-le province they remained for the space of ten months; but they never succeeded in reaching Pekin, and at the expiration of that time retired southward of the Yellow River.

Disappointed in their hope of terminating the contest by the capture of Pekin, they proceeded to consolidate their power on the Great River, occupying its shores from Chinkeang on the east to Yo-chow on the west. To this heart of the Celestial empire the war has mainly transferred itself, the Imperialist and Tai-ping forces acting and re-acting on each other with varying success; and these rich portions of the empire, amidst such interchanges of defeat and victory, being completely laid waste and desolated.

In the latter end of 1858, a British squadron, with Lord Elgin, passed up the river as far as Hankow, not without exchanging shots, on more than one occasion, with the Tai-pings, and a consequent loss of life was caused, which, by due precautions, might have been avoided. On approaching Nanking, the capital city of Ngan-hwui, the insurgents and Imperialists were found to be in action. The British vessels were not recognised by the Tai-pings: they were the first bearing the British flag which had ascended the stream so far. Under the misapprehension that they were acting in concert with the Imperialist fleets of junks which commanded the river, the Tai-pings fired a shot at the leading vessel, the "Lee," and was replied to by the "Furious," "Cruiser," "Dove," and "Lee," in full chorus. The garrison of the forts was soon in flight, the guns abandoned. A little timely explanation might have prevented this collision. On the return voyage, when these forts were again approached, such an explanation was resorted to. The water had fallen so low that the two large vessels had been left behind, and the two gun-boats were alone on their way to the river's mouth. To engage the forts on going up, when the force was strong, was a pleasant *divertissement*; but to venture on the same experiment with two gun-boats, was, if possible, to be avoided; and that the more so, as the nature of the channel compelled them to steer immediately under the city walls, so that the decks could easily have been swept from them by gingalls. On this occasion, therefore, that was done which should have been done before—a communication was opened with the insurgents, and the gun-boats passed the forts unmolested.

Nothing could exceed the desolate aspect of the districts through which they passed. Suburbs of cities levelled, the peasantry compelled to fly, now from the Tai-pings, now from the Imperialists, their houses burnt for fuel. On reaching the termination of the upward journey, where, on the waters of the Great River, cluster together the three cities of Wo-chang, Han-yang, and Han-kow, additional traces of the misery caused by this cruel war presented themselves. The turreted walls of Han-yang enclosed deserted

streets, roofless houses, crumbling walls, and grass-grown courts. Wo-chang, the capital of Hoopeh, had also its large areas of desolation strewed with ruins. Han-kow, although again in a flourishing condition, had, two years and a half before, been so completely levelled with the ground, that not one stone had been left upon another. On the return voyage, Nanking was visited; and here also were painfully visible the traces of the sanguinary conflicts which have been fought within and around its walls. "Many of the streets were entirely deserted and the houses unoccupied. A vast portion of the area within the walls had never been built upon, while yamuns and public buildings still existing attested its former magnificence."

The province of Chekeang, in which our Missions lie, had hitherto been spared; but it was known that the Tai-pings were anxious to reach the sea-board, and open communication with occidental nations; and it was felt that this security could not be of much longer continuance. Accordingly, in the beginning of this year the invasions of this province by the Tai-pings commenced from different points. One large body, breaking forth from Nanking, where the Imperialists had for some time hemmed them in, overpowered the besiegers with an utter discomfiture, and, advancing by Chang-chow, established their head-quarters at I-ting, about forty miles from Soo-chow. Another body appeared in great force on the eastern slopes of the hills separating Chekeang from the Kiangsi province, and, descending along the course of the Tsien-tang river, which, rising in Wu-yuen of Ngan-hwui, falls into Hang-chow Bay, they seized upon Ku-chau and Kiang-shin.

Since then, Hang-chow and Soo-chow, those two far-famed cities of the Chinese—of which the proverb says, "Shang yu tien tang; Hia yu Su Hang;"—the purport of which is, that Hang-chow and Soo-chow are fully equal to paradise—have both fallen.

Situated at the southern extremity of the Great Canal, Hang-chow possesses a commanding situation. In its well-paved streets, ornamented with numerous honorary tablets, might be found shops stocked with varied and excellent fabrics, especially silks, for the manufacture of which this city was specially famous. The West Lake added to the beauty of its environs—a beautiful sheet of water, surrounded by wooded hills, amongst which branches of the lake penetrated in various directions.*

Soo-chow stands on islands lying in Great Lake, the city and its suburbs "including so many canals and pools connected with the Grand Canal and the lake, that it is hard to say whether the land or the water predominates." Renowned for its manufactures of silk, linen, and cotton fabrics, with works in iron, ivory, lackered ware, it was regarded as one of the most prosperous of Chinese cities. It was visited in the early part of 1858 by the Vicompte de Contades and Mr. Oliphant, Lord Elgin's Secretary, charged with notes from their respective Governments, to the Chinese Secretary of State, and which, the better to secure their transmission, and in the hope of breaking down the superciliousness of the high Chinese officials, they resolved to deliver into the hands of Chaou, the Governor of Kiangsu, who resided at Soo-chow. The details of this mission, and of the interview with Chaou, may be read with interest.* The city is described as "built in the shape of a perfect square, each side four miles in length. On two sides the Grand Canal washes the walls, and on the other two sides two smaller canals complete the square." The numerous canals which intersected the crowded buildings were "spanned, rialto fashion, by high single arches, and with houses rising out of the water, as in Venice." The water-way of the Grand Canal "was as inconveniently crowded with boats, as Fleet Street with carriages, and these of every possible form, from the gorgeous mandarin-junks, with the huge umbrella on the top and a gong at the entrance of the cabin," to "the small covered canoe of the costermonger, which looked like a coffin." The omnibus of our metropolis was represented by large passage boats, which plied between Soo-chow, Hang-chow, and Chang-chow; while the light tanka-boats, containing "one or two passengers, and deftly worked by a single oar astern, cut in and out like hansoms."

Such was Soo-chow and its rival Hang-chow; rich and prosperous, they were the most luxurious and sensual of Chinese cities. But the thunderbolt of sudden calamity has fallen upon them. The fiery flood of Tai-ping invasion has swept them with desolation, and humbled their pride in the dust. It is now with China as with Moab of old, "We have heard the pride of Moab; he is exceeding proud; his loftiness and his arrogancy and his pride and the haughtiness of his heart. From the cry of Heshbon even unto Elealeh, and even unto Jahaz have they uttered their voice, from Zoar even unto Horonaim, as an heifer

* *Vide* a description of Hang-chow by the Bishop of Victoria, "Church Missionary Intelligencer," June 1859.

* Oliphant's Narrative, vol. i. p. 196, &c.

of three years old; for the waters also of Nimrim shall be desolate. Moreover, I will cause to cease in Moab, saith the Lord, him that offereth in the high places, and him that burneth incense to his gods. . . . . There shall be lamentation generally upon all the housetops of Moab and in the streets thereof; for I have broken Moab like a vessel, wherein is no pleasure, saith the Lord."

Hang-chow was captured as much by stratagem as force. Numbers of the insurgents surreptitiously obtained entrance into the city, under various disguises, as ordinary Chinese, or as pilgrims and mendicants. These secreted themselves in private houses and elsewhere, as opportunity presented itself, until the insurgent forces appeared before the town. Then, rushing out with loud cries, they opened the gates to their friends, and the Tai-pings obtained possession of the outer city. The Tartar garrison retiring into the inner city, held their ground for several days, until, on the arrival of reinforcements, they assumed the aggressive, and the insurgents evacuated Hang-chow. But they left behind them, in and around the city, the most lamentable traces of their raid. The suburbs were wasted with fire. On entering the eastern gate facing the lake, the scene that met the view was no less distressing. Street after street might be traversed for miles with no sign of business but some vendor of eatables on a small scale, or a tea-shop here and there.

Soo-chow also has fallen into the hands of the Tai-pings. The pitiable condition to which it is reduced will be found in subsequent pages of this Number. Meanwhile, *sauve qui peut* became the order of the day. Nothing could be more pitiable than the appearance of families flying from the places which the insurgents threatened, and seeking a refuge elsewhere. Driven forth from their comfortable homes, sitting in open boats exposed to the falling rain, they seemed in the most dejected state. Indeed, numbers of these unhappy people, in utter desperation, have had recourse to a Chinaman's last refuge, suicide; and thus, while the Tai-pings smite the Manchoos and their adherents, and the Imperialists, on any retrograde movement of the Tai-pings, execute merciless vengeance on the people, who, without the power of resistance, have submitted for a time to the rebel authority, the population themselves, distressed beyond measure between the conflicting parties, and maddened by their sudden reverse of circumstances, from ease and prosperity into extreme suffering, add to the horrors of the moment by repeated and almost wholesale suicide. At Hang-chow from fifty to seventy thousand lives were lost in a few days; and of these a large proportion were suicides. Nor is this last fatal plunge reserved for circumstances of actual danger, but the mere apprehension of it is enough. An alarm was given at Shanghae, in the middle of July, that the rebels were approaching, when a panic occurred. "All the Chinese shops," says the 'North China Herald,' "were closed, and the owners were busy in conveying their valuables to unknown retreats away from their homes. Bands of six and eight women might be seen shuffling along with great rapidity, hand in hand, to places of refuge; Coolies on the bund and in the hongs threw down their burdens, and took to flight, some rushing to the landing-places, and offering large sums to the boatmen who would take them to the American side. The bridge by the Consulate was almost choked up by the rush to cross it. All the boats stood out in the river, and refused the most tempting offers from the shore. In fact, the alarm was tremendous, and took many hours to subside. We hear that many women rushed at once into the water from one of the tea factories, and attempted suicide. One lady and two men hung themselves, while another jumped from a high window, and fractured his thigh. Several suicides are also reported within the city."

Such is the Chinese mind. In the direction of God, all is a dead unknown. There is no hope there; and when earthly hopes are broken up, there is no hope anywhere; and the despairing sinner ends his own life. In what a vortex of miseries is not this great nation involved! The prescriptive routine of centuries is at an end. They had been at ease from their youth, these gentry, and *literati*, and rich merchants, of the Chekeang province. Even when the tempest of civil war was raging beyond their boundaries in Kiangsi, Hoopeh, and Ngan-hwui, they remained undisturbed; but at length it has reached them likewise, and, lo! they too are spoiled.

In truth, China had fallen into a condition of profound insensibility to every thing except the enjoyments of pride and sense. Earth was all the heaven which this sensuous people wished for; and, lo! their pleasant dream of an easy and self-indulgent life, disturbed previously by one only apparition, that of death, is rudely broken up, and the Chinese finds himself a sufferer, and without a hope. At such a time, when the population is bleeding at every pore, the preaching of the cross may meet with an acceptance it never did before, and Christ be welcomed as the brazen serpent was by the serpent-bitten Israelites. In fact, the time is getting short, and the Lord's work must be expedited. Death, hopeless death,

has long reaped plenteous harvests in China: it is time that life enter in, and seize the sickle, and reap in the living for the Lord. We are persuaded that, out of the present ruins, there will arise a new and better state of things, and that more rapidly than we expect; and we are free to confess that our hope in this respect lies in that pure work of evangelization which, disconnected from everything approaching to politics, has pursued its unobtrusive course, and, so far as the elementary knowledge of Christian truth is concerned, may have penetrated more widely amongst the population bordering on our Mission stations than we have ventured to hope. Many a Testament and Christian book and tract, have been sent forth on their mission of love amongst this reading and careful people, who so remarkably venerate the printed character; and who can say what unexpected movements may break forth under this new pressure of affliction?

Meanwhile the Tai-pings have been brought nearer to the Missionaries and other Europeans on the coast; and that facility of access to them, which had been so long wished for, has been at length presented. Long and anxiously had Christian men wished to have free intercourse with this extraordinary people, whose new religion presented such a strange mixture of truth and error, that they might detach them from what was delusive, and teach them more perfectly the right way. That opportunity now presented itself, not only because of the presence of the Tai-pings at Soo-chow, but of the accession of Hung-jin, formerly a catechist preacher in connexion with the London Missionary Society at Hong Kong, to the office of King-kan, or minister in chief of the Tai-ping-wang.

To this personage, on his new exaltation, a letter was addressed by the Missionaries, Messrs. Edkins and John, expressing their gratification at receiving tidings of his welfare, and their earnest hope that in his new position he would maintain his Christian integrity. His reply came from Soo-chow, whither he had proceeded on the receipt of their letter, that thus an interview with them might be facilitated. It invited them to a conference at that city. They had no hesitation in availing themselves of so remarkable an opportunity, and these two gentlemen left Shanghae for this purpose in July last, accompanied by three Missionaries, of whom our Missionary, the Rev. J. S. Burdon, was one. The details of their journey, as given by the Rev. Griffith John, will be found in our "Recent Intelligence" for the present month, taken from the London Missionary Society's periodical for November. And we now present Mr. Burdon's narrative. Our readers will remember that the minds of Europeans, Missionaries and others, are at present much interested and divided on the subject of the Tai-pings. Some regard them in a very favourable light, and seem to think that the delusions under which they labour are not to be put in competition with the grand testimony they have borne to the unity of God in contradistinction to the gross idolatry of China, and their publication of the Christian Scriptures as of supreme authority. Others, on the other hand, look only at their versions and new revelations, their merciless butchery of Manchoos, and their polygamistic practices. For ourselves, we desire to look fully both at the good and evil, and to diminish nothing from either. When we look at them in the favourable point of view, we perceive what advantages are afforded to the Missionary for the prosecution of Missionary efforts amongst them. Much that he would desire to separate them from, they have already abjured; much of which he would desire to convince them they already admit. There is no need to tell them the idols are nothing, for they know it, and break them in pieces; there is no need to instruct them in the truth of one God. They confess all this, and much more. There is no need to prepare and print a version of the Holy Scriptures for this people: this they have already done. On the other hand, when we mark how they place the reveries of their mystic king and the more ambitious inventions of the Eastern King on a level with the written word, as divine relations; and how, while admitting the ten commandments as the rule of moral duty, they yet multiply wives, and without commiseration slaughter their enemies, we at once perceive what a large measure of evangelizing work remains to be carried forward amongst them, before they can be raised to such a position as would justify us in recognising them as fellow-Christians. This is the practical point in which all are agreed, and to this and the best mode of accomplishing it our attention needs to be directed. At the time of this interview with Hung-jin, he appeared most anxious for intercourse with members of the Missionary body, and assured them that every facility should be afforded them for carrying forward the work of instruction at Shanghae; but since then a collision has taken place at Shanghae, and the Tai-pings have been driven back from the walls of that city, of which they attempted to possess themselves, by the guns of the allied forces. The rebel chief, Le, professes much indignation at this unce-

remonious reception, and complains that, having been invited to come down to Shanghae, he had expected friendly intercourse, instead of which he had been met with big guns and shot. Yet we do not see that he has any reason to complain.

On Tuesday, August 14th, a Tai-ping proclamation was found posted up in various localities, both of the foreign settlement and native city. In this sufficiently lengthy document, Le, the faithful king, announces the divine mission of the Tai-pings to slay and exterminate the destructive imps, and his determination to capture Shanghae, and yet his willingness to spare the inhabitants, provided they hasted to reform. The concluding paragraph runs as follows—

"I have hitherto taken cities without number, and it would behove you to amend your faults, and so be in the way of having your lives spared. From the first outbreak of righteousness in Kwang-si, until the present time, ten years have passed, during which time no enemy could withstand, and no attack could repress us. Should your little place, only a span in size, brave us, and refuse to listen to us? Shanghae is an intelligent city enough: let the people take the good and the evil, and make their choice (of sides). I issue this proclamation strongly to command and advise you: you know that an egg can't oppose a stone: make up your minds, then, speedily, and submit yourselves; and when the soldiers shall have come, not one fraction of any thing shall be exacted from you. If you will not put confidence in me, but run away, every one of you, with the idea that you can withstand me, why, do exactly as you please. I will establish my will firm as a mountain, and my commands shall be as flowing water. Immediately after I have informed you by this, my soldiers will arrive: they are not going to wait for you; do not say that I gave you no warning. Tremblingly obey, and do not slight this."

The allied authorities lost no time in communicating with Le in order to prevent him from such an attempt. On August 16th, a proclamation was forwarded to the camp of the Tai-pings to the following effect—

"*Shanghae, August* 16, 1860.

"Proclamation sent to Rebel Camp at Shanghae.

"Report having reached us of an armed force having been collected in the neighbourhood of Shanghae, we, the commanders of the military and naval forces of Her Britannic Majesty at Shanghae, hereby give notice that the city of Shanghae and the foreign settlement are militarily occupied by the forces of Her Britannic Majesty and of her ally the Emperor of the French, and they warn all persons, that if armed bodies of men attack or approach the positions held by them, they will be considered as commencing hostilities against the allied forces, and will be dealt with accordingly."

That the Tai-ping chief duly received this proclamation is undoubted, for we have his reply before us, and, exemplifying as it does the feelings with which this people met the first interference of the European powers to stay them upon their path of conquest, we insert it as it stands—

"Translation of Reply.

"Le, Imperial Commissioner of the sovereign reigning in virtue of the true decree of heaven, &c., hereby issues a notification.

"Whereas the appointed period of the Tsing (Manchoo) dynasty having expired, the true sacred Lord was sent into the world to save it. And I, having been honoured with his command to perform the work of heaven, by punishing the crimes (of the rejected dynasty), have, from the time I rose in the cause of right in Kwang-si, never fought a battle without conquering, and never attacked a city without taking it.

"A short time back, on our armies occupying Soo-chow, your countries once and again pressed us to come to Shanghae to discuss personally the various matters connected with foreign trade. Hence it was that, after retaking Sing-keang, I came hither, not to seek a quarrel and to fight with foreign nations, but to offer them a treaty of open commerce.

"And, on now perusing the communication of your countries, I am in the highest degree surprised at the extravagant perversity of its language.

"I would submit to you, that I, under the loyal Prince, have the general command of a large body of officers and of an innumerable army, and could have no difficulty in causing the instantaneous destruction of an insignificantly small city such as Shanghae. When I, therefore, come to the place, and station my troops motionless before it, it is really in a spirit of pure regard and of consideration for our common faith. Had I at once ordered a hostile advance, the members of the same house would have been turning against each other, and we could not have failed to incur the ridicule of the Tsing dynasty.

"With the Tsing dynasty your nation have now a quarrel: you cannot have forgotten the battle at Tien-tsin. But our state, in at present carrying on a war, has no other object than to regain our own country. We are at

enmity with the Tsing dynasty, but with foreign nations we have no quarrel.

"Your countries attach much importance to open commerce and trade. Now, the advantages to be obtained from us would be greater than those given by the Tsing dynasty, for after the establishment of peaceful relations with us, unrestricted commerce might be carried on at all places without exception.

"But the wild and fallacious nature of the communication which has reached us is such as renders it quite inexplicable. I must conclude that there is no consideration for the feeling that should make us of one mind, in virtue of our common religion, and that there is, it may be, an intention of seeking a quarrel.

"For these reasons, I hereby issue a notification for the common information of the foreign nations (at Shanghae). If you desire to carry on open commerce, in accordance with an agreement, you can at once come and consult on the terms of an agreement. If, however, it is your wish to make difficulties, and to engage in hostilities, then my troops move as a flood, my commands go forth unchangeable as the hills, and we can only await the time when victory and defeat declare themselves. I trust that you will not bring sorrow on yourselves.

The rebel chief, with a force of from 5000 to 7000 men, attacked the city on the 18th of August, and the foreign settlement on the 20th, but was driven back on both occasions with considerable loss, and compelled to retreat.

So far then as to our present relations with the Tai-pings. The troops of the same allied powers, which defended Shanghae from the rebels, are forcing their way to Pekin, despite the resistance of the Tartars and the diplomatic craft of Chinese statesmen; and China's great crisis seems at hand.

Narrative of an Interview with the Kan Wang, or Shield King of the Tai-pings at Soo-chow, by the Rev. J. S. Burdon.

"*Shanghae, Sept.* 3, 1860.

"The past six months have, as you are aware, witnessed a fresh outburst of the Tai-ping insurgents. It began last spring in a sudden descent on Hang-chow, which was taken and given up, for the few days of its occupation by them, to almost indiscriminate burning of the houses and massacre of the inhabitants. As soon as they had accomplished their object of drawing off the Imperialist army, which was beginning to press them hard at Nanking, they retired, or were driven from Hang-chow, and appear to have attacked those whom they are pleased to call the 'imps' or 'demons,' being the soldiers or other adherents of the present reigning Emperor, both in front and in the rear, and to have completely routed them. The consequence of this movement was, that the country between Nanking and Shanghae soon fell into their hands; and for the last two or three months the important cities of Chang-chow, Woosih, Soo-chow, Kwunshan, and many others, on the great highway between Shanghae and the southern capital of the empire, have been in their possession.

"These insurgents have excited great interest throughout the Christian world. Connected as their rebellion has been with the destruction of idols, a profession of belief in one God, and in Jesus as the Saviour, and an acknowledgment of the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments, they could not but at first enlist our sympathies, and call forth our prayers on their behalf. The Christian public of England showed unmistakeably that this was the state of feeling in 1854, when a grand scheme for the printing of a million-copies of the New Testament was set on foot, and munificently subscribed to. The million scheme is still being carried into effect; but experience is showing us that it was at least a premature step. The Bibles were to have been printed for the benefit of imperfectly enlightened Christians; and with this design the scheme was most honourable to the benevolence of England. But they for whom principally the books were ordered, have, for the last six years, been content with militarily occupying the positions they had previously obtained, breaking out every now and then to do little else than plunder and lay desolate the places visited. They have thus been the means of bringing untold miseries on the people whom they are professing to deliver from the bondage of idolatry and the Tartar dynasty. The military occupation of great parts of the country has neutralized all efforts at Missionary work among the insurgents; and the Bibles hitherto have had to be distributed amongst those who know nothing of, and care less for, the subjects of which the Bible treats, and thus, the rebels having disappointed us, it has been found difficult judiciously to dispose of such an immense number of Bibles in the limited districts of heathen to which we have been confined.

"But during the last few months the Taipingites have come much nearer to us. They have taken possession of nearly the whole country in this region, to the very borders of Shanghae, and they have cleared the way of all obstacles that used to prevent our visits to them. It then became necessary for Missionaries to meet them face to face, and to

inquire from the leading men amongst them how far their system of Christianity tallied with that of the Bible. First one party of Missionaries, and then another, found their way to the rebel head-quarters at Soo-chow, and returned with glowing accounts of the high promise held out by the insurgents for the future of China. Messrs. Edkins and John, of the London Missionary Society, having, on a visit to Soo-chow, had an interview with the general in command of the city, called the *Choong wang*, or, 'Faithful king,' when some of the errors of the Tai-ping Christianity were brought out in conversation with him, wrote out a paper on the leading points of doctrine, and presented it to him. This the Choong wang sent to the *Kan wang*, or 'Shield king,' who resides at Nanking, and is said to stand in the relation of prime minister to the insurgent chief. The Kan wang [Hung-jin], immediately on receipt of it, started for Soo-chow, in the expectation of meeting with Mr. Edkins, who had however, in the mean time, returned to Shanghae. A pressing invitation was at once sent to Mr. Edkins to pay another visit to Soo-chow, in order to consult on the points of doctrine mentioned in the letter which had been forwarded to him. Mr. Edkins was not long in complying with this request, especially as the Kan wang, who is cousin to the head of the rebel movemen, was a member of Dr. Legge's church in Hong Kong for three or four years, during which time he was engaged as a catechist, and gave, I believe, abundant evidence of his sincerity. His letter to Mr. Edkins was accompanied by a manuscript book of his own composition, which consisted of an introduction to next year's almanack, and several other articles, advocating, on the whole, correct views of Christian doctrine and practice, and also recommending strongly the adoption of many improvements discovered and used in the west. Mr. Edkins, on this trip, was accompanied by four other Missionaries, of whom I was one, and my account of our visit I here subjoin—

"'*July* 30—After a hard and hot day's work of preparation, I started in company with Messrs. Edkins, John, Innocent, and Rau, the latter a French Protestant Missionary. Between nine and ten P.M. all had arrived at the boats, and we divided ourselves into two parties, Messrs. Edkins, John, and Innocent, occupying one boat, and Mr. Rau and myself the other. As reports have been rife for some time of the intended advance of the rebels on Shanghae, and the foreign authorities have determined to keep them away, guards of English and French soldiers have been for some weeks posted in different parts both in and outside the city.

"'*July* 31 — Made rather slow progress. Anchored for the night just outside a floating bridge constructed by the rebels near Luh-kia-pang, some forty English miles from Shanghae, which marks the commencement of the rebel territory so far as hitherto acquired.

"'*Aug.* 1—Early in the morning we moved up to the bridge, and asked to be allowed to pass. The poor country-people opened the bridge most readily. It consisted principally of the doors of the cottages seized for the purpose, which were placed on bamboos fastened across the river. The houses thus stripped of their doors and windows presented a most miserable appearance. The place of these, which the poor rustics dared not to take back, was supplied by pieces of matting, to shelter the residents from the sun and rain. It was heartbreaking to see the misery of the people. They spoke very earnestly against being thus treated. They said it did not matter to them who held the empire, but the struggle for it should surely be confined to the contending parties, and not be made the means of bringing such miseries on the people. All they wanted was to till their land and eat their rice in peace, and, for all they cared, any one might be Emperor. They complained bitterly of the excesses committed by the soldiers, both of the Imperialists and the rebels. A rebel proclamation was posted up at this place, requiring all to submit to the "heavenly dynasty," and to render tribute. The fate of these poor people is sealed, should ever the Imperialists be able to muster men or courage enough to make their appearance near them; and thus the people, in their present struggle, are the great sufferers. The rebels come down upon them for plunder, and kill indiscriminately where there is any opposition.

"' In the afternoon we passed Kwun-shan, a perfect scene of desolation. We did not think it advisable to leave our boats. A few rebels were posted about one of the bridges as a guard; and their mirth contrasted painfully with the miserably dejected looks of the few natives that we saw. The whole sight was sickening.

"' At dusk, I-ting was passed; and the desolation surpassed any thing that I had before imagined. Here was a large town, containing, when I last visited it, some twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, made a heap of ruins, without one sound of life, save that of the authors of the ruin. They were stationed at one end of the town, barricaded off from the ruins, from which, however, they had

nothing to fear, but from the ghosts of the injured people that might, in indignation, be hovering amidst them. These representatives of the "great peaceful" dynasty had the wicked desperado looks of a band of robbers who had glutted their appetites upon victims powerless to resist them, and were living on the destruction which they had effected. After passing their noisy camp, the silence that reigned in the once busy market-town, the ruins of the burnt houses, joined with the dusk of evening, produced the most melancholy feelings in our minds. A solitary cat, peering out from among a heap of bricks and broken furniture—a few dogs keeping watch over property that lay in terrible confusion all around them, or prowling about to find some food, either from dead bodies or from the filth that Chinese dogs mostly live upon—were about the only signs of life visible in this once thriving mart of trade. One single human being—an old man tottering on the brink of the grave—was seen wending his way over the rubbish. We accosted him with a kindly word of greeting; but he merely lifted his vacant eyes, shook his aged head, and resumed his melancholy and lonely walk. Our hearts bled as we passed this scene; and I cannot say that I wished success to the rebel movement. We anchored for the night a little beyond I-ting, but we were soon ordered off by some voice from the opposite shore.

"'*Aug.* 2—Very early we were on the move, and by seven o'clock we had arrived at Soo-chow, just outside the gate called Leu-mun. Here again ruins met our eyes on every side, and the stench from dead bodies was almost insufferable. We anchored near to some foreign boats which had come from Shanghae, and were engaged in trading with the rebels in articles of all kinds, lawful and unlawful. Amongst these, opium, which is prohibited by the Tai-ping chief under the penalty of death, was by no means the least esteemed by the rebel soldiers. Immediately after breakfast, we started to pay a visit to the Kan wang; but on reaching the gate we were most unceremoniously treated, and flatly denied admission. Mr. Edkins showed the gatekeeper the letter written on yellow silk received from the Kan wang, but it produced no effect on the mind or countenance of the relentless Cerberus. He was the very personification of wickedness and insolence, and his conduct made it evident that if combination does exist among the insurgents, inferiors did not think it inconsistent with such combination to manifest disrespect to superiors. Mr. Edkins, however, made one other attempt, and was admitted just inside the outer gate; on which we all followed. Some one with a little more politeness—a native of Soo-chow, who was stationed with the Kwangsi keepers of the gate—spoke with us; and after finding that some of us were acquainted with Lieu, the officer in command of that part of the city, at once offered us a guide to that gentleman's residence. This we gratefully accepted; and we were soon on our way to Lieu ta-jin.

"'My walk through the city did not tend to produce any better impressions in favour of the Christian insurgents of China. The desertion of the streets, except by the rebels who were located in the houses that had been spared from violence—the desolation, almost as great in some quarters as that at I-ting—a dead body of a child here and there seen lying on some door-step—the thorough upturning of every article of furniture in the search for treasure—the opening of the very coffins with, no doubt, the same object—and the desperado looks of those who had caused all this evil—all deeply pained me.

"'Very soon after entering the house of Lieu ta-jin he made his appearance. I was expecting a dignified, well-dressed, gentlemanly-looking person. Instead thereof, a common-looking man, who looked as though he had but just turned out of bed, dressed in nothing more than an oilskin short coat and wide pantaloons of the same material, slipshod, moreover, and his legs entirely innocent of stockings, presented himself among the not very good-looking fellows who surrounded us, and announced himself as the great man for whom we were in search, by shaking hands with all of us. We told him that our object was to have an interview with the Kan wang, who had invited one of our number for that purpose to Soo-chow, but that, not being acquainted with his residence, we begged Mr. Lieu to furnish us with a guide. He informed us that our best course would be to send our cards before us to announce our arrival, and to wait at his house till the Kan wang sent for us. Our cards were accordingly sent; and we were kept waiting a sufficient length of time to convince us of the greatness of him with whom we sought the interview. For more than three hours we were detained as unwilling guests in Mr. Lieu's house; and as no one that we saw, from the master downwards, showed the least inclination to talk or hear about religious subjects, the time passed heavily enough. With Lieu's whole appearance and demeanor I was any thing but pleased. Indeed, the utter absence of any thing like a religious element in one who stood in the relation of Secretary to Choong wang made one naturally wonder where, after all,

the religion of the Tai-ping Christians is. Between one and two o'clock P.M., the welcome message came at last that the Kan wang was ready to receive us. Ponies had been sent, and were at the door, to convey us to his small majesty, and without delay we mounted our chargers. My unfortunate legs were about twice as long as they should have been to fit the length of the strings (for they had no straps) to which the stirrups were fastened, and consequently my ride was any thing but a comfortable one. I felt something like Pat in his bottomless sedan—"I would rather have walked if it had not been for the honour of the thing." The ride through a long line of streets added to the gloomy thoughts which I have had ever since touching on rebel territory; and in front of the very house in which the Kan wang has for the time taken up his residence, a stagnant ditch, green with the accumulated filth of years, is full of all kinds of house furniture, some smashed to atoms, others broken beyond remedy, others again nearly entire, but lost for ever to their proper owners; and from the smell that saluted our nostrils I should say that not a few dead bodies are rotting underneath this funeral pile. On arriving at the door we were received with a salute of two crackers; and after staying a second or two in an ante-room, we were, amid a complimentary din of discordant music, ushered in before the gentleman himself.

"'The Kan wang was sitting on a sofa, dressed in a long yellow damask robe, embroidered all over with that invariable mark of Chinese royalty—the dragon. On his head was a high pasteboard hat, completely gilt, in which were set, in different places, a few precious stones. It is the revival of the crown of the Ming, or last Chinese dynasty, which, in A.D. 1644, was displaced by the Manchoo Tantars, who have held possession of China till the present day. From head to foot but one colour—the Imperial yellow—predominated in the dress of the Kan wang, his wide pantaloons and his very boots, which had soles twice the ordinary thickness of even Chinese boots, being of the same material with his robe. Behind him stood a few boys, whose business was to fan him by turns; and on each side of him, ranging themselves in two rows in front, stood his ministers, dressed in long green or yellow silk robes, many of them having their hair completely enveloped in a yellow handkerchief. On our entrance, the Kan wang rose; and the manner in which he was dressed gave, as may be imagined, no little appearance of dignity to his person. He bore it, however, with great natural ease; and without insisting on any ceremonial, such as is required among themselves, he stretched out his hand in the most frank manner possible, and gave us a true English reception. He immediately after beckoned to us to be seated on the chairs which were placed in the usual Chinese style on each side of his sofa, motioning to Mr. Edkins to take the seat of honour.

"'Conversation immediately began; but after the complimentary and some other general remarks had passed, it flagged, in consequence of the number of listeners. This was soon perceived by the Kan wang, and a word from him at once halved the waiting company. Those who still hung behind were, in a like unceremonious manner, again ordered to withdraw; and, with the exception of his personal servants, we were, to our great relief, left to as unrestrained a *tête-à-tête* with our host as we desired. The conversation lasted for three or four hours; and he most willingly, and apparently with no desire to conceal even the defects and evils of the Tai-ping Christianity, answered our numerous questions. Before going to him we had already determined on the leading questions to be asked, and these we put to him just as they occurred to us. Without attempting to give all these questions and their answers, I shall endeavour briefly to lay before you the leading points of the conversation which seem necessary to be known in order to help in forming our judgment on the system of religion held by the chiefs of this rebel movement.

"'It may be well to remind you, that, in the political organization of the rebels, there is no Emperor, but a "fraternity of kings," consisting of the heavenly king and ten subordinate kings, who are principally, at present, engaged in subduing the districts respectively assigned to them. The Kan wang, and one or two others, seem to be the only civil ministers of the kingdom in this list.

"'1. The visions of the "heavenly king," which may be almost said to be the foundation of the whole movement, were stated by the Kan wang to be fully believed in as realities, both by the chief and his subordinates. The Kan wang himself, notwithstanding all his previous Bible instruction, avows himself as a believer in them, though his conscience will evidently not allow him to entertain such gross ideas respecting them as his brethren and his master. These visions—which happened in 1837, and were again repeated in 1848—refer to the actual descent of the heavenly Father to Hung sew tsuen, appointing him to his work of destroying the idols and the demons, *alias* the Manchoos.

Hung also states himself to have been called up to heaven to receive the same commission.

"'One alarming evil, consequent on these so-called "visions," is the belief by the "heavenly king," as well as by all those who have had no other means of instruction, in a materialistic character of God. The Kan wang knows, of course, that this is wrong; but he at once confessed, on being interrogated, that the "heavenly king" constantly thinks of God under the figure of an old man, and is entirely unacquainted with his spiritual character. In the manuscript book written by the Kan wang, already alluded to, the phrase, *woo hing woo siang*, "without form or bodily shape," had been used by him in describing the true God. The expression, however, was expunged by the "heavenly king," who will not allow contradiction on this favourite article of his faith.

"'Another grievous evil of these visions of Hung sew tsuen is the encouraging, or the inability to deny, the truth of vision-seeing by his followers. Accordingly, Yang, the eastern king, was also favoured with visions which allowed him to lay claim to such blasphemous titles as, "the Comforter," "the Holy Spirit," "the Redeemer from sickness," &c. This man being believed to entertain secret political designs against the kingdom, was murdered, and his whole family nearly extirpated, by another of the assistant kings, who was in his turn put to death by the rebel chief for the crime. When we asked the Kan wang respecting the whole affair, he said, and truly, that it was "nan kiang," or a difficult subject to speak about. He gave us sufficient, however, to lead us to believe, that though the chief and his adherents generally are compelled to believe in the reality of Yang's visions, yet that his motives and secret designs were perfectly understood at court. Still the error is perpetuated, inasmuch as, for certain political reasons, Yang has, since his death, been canonized, and, in all proclamations on the subject of religion, is spoken of by the "heavenly king" with great respect. His blasphemous titles are still retained; but the Kan wang, who seemed about as much disgusted with the whole subject as we were, tries to palliate this by saying, that he does not believe that the "heavenly king" understands what is meant by the terms employed.

"'A third error, also to be attributed to the visions, concerns the nature and the mission of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hung sew tsuen has evidently no clear idea of either. He calls himself Christ's *T'oong pau hioong ti*, or "uterine younger brother." He denies to the Saviour the appellation of *Ti*, or "Sovereign Ruler," at present used by the monarchs of China, but which he himself repudiates, on the ground that it is a title applicable only to the Heavenly Father. He designates Christ as the "heavenly elder brother," and the only mark of superiority that he allows Him is the placing of his own name one character below the Saviour, while he puts Christ's name in the same relation to that of the Father. There is, therefore, a regular gradation in the writing of the three names which so often come together, as even to suggest the fear that these three are the only Trinity with which Hung is acquainted—"the heavenly father," the heavenly elder brother, and the heavenly king." Whilst freely stating all this to us, the Kan wang assured us that there was nothing more to be alarmed at than that his master did not understand the real nature of Christ, which point might be remedied in course of time. His visions have caused him to believe himself as heaven's commissioned agent, and he does not know that Christ was any thing more. This, according to the Kan wang, was all that he meant in calling himself Christ's "uterine younger brother."

"'2. The Kan wang's views of the Trinity, as may be gathered from the preceding, are those of orthodox Christians generally. In his book he tries to philosophize on the subject, and to explain the relations of the three persons in one God; but, as was to be expected, he goes beyond his depth. He is, moreover, hampered by the views already detailed of those with whom he has now connected himself. But from all we could gather from our conversation with him, he believes in the full eternity and divinity of Christ, both before and after his incarnation, and likewise of the Holy Spirit. He is clear, too, on the subjects of the atonement, regeneration by the Spirit, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures.

"'3. The offerings spoken of in the writings of the "heavenly dynasty" were stated to be merely thank-offerings, with no propitiatory idea attached to them whatever, and intended merely as a temporary substitute for the rites of idolatry in the case of those who had been called suddenly to renounce them. The Kan wang stated that neither he nor his sovereign practised them, and in time the general practice is intended to be discontinued.

"'In connexion with these offerings it may be stated that the practice of burning written prayers, after reciting them, has been observed by most of these insurgents for some time. It is, however, disapproved of by the Kan wang.

"4. Polygamy is practised by all the chiefs, from the head downwards, not even excepting the Kan wang, with all his knowledge of the requirements of God's law, as revealed in the Gospel. The "heavenly king" is said to be fully aware that the practice is contrary to Scripture, but yet is not only guilty of it himself (he has, I believe, a hundred concubines), but compelled the Kan wang, sorely against his will (if we may believe his account of the matter), to join in the sin. He said that compliance had cost him a great struggle, and much sorrow of heart, but he felt he had to choose between losing his position and yielding to the wish of his superior. He chose the latter, in the hope that he might be able, by his position, to effect the changes in the doctrines and practices of his friends which he feels to be needed.

"'5. The Sabbath cannot be said to be observed during their present state. Services are conducted by the chiefs wherever they may happen to be, but they seem only to be attended by a few of their immediate attendants. With the exception of this domestic service, of which, of course, the mass know nothing, and which consists only of the chaunting of a hymn and the reading, and, in some cases, the subsequent burning, of a written prayer, there is no difference made between the Sabbath and other days. The day on which it is kept at present is our Saturday, and this is accounted for by the fact, that among other changes which this "heavenly dynasty" purposes to make on the practice of the Tsing dynasty, not the least important, next to matters of religion, is the change of the year from a lunar to a solar year. In making the necessary calculations for their almanack they made a mistake, and hence their accidental Sabbatarian character. The Kan wang thought that might easily be rememedied by and by.

"'6. The Lord's Supper has never been observed amongst them, and the Kan wang has not partaken of it since his arrival at Nanking. Nor is baptism much observed by them at present. The form which they have adopted is sprinkling on the head, followed by the washing of the breast, as significant of the cleansing of the heart. The ordinance may be administered by any one, though the chiefs seem to arrogate to themselves the offices both of priest and prince.

"'7. All the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (Gutzlaff's translation) have been published by them. They are said by the Kan wang to be regarded as of supreme authority, and to be constantly and diligently studied by the heavenly king. One interesting fact concerning this strange being, who combines in himself much that is both childish and blasphemous, true and false, is, that he troubles himself very little about political affairs, leaving the management of the war of extermination which he began, and of the kingdom which he has set up, almost entirely to his subordinates, while he is said to apply himself mainly to the study of the Bible and Mr. Burns' illustrated translation into Chinese of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.

"'8. In answer to our inquiries, we were informed that Missionaries would be permitted to have free intercourse with the people everywhere, and that they would be permitted to teach and preach the doctrines that they believe to be in accordance with the word of God. There would be no firmán issued against us, so as to come between us and the people. Books prepared by Missionaries will also be gratefully accepted, and a special request was made for a small book of prayers.

"'Many other subjects were spoken of, but they were principally on minor matters of detail, which it is not necessary for me to recapitulate here. Altogether, the most friendly feelings were manifested towards us by the Kan wang, and I felt in some measure repaid for the trouble we had had to reach him. As it grew late in the afternoon he invited us to stay to dinner; and just before sitting down at the tables spread for us, we joined together in a religious service. An unobjectionable hymn was sung, in which the Kan wang himself led; and he afterwards asked Mr. Edkins to engage in prayer. After dinner we were conveyed to the gate on ponies provided for us, and we reached our boats a little after dark.

"'*Aug.* 3—Having yet some unfinished business with the Kan wang, we set out this morning for his residence. We had some difficulty in reaching it, in consequence, first, of the utter desertion of the streets by the people, and, secondly, of the equal ignorance with ourselves of the localities, by those who occupied their places. I have already included in my summary of yesterday's conversation all that passed in to-day's; and so, after presenting him with a few corrections of his book, &c., and joining with him in another act of worship, in which he himself offered an unobjectionable extempore prayer, we took our leave.

"'On arriving at our boats, we set sail immediately, and arrived at Shanghae early on the morning of the 5th of August.'"

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

WESTERN INDIA.

(*From the Bombay Guardian.*)

THE inhabitants of Ahmednuggur lately petitioned the magistrate, Mr. Fraser Tytler, to debar the native Christians from all access to the public wells. The following was the Magistrate's decision in reply to this petition—

"The main statement in this petition is untrue. Vishnoo Punt's wife is not a Mhar, or woman of low caste. Vishnoo Punt is a Brahmin, converted to Christianity. His wife is a Coonbee, also converted. Before conversion he and his wife had full right to draw water from the tank in question. He has not forfeited the above right, or any other, by his conversion to Christianity. On the contrary, the law ensures him every right which he possessed before his conversion to Christianity. This law will be enforced, and those acting contrary thereto punished. In Bombay, and in many other places, 'all classes of the community, Christian converts, Hindoos, and Mohammedans, have free access to all the public tanks and wells.' Petitioners seek to debar Vishnoo Punt and his family from the use of the public tanks solely because he is a Christian. But it is well known that if a Mang or Mhar woman marries a Mussulman, she is allowed to use the tanks in right of her having become a Mohammedan. Cattle, horses, donkeys, &c., have all access to the public tanks; and yet this common and obvious right, petitioners seek to deny to a man whose high respectability they themselves dare not and cannot gainsay.'

This decision had the sanction of Government. The promulgation of it produced no little excitement in Ahmednuggur, and the shops throughout the city were closed from Sunday the 16th of October to Thursday the 20th inclusive. It must not be supposed that this was the voluntary act of all the shopkeepers. Persons of influence went round and charged them, as they would avoid a great curse, they must close their shops. If they refused to comply, they should be stigmatized as the offspring of Christians. Accordingly, all classes, Mussulmans as well as Hindus, shut up their shops. There was further some talk of sending a petition by telegraph to Lord Canning, but we believe there was some difficulty in the way of their doing this. The inhabitants all deserted the public wells to which there was any probability of the resort of Christians. Moreover, they instituted *anooshthans*, or special ceremonies, in the presence of idols, by Brahmins paid for the purpose, to bring about the discomfiture of the native Christians. Some of the more prominent of the native Christians were singled out and commended by name to the special wrath of the gods.

It is quite true that a Mhar woman who marries a Mussulman enjoys immediately free access to the public wells, from which, up to the present time, all native Christians have been rigorously excluded. There is a Mang woman in Nuggur belonging to the Christian community, whose sister is married to a Mussulman: the latter has access to the wells, the former has not. This one fact speaks volumes as to the degree of concession made to

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

the caste prejudices of the Hindus by the Mohammedans and by the British. There is one religion upon which all are now agreed to put the stamp of a peculiar opprobrium, and that is the Christian religion; and the petitioners of Ahmednuggur have done neither more nor less than humbly petition the Christian Government of this country to declare authoritatively that the Christian religion is the most opprobrious of all religions. And they actually expected to succeed; and were intensely disappointed because Christians were permitted to enjoy the rights enjoyed by other classes of the community generally. What an idea must the people have of the indifference of Government to all religious principles! The authorities deserve great credit for their present decision. It is to be hoped that none will take up the idea that caste among Christians is recognised by the Government, or that a converted Mhar or Mang will be excluded from the public wells, while a converted Brahmin is not.

We have great satisfaction in appending to the above remarks the following resolution of Government on the petition of Anundrao Babajee Deshpandey and other Hindu inhabitants of Ahmednuggur—

"The magistrate may be instructed to inform Anundrao Babajee Deshpandey, that Government will not for a moment entertain so absurd and so insulting an application as that contained in the petition signed by himself and a few other misguided persons at Ahmednuggur. The petitioners should be reminded, that, by their own showing, the fountains in question were established by Mohammedan kings; and that, in the days of those kings, no Hindu would have dared to suggest that they were polluted by being used by Mussulmans. If they could be used without pollution by any Mhar or Mang who embraced the Mohammedan religion, how can they be polluted by the use of Christian converts? The petitioners have forgotten their own Shasters, which declare that the caste of the Ruler, whatever it may be, is equal to the highest; and they have perverted the declaration in the Queen's proclamation, which expressly states that none should be molested by reason of their religious faith, into an argument for molesting and insulting those who profess the same faith which the Queen not merely acknowledges, but of which she proclaims herself the Defender."

This is an admirable letter, and we rejoice to see Government taking up its true position with reference to caste. The demand of the petitioners is severely but justly characterized; and we hope that the rebuke thus administered will be sufficient to deter the natives of this country henceforth from asking Government to affix a stigma to the profession of Christianity.

CHINA.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. W. A. Russell, dated Ningpo, Sept. 10, 1859—

The first and natural result of our defeat at the Peiho, as soon as it became generally known, was the gradual decrease of our *prestige* in the eyes of the Chinese, and the consequent insecurity of our lives and property, which hitherto, under God, seem principally to have been secured by it. This has been exhibited to us in various ways, especially by the late wicked attempts of certain parties, both at Shanghae and here—whether with or with-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

out the knowledge and sanction of the native authorities it is difficult to say—to exasperate the people against us by posting up, in the thoroughfares of the city and the surrounding villages, anonymous placards of a most inflammatory character, representing foreigners as kidnappers of the worst kind, who are constantly crimping poor honest people, old and young, male and female, without distinction, either to bring them to the Peiho to put them into the forefront of the battle there, or to carry them off to some foreign country to convert their blood into opium and their brains into medicine, which they design again to bring back to China as merchandise to be sold to the Chinese; and, in conclusion, calling upon the people in self-defence to rise *en masse*, and utterly to exterminate the perpetrators of such nefarious deeds.

With the view of furthering their vile object, a particular case of imposture was got up at Ningpo. A man of the name of Nyi Tseng-hae was suborned to come to my house to report, that, on the 9th of the seventh moon (August 7th), as he, with his three comrades, were returning to Seenpoh, their native place, from the eastern district, where they had been employed in reaping the harvest, about ten o'clock at night, as they lay down to rest on the bank of the river, not far from the British cemetery, suddenly a party of men, amongst whom were three foreigners, pulled alongside in a small boat from one of the large foreign ships, rushed up to the place where they were lying, some with bags in their hands, others with knives and swords, and, by threats of violence, succeeded in bagging his three companions, and carrying them off, while he himself, by brandishing a bamboo pole about him, managed to effect his escape.

When this fellow had told me his story, I asked him why he had not gone to the district magistrate to lay the case before him, telling him that he was the proper authority to whom to look for redress, and that I had nothing whatever to do with the matter. He replied that he had already reported it to him, but had been by him referred to me as the only one who would be likely to succeed in getting back his comrades; and, moreover, he thought he had a kind of claim on me to exert myself on his behalf, as they were all persons who lived in the immediate vicinity of our Missionary station at Seenpoh.

Apprehensive of treachery on the part of the authorities, and yet not knowing how far to credit or discredit the above statement as to the alleged case of kidnapping, I thought it best at once to take down in writing, from the man's own lips, all the particulars of the individuals said to be taken off—their names, ages, residences, appearances, &c., so as immediately to set inquiry on foot about them, and then to bring him over to our Consul for further examination on his part. I also volunteered to go down to Chinghae in Her Majesty's gunboat "Algerine," to search the foreign vessels anchored there, in one of which the kidnapped men were said to be detained in irons. The result of all our inquiries was a strong conviction on our minds that the case was an imposture, which the man himself acknowledged the following day, disclosing, at the same time, the names of his accomplices. This subsequently led the English and American Consuls to demand from the native authorities the issue of proclamations explanatory of the whole affair, which has tended much, under God, to quiet the minds of the people, and to restore that friendly feeling which previously existed between foreigners and natives at this port.

During the continuance of the excitement, which prevailed about a fort-

night, our lives seemed placed in the most imminent jeopardy, and doubtless there would have been, as at Shanghae, a very serious outbreak of popular indignation against us, had it not been providentially prevented by the timely exposure of the above imposition, and the punishment, or the *threatened* punishment (for this is all we can as yet say), of the principal parties connected with it. I think I never before realized a more striking exhibition of the power and malice of Satan than in the change from a high degree of good-will and friendship towards us, to one of undisguised hatred and disgust which he so suddenly and so unreasonably effected on the minds of this people. From being real friends, they seemed almost instantaneously transformed into bitter enemies, doubtless by the great adversary who has especial power over the heathen in blinding their minds and hardening their hearts, and thus leading them captive at his will. Wherever we went we were openly reviled as kidnappers, and not only foreigners, but the native Christians also were equally exposed to danger and abuse. But through the tender care and overruling providence of our gracious God, not a hair of our heads has been injured; and moreover, what seemed so very adverse at the time, would appear rather to have turned out to the furtherance of the Gospel. The false reports about us, so assiduously disseminated by designing parties, are now as much discredited as before they were believed, and we are regarded pretty generally as basely maligned and slandered. The audiences at our chapels, which for a time were considerably thinned, through the fear of appearing to have any conversation with us, are again as large as before, and apparently even more attentive. So that in this, as in other instances, the Almighty, though, for wise but often mysterious purposes, He suffers Satan, for a time, apparently to triumph, and carry on his vile machinations unchecked and unrestrained, yet has graciously appeared on behalf of his people, vindicated his cause in the sight of the heathen, and baffled all the devices of the wicked one. It has also been a matter of interest to us, as well as a cause of thankfulness to God, that at the very time when the excitement was at its height, and danger seemed to threaten both ourselves and the native Christians from a body of desperadoes fom the Seenpoh district, who had banded themselves together against us on the plea of getting back their countrymen, alleged to be kidnapped by foreigners,—at this very time we had the privilege of baptizing two men from this same district, who had heard and embraced Christianity in Dr. Parker's hospital, and who were undeterred by the threatening aspect of things from coming forward and making a public profession of the truth.

The unexpected check to the extension of our Society's operations in the interior, caused by the late unhappy event at the Peiho, will necessarily frustrate the immediate occupation of Hangchow as a Mission station, and all our plans and arrangements with reference to it.

The little body of native Christians here at Ningpo seems now in as satisfactory a condition as I have ever known it. The addition to its ranks during the past six months is also considerably greater than on any previous similar period of its history; a fact solely to be attributed to an enlarged exercise of power and mercy on the part of God, and not at all to the employment of any unwonted effort on the part of man, which probably during the same period have been even more feeble than usual. To our gracious God alone is the praise and glory due.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.

THE Committee have in the press a full explanation of the various points in reference to the financial arrangements of the Society which have lately been made the subject of public remark. It will be issued with as little delay as possible.

EAST AFRICA.

Extract from a Letter of Rev. J. Rebmann, dated Mombas, Sept. 16, 1859—

It was on the 16th of April we took our leave, and again stepped into a dirty Arab bagala, to which you are only reconciled by the thought that it is only for a short time. On the 19th, we safely arrived at Mombas, and were but just in time before the rainy season commenced. The first news that met our ears was of a painful and horrible nature, and unheard of among Mohammedans. When visited by the cholera, which, during the dry season, had spread all along the coast, finding all their usual sacrifices insufficient, they at last, in their despair, had recourse to sacrificing human beings, drowning them in the sea, or burying them alive! Some said that all the principal men of Mombas had made themselves thus guilty; but the Cadi, who afterwards helped me in revising my translation of the Gospel of St. Luke into Kisuaheli, acknowledged it only of one, who, soon after the dark deed had been done, died himself. Resignation to God (Islám) is the very name by which their religion is called; but even where it seems to exist, it is apathy, for true resignation is only learnt in the garden of Gethsemane.

The house we formerly occupied had, during our absence, been turned into a garden of Arab soldiers, and was now left in such a wretched condition, that it looked more like a den of thieves than any thing else, and we were obliged to take up our abode in a neighbour's house. All study was now at an end, and once more I had to put my hand to all kinds of manual employment. After about a month, however, I got our former house so far repaired, that we could once more take possession of it, when, alas! the sad tidings of the downfall of our house at Kisuludini reached us. Remembering how good the house still looked when I visited the place in November last, I could hardly believe the message; though, on the other hand, the rains had been long and heavy enough to render it credible. Still I indulged the hope that at least parts of the walls might still remain, over which a thatched roof could soon be made to serve at least for a temporary residence; and on paying a visit to the place on the 7th of June, we had the pleasure of finding still more left than we had ventured to expect. The greater part of the front Mr. Erhardt,

and, after him, Mr. Deimler, had occupied, was tumbled to the ground; but our own side was still standing, though the roof was also partly broken, and threatening to come down No safe dwelling-place remained; but a whole wing, still standing, which only wanted a framework for a thatched roof, was such a relieving circumstance, that we gave thanks to the Lord in the midst of ruins. Mrs. Rebmann accompanied me in this short visit. The work to be done being of such a nature as did not require my presence on the spot, but could be left to natives of Mombas, we had only to make up our minds for a prolonged stay at a place in which we never wished, and had even thought we never could stay for any length of time. But, thanks be to God, with the exception of a slight attack of fever after the rainy season was over, our health has been very good.

To this long stay at Mombas I was the more easily reconciled, as I was anxious to revise my translation of the Gospel of St. Luke into Kisuaheli with the Cadi, from whom, with the Arabic New Testament in his hand, and being perfectly conversant with the Kisuaheli language, I expected to derive considerable help in the clearing up of all difficult passages. In this, however, I was greatly disappointed: a translation made by him from the Arabic would be a complete jargon. The Arabic translation of the Bible is not understood in East Africa; and I have reason to suspect that this is not merely to be attributed to the difference in the Arabic as spoken in different places, but also to the translation being at fault. Only a few days ago I had the passage Luke xii. 49, which, being translated literally, says just the contrary of what it should say. The same is the case in the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke into Kinika; as also the two debtors in Luke vii. 41, are represented as *demanding* money instead of *owing* it. I see more and more how much care and time is needed to make a correct and intelligble translation into a language, the only source of information about which is the mouth of the natives. In February I had thought it would be ready to be sent to Bombay in April, and now it is September, and I still have not done revising it.

The remaining part of our house at Kisuludini being now ready, we are on the point of removing there. Having asked for a fresh Missionary in my letter of December last, at a time when the whole house was still in existence, I think it proper to say it would be the better if he were a single man, for a married man would have many inconveniences to put up with until another house is built.

Dr. Roscher did not go to the Kilimandjaro, but turned to the south, and all I know about him is contained in the following extract from a letter of Captain Rigby, dated Zanzibar, Oct. 23—"Dr. Roscher, when last heard from, was at Kiloa, very ill with the fever. He says, when any Arabs see him they become frightened, and refuse to take him inland, thinking he will die."

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

(*From the Friend of India.*)

The *Hindu Patriot* describes the course of "Indian social progress," or the effects of Christianity among the natives of India:—"The wasting has commenced, and the pithy portion of the tree of superstition has a great deal worn

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

out. We can assure our European friends that the educated natives stand no longer in need of exhortative advices to make them see through and put aside the tainting customs and practices of their forefathers, to learn that the Purans are false, that Menu was a created man, and that the Brahmins have long trodden over the necks of the Sudras; nor do they wholly fail to act upon these convictions. They—at least a great number—have followed in their actions the dictates of reason and conscience; and where they have not done so, it has been and still is with a view to avoid breaking the heartstrings of those they tenderly love." The writer compares "the sneaking sect meetings among the educated natives of India" to the clandestine conventicles of the early Christians, the English Puritans, and the Scotch Covenanters; and asserts that those who, though Christian in spirit, do not profess Christianity, do more to weaken Hinduism than "the whole corps of professed Missionaries do at present." We fear all this is true only of "Young Bengal," and that in a very modified sense. Sceptical indifference has taken the place of superstition, and weakness leads to the hypocrisy of yielding to its forms. The state of feeling among educated natives is somewhat that which prevailed at Rome when Cicero, himself an augur, wondered how one priest could pass another in the street without laughing. Out of the Presidency cities, orthodox Hinduism has not loosened its hold on the national mind.

SIR CHARLES WOOD ON THE MADRAS MEMORIAL*.

The petition of the Madras Native Association, on the subject of neutrality in matters of religion, transmitted home by Sir C. Trevelyan, July 12th, was replied to by Sir C. Wood, Sept. 30th—"1. Your letter, dated 12th July, No. 56. 1859, transmitting a memorial from the Madras Native Association and others, Hindu and Mohamedan inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras, has been laid before me in Council. 2. The object sought by the memorialists, besides the general one of an undeviating neutrality on the part of Government and its officers in matters of religion, are—1st, the abolition of educational grants in aid, and, 2ndly, the prohibition of Government officers from taking official part in Missionary proceedings on public anniversaries and meetings. 3. Her Majesty has announced in her gracious Proclamation to the princes and people of India, that 'she assumes no right and entertains no desire to impose her religious convictions on any of her subjects; that it is her Royal will and pleasure that none shall be favoured or disquieted by reason of their religious faith; and that all in authority under her shall abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of her subjects.' To the principles thus declared by the Proclamation the Government of British India will adhere. 4. As to the first of the two objects specially urged in the concluding paragraph of the memorial, the allegations of the memorialists have failed to convince Her Majesty's Government of the injustice or inexpediency of making grants in aid under the existing rules for the promotion of education in India, such grants being available for schools established or maintained by persons of all religious persuasions indifferently, provided that the secular education given be equal to the prescribed standard. 5. In regard to the second point, Her Majesty's Government consider that the announcement contained in the Royal Proclamation, and the communications

* Vide "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for 1859, p. 193.

which have already been made to the Governments in India respecting the interference of Government officers *officially* with the religion of the people, render unnecessary any further instructions on the subject." The memorialists had been advised accordingly.

FESTIVAL OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AT GOA.

Strongly contrasted with the Gospel simplicity of Protestant Missions upholding Christ before the eyes of perishing sinners, is the profane mockery of the Romish system.

"On the 3d of December, the day of the great feast, the bells rang joyously at the hour fixed for the ceremony of exposition. The litter on which reposes the body of St. Francis Xavier takes out like a drawer from the rest of the case. It was carried by persons of the highest dignity in the city present, and deposited in its shrine in the centre of the sanctuary. The shrine was now surrounded by candlesticks of massive silver, and by beautiful silver lamps. High mass followed, during which, after the Gospel, the panegyric of the saint was pronounced by the most eminent preacher in the city, who concluded his address by three Hail Marys, the last of which was for his lordship Monseigneur Canoz. During the elevation, guns were fired outside the church, as if it had been a military mass. When the most holy sacrifice was concluded, the faithful were permitted to approach the holy remains, and to kiss the feet of the saint. Every thing was so well arranged, that there was no confusion in this ceremony. The people ascended the platform, one by one, by steps at one corner, knelt and kissed the holy feet of St. Francis Xavier, and, walking half-way round the shrine, descended by a different way, and filed off out of he church. But there were few who did not return at some more quiet time, to have a tranquil look at the saintly remains, and an undisturbed prayer beside them."—*Allen's Indian Mail.*

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa, Yoruba, and Niger.—Messrs. Jefferies, Roper, Lieb, and Flad, embarked at Liverpool, Nov. 24, 1859, for Lagos, and Mr. J. Coomber for Sierra Leone; and, on the 24th of December, Messrs. Ashcroft, Brierly, and Oldham, embarked at Liverpool for Sierra Leone, ultimately to proceed to the Niger. ("Church Missionary Record," Dec. 1859, p. 269.)

North India.—The Rev. S. and Mrs. Attlee embarked at Southampton, Nov. 19, on board the "Ceylon" for Calcutta. The Rev. J. Fuchs took leave of the Committee Jan. 3, and on Jan. 4, embarked on board the "Ceylon" at Southampton, also for Calcutta. The Rev. C. and Mrs. Reuther left Germany in December on their return to North India *vid* Marseilles. The Rev. G. and Mrs. Yeates embarked at Southampton, Dec. 12, on board the "Pera" for Bombay, *en route* for Mooltan.

North-West America.—Mr. T. T. Smith embarked at Liverpool, Nov. 26, on board the "Persia" for New York, to proceed from thence overland to the Red River.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa.—Mr. J. Alcock left Sierra Leone on the 21st of November, and arrived at Liverpool on December 13.

South India.—The Rev. L. Cradock left Madras November 29, and arrived in London January 12.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

FINANCIAL SYSTEM OF THE SOCIETY.

A PAMPHLET on the Financial Arrangements of the Society is now ready for distribution, and may be had on application at the Church Missionary House.

WESTERN INDIA.

The following extracts from the annual letter of the Rev. C. C. Mengé (Jan. 7, 1860) are deserving of much attention, in connexion with the subject of Bible education in India, and the disposition of heathen teachers towards it.

"I have also met here with another remarkable individual, who was the first person who taught Santosh the way of life; but, strange to say, though this person possesses a vast amount of Christian knowledge, and has composed a great number of Christian poems, and teaches all his disciples the truth as it is in Jesus, he still remains, outwardly at least, a heathen, fearing to lose his influence if he should be an open professor and baptized convert to Christianity. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that he receives presents and money in kind for his teaching the way of salvation. This shows that the Christian truth commends itself to the consciences of men, and would be professed by vast numbers in this country if it did not involve loss of caste. ....

"You will be interested to hear that several of the most efficient native helpers of our American brethren in the Ahmednugger district were originally disciples of Bhulsa-Boa, the same spiritual guide who instructed also Santosh. He has thus been the honoured instrument for the conversion of several remarkable individuals. May he have grace given him to follow now his disciples!"

SOUTH-INDIA MISSION.

The following extract from a letter from the Rev. P. S. Royston, dated Pancivilei, December 20, 1859, gives an account of the ordinations in Tinnevelly, to which reference was made in the "Recent Intelligence" of December 1859—

"Knowing how anxious you and all our friends in Salisbury Square will be to hear somewhat of the events of the past few days, I send you a hasty line, in hope of catching the second steamer of the month. Our dear

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Church Missionary Society brethren are still about me, and I write amid many interruptions; but I will endeavour to give you as faithful and succinct an account as possible of this memorable season. Our Bishop said well, in his English sermon on Sunday evening, that no Bishop since our Lord's own time had been so privileged as he had been himself by that day's service. With the limitation of this statement to the present era of Missions, his lordship's words are true indeed. Besides the advancement of three European Missionaries (Messrs. A. B. Valpy and T. Spratt, of the Church Missionary Society, and J. Seller, of the Gospel-Propagation Society) to priests' orders, we had the goodly spectacle of the ordination at one time of thirteen Tamil candidates of approved character — five to be presbyters and eight to be deacons in the rising Tinnevelly church. Of these, all but one (Mr. Christian David, Gospel-Propagation Society), belong to the Church Missionary Society. With the names of the others you will be familiar:—Priests—the Rev. Messrs. Sinivásagam, Maduranáyagam, Mudhusámi Devaprasádham, Madhurendhiram Savariráyan, and Paul Daniel; Deacons—Messrs. Joseph Cornelius, Vedhanáyagam Devanáyagam, William Satthianádhan, Perianáyagam Madhuranáyagam (of Palamcotta), Abraham Isaac (of Paneivilei), John Nallathambi (of Pannikulam), Arumanáyagam Perianáyagam, and Devanáyagam Virarágu (of Mengnánapuram).*

"You are already aware that this station (Paneivilei) was the one selected for the examination and service. The former began on the Tuesday and ended on the Saturday, the Rev. Messrs. Sargent and Tucker being examiners. On my way hither on Saturday morning with my dear young friends John and James Thomas (sons of the Rev. J. Thomas), from Mengnánapuram, we had occasion, after crossing the swollen river, to wait in an adjoining village for our horsekeepers. It was quite clear that the circumstances of the ordination were well known to the heathen inhabitants, who entered into an animated conversation with my companions upon the subject. Indeed, the fact of two elephants and some ten camels being quartered in Paneivilei, and all Sircar (Government) property, and that so many padres had come in from so many quarters, caused no small sensation; and the amount of particular information about the different orders of ministers was really surprising. Of course we found a busy scene at the Mission Bungalow; and the various tents erected for the accommodation of so many visitors were speedily occupied. In the morning we had a special prayer-meeting with reference to the following day's solemn services; and in the evening the candidates and Missionary party, some thirty-six in number, I think, dined together, and afterwards proceeded to the beautiful church of this station, where Mr. Brotherton gave a Tamil address to the accepted candidates. Next day we had the usual Sunday-morning service at seven, shortly after which the congregation, composed principally of Mission agents and scholars, began to throng the large church, to be ready for the ordination service at eleven. And here I cannot but record a mark of the watchful care of our great Father. You will remember that the church of this station has the (in India) unusual addition of a gallery. Some time before

* One of the candidates, Michael, was not accepted by the Bishop on account of his advanced age.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

service commenced the central supporting beam of this gallery gave way under the weight of the crowded children who had occupied it; but providentially the rest of the wood-work continued firm, and no accident or hurt occurred to any one. Had it happened after service had commenced, a very different story would have had, probably, to be told. The Bishop having been met by the clergy at the porch, and all the European Missionaries, with our venerable native brother, the Rev. John Devasagáyam, having taken their seats, fourteen in number, within the communion-rails, the service began. After the singing of a hymn, the Rev. E. Sargent, one of the examiners, presented the candidates, sixteen in number. It was a truly impressive sight. In front these interesting brethren; behind them the four other native ministers of our Society (already in full orders); then the catechists and various Mission agents and students, who had come over from Palamcotta; and, beyond them, the crowded congregation of native Christians, many of whom were obliged to stand without, for want of room within.

"Mr. Tucker read the Litany, and our honoured senior Missionary, Mr. Thomas, delivered an impressive sermon, of an hour's length, from the very appropriate text, 'It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful.' (1 Cor. iv. 2.) The order and attentive earnestness of that white-robed congregation of at least some 1100 souls were very marked; and one cannot but believe that many a solemn prayer ascended up on behalf of those whose presence there gave the special interest to the occasion. I need hardly inform you that the service was in the Tamil, the Bishop, however, first repeating his own parts in English. Our venerable Mr. John (the appellation by which the Rev. J. Devasagáyam is known in Tinnevelly) joined with us in laying his hands upon those who were being ordained presbyters, and also took part in the communion service, which was afterwards administered to about 200 persons, chiefly Mission readers and schoolmasters, who remained behind to unite with the newly-ordained ministers in that holy ordinance. It was indeed a day much to be remembered in Mission history. May the many prayers which were offered throughout our English, as well as our Indian dioceses, on that ordination Sunday, bring down—what we may surely expect—an abundant blessing from the great Head and Bishop of the Church! Yea, were not its solemn services brought about by His blessing already bestowed upon the labours of His servants in this Southern India for the last hundred years? The contrast, however, presented by the state of things no more than thirty years ago may well be illustrated by what occurred in the church porch while we awaited the Bishop's arrival. While I was talking to old Mr. John upon the subject, an aged headman of the village came up to him, and, after making a salaam, said, 'Ayyer, do you remember what occurred here just thirty years ago? The Missionary built us a small prayer-house, which was destroyed in the night. And now look at this great church, and think of the service about to be held in it.'

"The remark, indeed, was suggestive of many solemnizing but thankful reflections. 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake!'

"In the evening the Bishop preached a very solemn sermon to the newly-ordained men and the English speakers of the congregation, from 2 Tim. ii. 15,

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman who needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.' It will, I believe, be printed and circulated, together with Mr. Thomas's Tamil sermon of the morning. My own Church Missionary Chapel Association at Madras had supplied the means of providing every one who could read with the ordination services in the vernacular, an arrangement, you will remember, which was also made on the occasion of the last ordination in March 1856. And so passed away one of the most important days which has yet dawned upon modern Mission work.

"The Bishop has confirmed some 3500 in Tinnevelly, and about 2000 (I think) in Travancore, this time. Upwards of 4000 of these are connected with the Church Missionary Society."

Extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Hawksworth, dated Cottayam, Dec. 2, 1859—

"The whole of our congregation (Tiruwella), I believe, are growing in numbers, and, better still, in spiritual-mindedness. This has chiefly struck me since my return, and it is very cheering. As yet the Mission appears to tell but very little on the higher-caste heathen, though even among them the light is spreading. But the Gospel in all its saving power is spreading still among the slaves, and others of the lower classes. One old woman at Thallawaddie, a convert from the Chojans, and who was turned out of house and home by her husband and sons at her baptism, has ever since laboured and persevered in prayer, and has been the honoured instrument of bringing about eighty souls into the church of Christ. She now rejoices, seeing that all her children and her children's children, except one, have been baptized."

CANDIDATES FOR ORDINATION.

The earnest prayers of the friends of Christian Missions are desired on behalf of the following accepted Missionary students, who have been recommended as candidates at the ensuing ordination of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 4th of March next (the second Sunday in Lent):—

Mr. John Martindale Speechly, B.A. . .	St. John's College, Cambridge.
Mr. Lewin Street Tugwell	Church Missionary Institution, Islington.
Mr. Joseph Bishop Wheeler	

DECEASE OF A MISSIONARY.

We have to record the decease of the Rev. H. C. Krückeberg, of the North-India Mission, which took place on the 6th of February at Munder, in Hanover, after an illness of a few days.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

TURKEY.

From Evangelical Christendom, March 1860.

WE have, in recent Numbers, alluded to the house built at Bebek by the Missionaries for Mr. Williams (Selim Effendi), and to the scene of Gospel labour which that house had become. Recent letters not only tell us of the vast increase of this particular work, but of some remarkable facts connected therewith, which, for obvious reasons, we can only yet advert to in general terms. Even so, however, they will be found deeply interesting. It seems that the house of the Williams' family is beset, not only by day, but by night, by inquiring crowds. Members of the Sultan's household, his private servants, dervishes, mollahs, imauns, colonels, captains, and also the poorest men, women, and even children, are seen crowding the house. Some stay through the night as well as the day, and Mr. Williams is ready to sink under the continual effort needed to supply Gospel information to these inquiring souls. This is general. But some particulars connected with the work are so strange, that one of our correspondents tell us he is afraid to commit them to paper, lest he should be suspected of drawing upon his imagination for his facts; and, besides, some of these facts it would be imprudent to divulge as yet. From other sources we learn that the numbers of Mussulmans amongst whom a very remarkable movement is taking place are not less than twenty to thirty thousand. It seems that for some years past a spirit of inquiry, leading to curious results, had been at work, irrespectively of all Missionary effort. A certain Mohammedan imaun, or priest, had been led, by the mere study of the Koran, to take exalted views of the character of Jesus, the prophet of the Jews. He counted the number of passages in the Koran where mention was made of his name or person, and also he observed the allusions to his supernatural birth, and to the Paraclete that was to follow him. He prayed to the Almighty for illumination, and, it seems, proceeded so far as to become "heretical" to his own faith. He founded a sect called "the Brotherhood," who, some time since, are stated to have amounted to 10,000, with 20,000 more under instruction. For this the leader was banished to Broosa, where he and some of his followers were at the time of the visit of Dr. Hamlin and Mr. Williams to that place, and of the remarkable conversation there, mentioned in a former Number of this journal. The report of that interview with the Turkish dignitaries in the Broosa church, and the narrative of that conversation, soon spread over Broosa, and this banished "heretic" having heard thereof, wrote to some of his disciples at Constantinople, and desired them to go and visit Mr. Williams, and get what further light they needed from him. In consequence of this, boatsful of delegates visit Bebek, receive instruction, and return to the "Brethren," conveying to them what they have learned. Some letters say that the whole of this movement arose by mere study of the Koran, without any access to the New Testament. Others take for granted that the doctrines of the brethren have been taken from the New Testament

by mere reading, without Christian instruction, and therefore have been mixed up with erroneous and fanatical views. It would be a matter of the deepest interest to ascertain which of these two views is the correct one. It is reported that these "Brethren" claim to be so enlightened and guided by the Holy Spirit, as to need no "book" any longer. And they say, that when the Holy Spirit enters the soul, every book is thenceforth shut, and is needless. Of course all statements about their exact views must be received at present with caution: it would seem, however, to be a favourable preparatory work, rendering them more accessible to the truth of the Gospel, which a few of them have actually received. It would seem, if we compare this work with that going on in Sweden, as well as with the curious concomitants of the Irish revivals, that there are grounds for suspecting something like a general spiritual upheaving, which takes or manifests peculiar features, according to the circumstances of localities, and the amount of the truth of God to which access can be had. All these things invite us to dismiss too preconceived notions as to the doings of Him who "moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform," and to examine and watch with candour and caution all the various phenomena submitted to our notice. Those who can only see men as trees walking, are often incorrectly judged of by the long-accustomed possessors of the blaze of Gospel sunlight. We shall watch and listen with deep interest for the tidings of this remarkable affair.

NORTH INDIA.

The following interesting extract is from a letter of the Rev. J. Vaughan, dated Burdwan, January 1860—

"In speaking of our experience, I shall only give our general impressions. The details of a preaching tour have a good deal of sameness in them. But in going from village to village, conversing with the people and listening to their arguments, certain convictions are formed in the mind of a Missionary. These convictions are rather the result of an aggregate and extended view of the work, than derived from a few special instances: certain feelings and impressions are deepened within him the more he sees and hears, but he might not find it easy, perhaps, to give in detail the data upon which these opinions are founded. One feeling, then, which is shared in common with myself and my brother Geidt is, that God is, in a very marked way, preparing the people of Bengal for some great change: we believe that it will be a blessed and a glorious change. It is impossible for a person to move about amongst this people, and to watch the workings and operation of their mind, without getting this impression. Most assuredly Hinduism is daily losing its hold upon the affections of the people: a deep and wide-spread scepticism prevails on the subject; and perhaps it is no more than the truth to say that a large proportion of the people have no faith in it at all. The trammels of caste, also, are most certainly being broken through, especially with reference to the Brahminical order. The Brahmin is daily becoming less and less an object of superstitious awe and veneration: he is gradually sinking to the common level. And together with all this, it is abundantly clear, first, that the knowledge of Christianity is being widely diffused. You cannot visit a single village in this large district where some of the principles of the Gospel are not known. And further, it is our deliberate conviction that

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

there is a growing feeling in the minds of multitudes that Christianity must be the true religion. Many a time, in returning from preaching, does the remark spontaneously fall from each of us, 'Depend upon it, God will ere long do a mighty work in this country.' To my own mind, the state of this people is illustrated by the process going before an earthquake: except a few ominous cracks here and there—except now and then the escape of a vapour through the openings—the surface of the earth is little changed; but below, the elements of destruction are hourly increasing in strength and intensity; hourly, too, is the resisting crust becoming thinner and thinner: at length the crisis has arrived, and in one short moment the catastrophe has passed, and left the face of things completely changed. Such will be the history of Hinduism. Whoever lives long enough (and it may not be very long either) will see this system swept away by one fell sweep; and then, if only the church be faithful to its obligations in spreading the truth, that saying may be realized, 'A nation may be born in a day.'"

The Rev. A. Strawbridge, of Umritsur, reviewing the events of the last year, says—

"The past year has been a remarkable one in many respects. We have been permitted to admit into the outward church a larger number of converts than in any preceding year. The leaven is evidently beginning to work. The good seed is bringing forth fruit. Not only are the minds of men being awakened, but their hearts, I hope, are being converted to the Lord.

"Secondly, among those baptized there have been a larger proportion of respectable and well-informed and independent men, from among whom we cannot but hope that, in due time, some will be found fit to go forth to be instruments in the Lord's hands of turning many from darkness to light.

"Thirdly, owing to the almost daily instances of men coming forward asking for instruction—men who apparently have never been in connexion with any other Mission—I have been much pressed in spirit, and have felt the need of being constantly among the people, seeking out Christ's sheep that are scattered abroad. Everywhere doors of usefulness are being opened to us. Everywhere the minds of men appear to be occupied about religion. By means of former itineration, and especially by the distribution of books, a blow has been struck, and everywhere individuals are to be found who are anxious to be instructed in the word of God more perfectly. This, I know, will be to you encouraging, but I cannot convey to you any idea of the feelings it produces upon our minds.

"What is to be the practical result of all this? I mean, so far as you at home are concerned. Will it not be the sending forth of more men? I will not enlarge upon this. What may be said of the Punjab may, no doubt, be affirmed of thousands of other places."

The Rev. R. Clark, in a letter dated Peshawur, January 4, 1860, says—

"It has been my lot to travel in the Punjab, perhaps, more than any other Missionary of our Society, and there are few important cities which, at one time or another, I have not visited. The strong impression which has been left on my mind, after all I have seen, or all I have heard from natives and Europeans, is, that our Committees cannot attach too great importance to their Umritsur Mission. It is one which ought to affect the whole Punjab, and the whole of

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

North India. The Sikhs are more prepared for Christianity than any other people in India, and they are fitted, more than any other race, to exert influence. Already the principal Rajah on this side the Sutlej is almost a Christian. At Kupurthala, his residence near Jullunder, he has long since established schools, in which his orders are, that the word of God be taught. He has now established a Mission in his own city, and, after inviting the Missionary, he entirely supports him. He has married a Christian wife, and he has but one; and it is thought that he may, ere long, become a candidate for Christian baptism. The consequences of such a step on the part of so influential a personage, ruling, as he does, independently, or rather feudally, over a large territory, cannot be calculated."

SOUTH INDIA.

The Rev. P. P. Schaffter, says, January 10, 1860—

"The outward progress of Christianity in these lands is certainly considerable. There is a strong feeling among high and low that Christianity is destined to continue and prevail in this land. I have made very minute inquiries on this point. During the past year, in my small district alone, more than 450 people have applied to be received under Christian instruction, 300 of whom only have been admitted. The rest attend prayer and divine worship, but, for various reasons, we have not thought it right to insert their names in the list yet."

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

At a general meeting of the Committee at the Church Missionary House on Monday, March 12th, the following Missionaries were taken leave of, previous to their departure for their fields of labour—

Niger—Rev. J. C. Taylor, returning to the Mission.

Mediterranean—Rev. R. H. and Mrs. Weakley, proceeding to Constantinople.

South India—Rev. J. and Mrs. Bilderbeck returning to Madras.

The instructions were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn, and the Missionaries having been addressed by the Rev. W. Cadman, were then commended in prayer to God's protection by the Rev. Daniel Wilson.

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

North India—The Rev. H. C. Milward arrived in England, from Calcutta, at the end of February.

DECEASE OF A MISSIONARY.

West Africa—The Rev. C. F. Ehemann died at Fourah Bay on the 27th of January, after nearly seventeen years of Missionary labour in Sierra Leone.

On Sunday, the 21st of December last, at Agra, the Rev. Messrs. Shackel and Champion were admitted to priests' orders, and Mr. Wright to deacons' orders, by the Bishop of Calcutta.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

PRAYER MEETING IN JANUARY.

THE invitation to prayer in the second week of the year would appear to have been very generally responded to in the most remote portions of the Mission field. We have many allusions to the subject from different quarters. From the Red River, Archdeacon Hunter writes as follows (Jan. 24, 1860)—

"We have lately held united prayer-meetings throughout the settlement. A complete week was devoted to this blessed work. In my own church from 800 to 1000 were present, and addresses were delivered by Mr. Black, the Presbyterian Minister here; also by myself, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Chapman, and Mr. H. Cockran, on the work of the Holy Spirit. All seemed to feel that it was good to be there, and I think we see the first drops of a coming shower. May the Lord revive his work in the midst of our people, and gather in many souls to the fold of Jesus!

"Last Sunday week I had 180 communicants, and last Lord's-day my church was crowded with attentive and devout worshippers. My prayer-meetings were never so well attended, so that my hands are full, being alone, with this large district to superintend."

The Rev. J. S. Burdon, of Shanghae, says (Jan. 21, 1860)—

"The Loodiana invitation to united prayer during the second week in January of this year was cordially adopted by all Christians in Shanghae, and such a solemn, happy, prayerful week it is rarely the Christian's privilege to enjoy on earth. Secret and public prayer was offered simultaneously by Christians of all denominations, and the daily meetings were felt by all to be seasons of blessing to our souls. Ourselves, our families, this land, the church universal, the world, all formed the subject of our thoughts, meditations, and prayers; and scarcely ever before did such earnest, united, believing prayer arise from this dark land to heaven. Native and foreign Christians all met at a throne of grace. At all the open ports, this week, I believe, was similarly observed; and now shall we not look for encouragement in our work? God has been amongst us, and I feel confident that He will soon be, if he is not already, manifesting his power in the salvation of souls around us."

YORUBA.

The following account of the advance of a Dahomy army is extracted from a letter written by Mr. Smith, of Ishaga, to Rev. C. A. Gollmer, February 28. The letter possesses additional interest in that it is reprinted from the "Iwe Irohin,"* the first periodical of the Yoruba country.

"My messengers have this moment returned from Imeko. Olumeko (the chief of Imeko) entertained them well, and related to them the full particulars of the proceedings of the Dahomy army as follows:—They encamped first near Iketu. From their encampment the king sent to Alekutu (chief of

* See page 109.

Iketu) to say that he was going to attack Abbeokuta, and not any of his towns. In return, Alaketu sent, as a present to the Dahomy camp, four men and a cow.

"Leaving Iketu, he came to Idanyi, and told the Idanyi people the same as he had told Alaketu. The Idanyi people gave them a present of a sheep and other things.

"The Dahomy army proceeded on from Idanyi, and for some days they were not seen nor heard of. Suddenly they returned in the night, and encamped between Idanyi and Imeko, intending to destroy Imeko, but his guides failed him. He then attacked Idanyi, slew many, took off the heads of the slain, and carried them off, after having laid the dead bodies together in heaps. The Alaketu sent a body of men to assist Idanyi, of whom many were slain, the Dahomians also suffering a great loss.

"It is supposed that there are four hundred deserters from the Dahomy army, of the Egba and Yoruba tribes, hidden in the bush about Idanyi and Imeko: some have been found by the Imeko people and brought in to Imeko.

"The Dahomian army, in returning, sent a message to Iketu, saying that they may be expected back to destroy Iketu."

The Rev. H. Townsend makes use of this little periodical to influence, in the right direction, both the natives the foreign residents in Lagos, Abbeokuta, and the Yoruba country. Addressing the latter he says—

"It is to be feared that the mercantile community will suffer much loss from the actual warfare now going on in some parts of the country and threatened war in other parts, as a great stoppage to trade will be likely to result from it, except in war material. The commercial community are deeply affected by it, and it would be much to their interest to stop these wars and war alarms, and to establish peace between the various tribes and townships of this country.

"The annual alarm of a Dahomy invasion is a standing infliction upon the people of Abbeokuta which, for the time, puts a stop to commerce and other lawful industry. The reports that cause the alarm cannot be treated with contempt. The following reasons will make this apparent. The farming population are scattered over a large tract of country of sixty miles in length and probably thirty miles in breadth; the trading community are extended over the country from Lagos on the south, to Illorin on the north-east of this. It will be apparent, therefore, that a population thus scattered in lawful occupations cannot be gathered together at a short notice in any number sufficient for the defence of the town.

"The Dahomy force is formidable, as it is guided by one head, and in part previously trained to the use of arms. They are remarkable for the cautious and subtle manner in which they approach the place they intend to attack, if possible to take the people before they are aware of their approach.

"The desire of the Dahomians to attack Abbeokuta is a well-known fact, for yearly presents are made to the Yoruba chiefs to buy their assistance or neutrality. The Dahomy alarm was increased this year by the Ibadan people sending a strong party across the Ogun River and another to the Abbeokuta and Ijaye Road, thus cutting them off from their friends at Ijaye. With threatened invasion from the Dahomians, and the suspicious conduct on the

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

part of the chiefs at Oyo and Ibadan, it cannot be expected that lawful commerce and industry will go on uninterruptedly.

"It is clear that unless the foreign residents, and merchants especially, are content to remain passive spectators of whatever wars mere jealousy or covetousness among the native chiefs may bring about, they must do something by which their influence may be felt and their voice heard for good in the country.

"One mode of putting some stop to these evils is, in brief, that of Europeans presenting themselves as an united body to the chiefs by the frequent interchange of messages, and by the judicious use of presents; with the view of obtaining a name and influence to be used towards suppressing the wars of the country, and towards the removal of certain restrictions on commerce, which hinder the proper development of trade and the true wealth of the country. The prosperity of the foreign residents in their commercial pursuits will depend upon the advance of right principles and honest pursuits among the natives; and their improvement in these respects will much depend upon efforts put forth by the foreign residents on the coast to produce it."

NORTH INDIA.

The state and prospects of the Mission, newly established at Lucknow, will be seen from the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. J. P. Mengé dated October 14th last—

"*Preaching the Gospel.*—This I have always considered the chief duty of a Missionary, and accordingly, from the time that I arrived in India, in 1840. I have always endeavoured to act accordingly. Whatever other duties I had to attend to (and they were many, for a number of years, in Gorruckpore), I never neglected preaching publicly, to Hindus and Mohammedans, the Gospel of life. Now, I can truly say, that neither in Gorruckpore where I spent many years—neither in Jaunpore, nor Benares, which station I often visited — have I been able to collect, day after day, so many in a very short time to listen to the Gospel, as I have done in Lucknow. I have met with but few instances of opposition and real hatred; and on questioning such closely, I generally found that it was on account of some grievance, of which they imagined that they had reason to complain against the Government, they were enraged. Some Mohammedans, of course, expressed themselves strongly, but not bitterly, against the incarnation of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, and generally allowed me to explain this truth in accordance with the Gospel without becoming angry.

"*Visiting natives in their houses.*—A number of the more respectable natives cannot be reached by the public ministration of the Gospel in the streets and thoroughfares of the city, as they do not stop to listen, if they should happen to pass by where the Missionary is engaged in preaching. They therefore must be visited in their own houses, if we wish them to become acquainted with the truths of the Bible; and accordingly I have made it a point to visit as many as I conveniently could during the past year. I have called, among others, on the brother of the ex-king of Oude, several princes and nawabs, Rajah Maun Singh, the Maharajah of Bulrampore, the Rajah of Kupurthala, when on a visit here, the Rajah of Amethi, several pundits, several respectable native doctors, the Mufti of the Shiahs, the Mufti of the Sunnies,

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and a few other molwees. I was generally received with great politeness, sometimes even with cordiality, by a few with fear, and by one or two with dislike. Some listened with pleasure, some with great indifference, and some with astonishment. Some argued with bitterness, some with great caution, some with great carelessness, and a few with candour. What the result of these visits may be it is not for me to say, though I believe God, in his infinite mercy, has opened a door of usefulness in a most wonderful manner, and that He alone knows when the sowing and when the reaping-time is to be. Still it is a good sign that several of those whom I visited have returned my visit.

"*Receiving visits in my house.*—The Maharajah of Bulrampore, the Rajah of Kupurthala, the Rajah of Amethi, several nawabs, and a few talookdars, some molwees, a few Brahmins, and several native doctors, have visited me. Some appeared to be much gratified by their visit; others only thought of becoming acquainted with me for purposes of their own. About twenty Hindus and Mohammedans have expressed a wish to embrace Christianity; but as I discovered that their motives were interested, I of course told them that it was nothing but deceit on their part to ask for baptism, and that it would be very wrong in me to comply with their request. I, however, have baptized a respectable Mohammedan, formerly a native doctor in the late Honourable East-India Company's service, and now a Zemindar in the district of Hurdui, about eighty miles from Lucknow. He visited me very frequently, and told me that for many years past he had been persuaded that Mohammedanism was not true, but that he had not been able to overcome the difficulty of believing that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. We read the sacred Scriptures together, and I explained to him the nature of the plan of salvation, and we often prayed together; and on the 3d of July I baptized him. He has promised to do all in his power to make known the Gospel to his relatives and dependants."

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa.—Miss Sass and Mrs. Hamilton left Sierra Leone on Feb. 20th, and arrived in London on March 17th.

North India.—The Rev. Dr. Trumpp arrived in London from Peshawur on March 27th.

South India.—The Rev. R. H. and Mrs. Vickers left Madras on Feb. 14th, and arrived in London on March 19th.

China.—The Rev. M. and Mrs. Fearnley arrived in London from Fuhchau on March 13th.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Niger.—The Rev. J. C. Taylor embarked at Liverpool in the "Cleopatra" steamer on March 24th, for Sierra Leone and the Niger (p. 108).

Turkey—The Rev. R. H. and Mrs. Weakley have left London on their way to Constantinople (p. 108).

South India.—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Bilderbeck left Southampton in the steamer of the 4th April, for Madras (p. 106).

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

On Sunday, March 4th, the Archbishop of Canterbury admitted to deacons orders the Rev. J. M. Spechly, B.A., the Rev. L. S. Tugwell, and the Rev. J. B. Wheeler (p. 68)

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

SIXTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 30th of April, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Brighton, from Philippians i. 12. Collection, 208*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*

The Annual Meeting was held next day, Tuesday, May 1st, at Exeter Hall. The Chair was taken at ten o'clock by the Right Hon. the President. Prayer having been offered, and a portion of Scripture read, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. An abstract of the Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, and Resolutions were adopted as follows—

Movers and Seconders.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester, V.P., and Abel Smith, Esq., M.P.—Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Edwardes, C.B., and the Rev. C. F. Cobb, Missionary from Benares—The Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, V.P., and the Rev. Emilius Bayley, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury.

Resolutions.

—That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received, and printed under the direction of the Committee; that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. H. V. Elliott for his sermon before the Society last evening; to his Grace the Vice-Patron; to the Right Hon. the President and the Vice-Presidents; and to al those friends who, during the past year, have exerted themselves in its behalf; and that the following gentlemen be appointed the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to fill up vacancies—

Major-Gen. R. Alexander.	John Gurney Hoare, Esq.	Colonel Smith.
John Ballance, Esq.	Lt.-Col. Hughes.	Henry Smith, Esq.
John Bridges, Esq.	John Labouchere, Esq.	John Sperling, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Caldwell.	Arthur Lang, Esq.	Hudleston Stokes, Esq.
Major-Gen. Clarke.	Colonel Lavie.	J. M. Strachan, Esq.
William Dugmore, Esq.	William Lavie, Esq.	James Stuart, Esq.
James Farish, Esq.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq. Q.C.	J. Fryer Thomas, Esq.
Sydney Gedge, Esq.	Robert Prance, Esq.	H. Carre Tucker, Esq.

—That this Meeting desires humbly to acknowledge the duty of this nation to use increased efforts for imparting to India the blessings of Christianity. They rejoice in the labours of all Protestant Societies engaged in the benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and they trust that the Indian Government will fulfil the obligations solemnly recognised by the Imperial Parliament, of promoting "the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India," by the adoption of "such measures as may tend to the introduction among them of religious and moral improvement."

—That this Meeting desires to express its humble thanks to Almighty God for the success which He has granted to the Society's endeavours in many lands to establish a Native ministry and Training Institutions for Scriptural vernacular education; and they desire to acknowledge their sole dependence upon the grace of the Holy Spirit to make these a sure foundation of a Native-Christian church, and the superstructure an holy temple in the Lord.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

—That while this Meeting deeply sympathizes with the Sierra-Leone Mission in its late bereavements, and while they bow with submission to the Divine will, they humbly rejoice in its spiritual successes as a proof of the Divine favour, and as the result of God's blessing on the preaching of a full and free Gospel, and on the spirit of self-sacrifice in the preachers which have ever characterized, and they trust ever will characterize, this and every other Mission of the Society.

The last Resolution was intended to have been moved by the Lord Bishop of Sierra Leone, V.P., and seconded by the Rev. Canon Miller, but, from want of time, was put to the Meeting with the third Resolution, and carried.

FINANCES.

The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows—

General Fund—Total Ordinary Income, including Fund for Disabled Missionaries, &c.		£132,052	5 0
Special Fund for India, for year ending March 31, 1860		13,576	16 4
Total received at Home		£145,629	1 4
Total Ordinary Expenditure on General Fund		£129,134	3 6
India Fund		9448	1 9
		£137,582	5 3
Special Fund for India—Balance from last year	£45,447 3 6		
Receipts of the year as above,	13,576 16 4		
		59,023	19 10
Expenditure	9448 1 9		
On account of last year	3500 0 0		
(*See Report for* 1858-59, p. 12.)		12,948	1 9
Balance		£46,075	18 1

The Local Funds raised in the Missions, and expended there upon the operations of the Society, but independently of the General Fund, are not included in the foregoing statement. The amount exceeds 18,000*l.*; making a grand total from all sources of 163,629*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

The *ordinary* income of the Society this year, mainly owing to large legacies, is the highest which has ever been received, exceeding last year's by 9994*l.*, and exceeding even that of 1858 by 1286*l.*, though it included a special donation of 10,000*l.*

CONCLUSION OF REPORT.

Your Committee trust that this review of the past year's operations will confirm the conviction which has been expressed on many previous occasions, that a great and blessed advance of the kingdom of Christ is at hand, in all lands.

. . . . . .

Under these solemn impressions your Committee invite your attention to the fact, that this Society was never so well prepared as now to meet coming events. Never before could they announce that the problem of a Native Ministry in India was solved. Never before could they announce that the New-Zealand Native Church had its indigenous Ministry. Never before could they announce that a Mission had been opened, of great promise, solely by

native agency, as in the case of the Niger, where European agency will only supplement a native pioneering Ministry. Never before could your Committee speak with the same confidence of the efficiency of their Normal Training Schools, by which the Society is prepared to meet even a sudden expansion of the Native Church by the only element of stability—a sound Scriptural vernacular education; whilst they rejoice to add, that there are other Societies—such as the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, and the Malta College for the Levant—prepared to strengthen and relieve this and all other Protestant Missionary Societies in the work of Christian education.

In these opening prospects of greatly increased responsibility, and of enlarged opportunities, your Committee have anxiously considered what could be done for the perfection of their machinery, and for the more effectual disposition of their means and agency, at home and abroad. But, in respect of fundamental principles, your Committee see no occasion for any deliberation. The Protestant and evangelical spirit which the founders of this Society infused, by the help of God, into its very constitution and framework, have stood the test of sixty years, and have received a blessing from the Lord, and have won the confidence of the Church of Christ, of which the present Report bears abundant evidence. Among these principles, your Committee will specially refer to the Missionary maxims—that the Lord will guide his own work by the leadings of a special providence: that the only solid foundation of a Mission is in the individual conversion of souls to Christ: that the Gospel of the grace of God is to be preached, in its fulness and in its distinctness, by the pioneer Missionary, and by the faithful Pastor of 10,000 converts, in the bazaar, under the shade of a tree, in the capacious Mission Church, in the Vernacular School, and in the Training College: that a preached Gospel is "the power of God" for the formation and the perfection of a Mission: that all other arrangements must give way to the fullest development of a preached Gospel: that the preacher of the Gospel is the true leader of a Mission till a spiritual Church is raised, and the external organization of constituted authorities becomes expedient: that then the Mission has accomplished its work, and this Society will be ready to withdraw its agency;—though, as in New Zealand, it may be difficult on both sides to break the relationships which spiritual principles have cemented and consecrated.

These principles, your Committee now transmit to their successors, uncompromised and unimpaired, to be the guiding star, in a shifting age, of every successive Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

The Bishop of Sierra Leone pronounced the Benediction. Collection 150*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*

A meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the evening of the same day, the Most Noble the Marquis of Cholmondeley, V.P., in the Chair. Addresses were made by the Rev. J. Ridgeway, M.A., on "The past year;" by the Rev. E. Garbett, M.A., on "Jesuit Missions and their Lessons;" and by the Rev. C. B. Leupolt on the "Hand of God in the Indian Mutiny." Collection, 66*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

PROTESTANTISM IN TURKEY.

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE, in presenting a petition to the House of Lords from the members of the Evangelical Alliance, made the following remarks—

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"He had accepted the duty of presenting this petition to that House, although it was one rather of general representation than of any specific complaint, in the hope that their lordships' attention might be turned to an important subject. Their lordships might not be aware of the extent to which Protestantism had of late progressed in the Turkish empire. There were two classes of Protestants, one composed of the subjects of foreign powers east of the Porte, under the special protection of their respective governments; the other, to which he especially alluded, was formed of the Sultan's own subjects, and had sprung up within the last half century or less, and had now attained a degree of importance and extension which was well worthy of notice. The origin of that class of Protestants might be traced, in the first instance, to the circulation of the Bible by the Bible Society; and in proportion as the inhabitants had felt the want of a purer Christianity, many individuals, respectable both from the simplicity and integrity of their lives, had been induced to leave their respective churches, and to rally round the standard of Protestantism, as upheld not only by those who belonged to the Church of England, but to other denominations. . . . Among the causes which had tended to its progress was the liberality of the reigning sovereign, who, notwithstanding his position, and the infirmities of his education, had, if not with an energetic, yet with a most benevolent mind, responded to the representations of Her Majesty's Government, and had, to some extent, removed the difficulties from the way of Protestants. Notwithstanding these encouragements, however, there were many difficulties still to be encountered, and he was himself a witness to many of them. Some arose from the sloth of his ministers, and some from other causes; and though his own generous heart, and a great view of the interests of his empire, had, to some extent, overcome them, still those who seceded to Protestantism were exposed to great persecution and danger, and it was most desirable that every effort should be made in this country, not only by private individuals, but by the Legislature, to support them. He believed that in giving that support they would not only be gratifying Her Majesty's subjects, but would render an additional service to the Sultan and his empire; for it was remarkable, that those who embraced Protestantism were distinguished by those virtues which generally accompanied a love of truth. Under these circumstances he trusted their lordships would be disposed to view with sympathy the great work which was going on in that country. . . . . The prayer of the petitioners was, that their lordships would sustain His Majesty's Government in their efforts to forward the progress of religious liberty in Turkey, and to protect the native Protestants in the exercise of their rights throughout the whole of the Ottoman empire.

"Lord WODEHOUSE, in reply, said he could assure his noble friend that Her Majesty's Government, without interfering internally with any of the arrangements of the Government of Turkey, were disposed to give every proper advice to the Sultan's Government which might ensure Protestants being placed in an equal position with all other sects. It was only prudent, however, in doing so, that the British Government should be careful not to pursue such a course as would prevent the achievement of those views which they might wish to carry out."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

A Petition from the Committee has been presented to the House of Lords by the Right Honourable the President, in support of the Duke of Marlborough's motion on the Bible in India. Up to Monday, June 25, the number of petitions presented on this subject from all parts of the United Kingdom had amounted to 1152.

NORTH INDIA.

In the Recent Intelligence for April we gave an extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Vaughan, in which he expressed the view he had formed of the state of feeling round Burdwan. That letter has been supplemented by another, dated March 22, 1860, somewhat modifying the sentiments he had before expressed, and at the same time bringing forward several points of much interest. It is as follows—

"I wrote my annual letter to the Committee whilst I was out preaching; and in that letter I gave some account of our experience on that tour. I also ventured to express certain opinions as to the state of the people, with reference to the Gospel (*vide* Recent Intelligence in the April Number). When I wrote that letter we had not got further than some twenty or twenty-five miles from Burdwan. After that we went much higher up, nearly to Raneegunge. My subsequent experience did not materially affect the general character of the opinions I had expressed, but it did in some degree *modify* those opinions. I am glad, therefore, of this opportunity of adding a kind of postscript to that former letter; and this, taken with that, will give what I believe to be a fair and unbiassed representation of the state of things. All which my former communication said about the hopeful signs among the people, *i. e.* readiness to hear the Gospel, kindness to the preachers, an evident loosing of the bonds of idolatry, and a tendency to think that Hinduism will perish and Christianity prevail, besides, to a great extent, an undefined feeling of the truth of our holy religion,—all this was amply verified by our experience up to the period when I wrote. After moving, however, some ten or fifteen miles higher up, gradually the features which pleased us began to diminish, and less pleasing features began to develope themselves,—more indifference, more opposition, and more devotion to idolatry. We found, in short, that the higher we went—in other words, the further we receded from the Mission centre—Burdwan—the less interesting and hopeful did our work become. Up to, say, thirty miles from that station there were undoubted tokens of good, and great good: a leavening process had been manifestly going on amongst the people within that circuit, and very many individual cases came before us, of whom it might with truth be said, 'These persons are not far from the kingdom of heaven.' This fact has struck me forcibly in favour of settled Missionary centres.

"I think that itineration is indeed a glorious work, and every Missionary

ought, if possible, to devote some portion of every year to it, for it, at least, does good to his own soul; but I also feel a strong conviction that Mission-establishments—of course when worked by devoted, earnest men—are very important: every such station is a standing witness for Christ to the villages around: it also presents a place to which any inquirer can betake himself for instruction and guidance; and, all things considered, I am quite sure that a well-worked Mission-establishment does tell very greatly upon the masses. Burdwan is an instance, but many more might be given. One point is of consequence with reference to such a station; it should be a large town, and a town of general resort for commercial and other purposes. Thus the light will inevitably disseminate itself into the region around. The Missionary may not be able himself to go very often from home, but a general knowledge of the truth gradually spreads, and spreads through the means of the people themselves. How many persons we met, many miles from Burdwan, who exclaimed, 'Oh, we know these things quite well; we have often heard the Sahib preach in the bazaars at Burdwan.' Thus they come to such a central place to market or on business, they hear the Gospel, they listen to disputes on religion, and they carry home to their villages a report, of what they have heard; and it really is wonderful (we saw several instances) how much of Christian knowledge thus gets into a village where no Missionary has ever set his foot.

"Beyond the point specified, we found, as stated, the features of hope were in a decreasing ratio. One of the last places I visited was the least hopeful of all. I began to preach by the side of a Siva temple. Presently crowds of Brahmins came together, and the impress of Satan seemed to rest on their countenances. They first tried to argue, but not succeeding in this, they began to abuse and blaspheme. Some of the elder Barhmins stamped with rage, and almost foamed at the mouth. Still I went on, and was enabled to keep calm. Then they got up deafening shouts of 'Hori bol! hori bol!' They hoped I would retire, but I did not; then they tried to drive the people away, but the people were loth to give up the fun; next they dragged an idiot before me, and pushed him forth to make hideous grimaces; next a Brahmin snatched a tract, and tore it to pieces. Such was the scene in this village, very different to the picture sent in my former letter. It truly seemed like casting pearls before swine to stand so long, but yet, I thought, it is no wonder they are so swinish, and do not value the pearls, for perhaps they have never seen them before. It turned out, however, that, several years ago, some Missionary had visited that same spot. This I learned in the following way—During the whole of that scene of confusion I observed one man, a goldsmith, standing at my side, perfectly silent: he never took his eyes off me, and appeared to be drinking in every word. When I finished, he came up to me and whispered, 'Sahib, will you please give me a book? Some years ago a Sahib came and preached, as you have done to-day: he gave me a little book: that I read, and after reading it I could no longer worship the idols. Sahib, I am not Hindu; I never go to the temple, but I worship and pray to the one true God in my own house as well as I can; but I dare not tell the people, for they would all persecute me. This was cheering; and, I thought, who knows but the Lord has reserved to Himself many such hidden ones in the villages of Bengal who refuse to bow the knee to Baal?"

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

THE SWINGING FESTIVAL.

The following account of the manner in which this barbarous custom is gradually dying out, is taken from *Allen's Indian Mail*, being the substance of a Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Surely this state of things would make the interference of Government for its suppression easy and acceptable, rather than, as it is said, "inexpedient and unnecessary."

"In several important districts the practice has already fallen into desuetude. In Behar it only occurs at long intervals, when a number of Bengalees have assembled near large towns at the time of the Pooja. In the Tirhoot and Shahabad districts it is quite unknown; and, throughout that division, its entire suppression may easily be effected by judicious conduct on the part of the police. In the Bhagulpore division it occasionally takes place, the swingers being men of a low caste, or rather of no caste at all, and exhibiting themselves as a means of gain, and not from any religious motives. In Assam, Arracan, Darjeeling, and Cachar, no such cruel exhibitions are either tolerated or attempted. Though existing in the Rajshahye division, it does not prevail to any great extent, and the Commissioner expresses a doubt as to the effect upon the spectators being more demoralizing than 'many other constantly-recurring sights which accompany Hindu festivals, such, for instance, as the Hoolee.' In the Nuddea division the custom is still very generally observed; but, according to Mr. Reid, it is nothing more than a huge sham; 'the swingers, for the most part, being suspended, not by the skin, but by cloths passing under their arms and loins. Even where the skin is pierced, and canes passed through it, the swingers are suspended by hooks passed through the latter.' The swinging, besides, is entirely a voluntary act, the motive being usually the prospect of earning one or two rupees, and perhaps a small quantity of sweetmeats. There are instances, however, of its being performed in fulfilment of a vow. Throughout the Burdwan division the exhibition is decidedly popular, though the Commissioner, like Mr. Reid, declares it to be a 'mere make-believe.' The performer, he says, being first drugged to a state of insensibility, the skin of the back and shoulders is pulled up from the flesh of the body, and the hook passed through the cuticle. 'A strong cloth is then passed round the chest and body, and over the loop of the hook. The man is thus suspended and swings,' the whole of his weight supported by the cloth or band, which passes under his chest. Mr. Young does not consider the swinging as so demoralizing as the filthy pictures and images which are exhibited at all Hindu festivals, and recommends that 'its suppression should be left to the spread of education, and to the feelings and wishes of the better classes of the natives themselves.' Much the same opinion appears to be entertained by the Commissioners of the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, but not by Mr. Cockburn, the Commissioner of the Cuttack division.

"'The practice,' he says, 'is undoubtedly a cruel one, and the result of the grossest ignorance or cupidity. The parties who consent to have hooks fastened into their backs, and are raised up to a considerable height above the ground, and swing round until exhausted with pain and fatigue, are usually, he understands, of two classes, viz. those who have made a vow to swing if they get some good or blessing previously denied, and those who take a part in the spectacle for the sake of the pice and cowries distributed by the spectators.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Nor is it less certain that the practice is a demoralizing one, and how, in truth, could it be otherwise, when large crowds of people, of both sexes, young and old, assemble for the express purpose of witnessing their unhappy, wretched fellow-beings suffer, applauding their conduct, and encouraging them to further endurance? There are other practices,' Mr. Cockburn observes, 'of a similar barbarous kind, which should not be lost sight of in considering measures for putting an end to the swinging. Two years ago, for example, he is informed that at one place in this division, in addition to the swinging, no less than 418 fire-trenches were prepared, and, at a given signal, fires were lighted, and as many men deliberately walked over the lighted charcoal. Besides which, there were several men with hooks in their tongues, one of whom appeared to suffer intense pain, while the scene altogether was most revolting, and seemed more like hell than earth.'"

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

On Friday, June 8, a dismissal of Missionaries took place at the Children's Home, Highbury, as below—

North India—The Rev. R. B. Batty, M.A., for the Punjab; and the Rev J. B. Wheeler for Jubbulpore.

South India—The Rev. R. R. Meadows, M.A., and Mrs. Meadows, returning to North Tinnevelly; the Rev. Walter Edmonds and Mrs. Edmonds, and the Rev. W. Ellington and Mrs. Ellington, proceeding to Telugu; the Rev. M. Speechly; and Miss Meredith.

New Zealand—The Rev. J. Wycliffe Gedge, B.A., and Mrs. Gedge proceeding to Otaki.

North-West America—The Rev. L. S. Tugwell and Mrs. Tugwell, proceeding to Fort Simpson, on the Pacific.

The instructions were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn; and having been replied to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Rev. T. D. Bernard, and the Rev. W. B. Mackenzie; and then commended to God's protection by the Rev. G. Lea, of Birmingham.*

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. F. and Mrs. Bultmann arrived in London on June 12th from Sierra Leone.

North India—Lieut-Colonel Martin arrived in London from Peshawur at the end of April. The Rev. J. and Mrs. Leighton left Calcutta on Feb. 1st, and arrived at Gravesend on June 4th.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Buncher left Madras on March 15th, and arrived in London on April 20th. The Rev. J. and Mrs. Whitchurch arrived in London, from the Cape of Good Hope, on May 26th.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

New Zealand—The Rev. B. K. Taylor embarked at Gravesend on board the "Persia," on May 2, for New Zealand. The Rev. R. R. and Mrs. Meadows, with Miss Meredith, embarked on board the "Nile," on June 12, for Madras. Mr. and Mrs. S. Coles sailed at Southampton in the steamer of May 20, for Ceylon.

* For further particulars see the Monthly Selections from Proceedings of Committee, No. VI.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

THE BIBLE IN INDIAN SCHOOLS.

WE place on record the Petition presented to the House of Lords, on Monday, July 2, by the Right Honourable the President.

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—

"The Petition of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East—

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"1. That your Petitioners are members of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, which Society has been engaged for more than fifty years in promoting the moral and religious improvement of Her Majesty's native subjects in India, for which object they have sent out a large body of European Teachers, of whom 116 are now employed in the work: that they have erected numerous Schools and Churches; and that the whole cost of these operations has amounted to one million one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds.

"2. That your Petitioners gratefully acknowledge the civil protection received by their Missionaries and other Teachers during all this period, as well whilst the Government of India was held in trust for Her Majesty by the Honourable East-India Company, as since the Government has been under the direct administration of the Crown.

"3. That the special object of the Church Missionary Society is the conversion of the Natives to the Christian faith, and the education of their Christian children; and that therefore the education of the masses of heathen and Mohammedan youth is only a secondary object, and can never be carried out to any considerable extent by the agency of this Society: and your Petitioners believe that the same may be said of all other Missionary Societies.

"4. That the moral elevation of the mass of the population of India is a work regarded as obligatory upon Government by the Act 53rd George III. cap. 155. sect. 43., which declares that it is 'the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement.'

"5. That the Indian Government has acknowledged the duty and obligation of undertaking this work by means of education in the 'Education' Despatch, July 18th, 1854, which declares—'Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England.'

"6. That your Petitioners regard it as necessarily involved in the parliamentary obligation thus resting upon Her Majesty's Government, that the Bible should be introduced into the system of education in all Government Schools and Colleges, as the only standard of moral truth for all mankind, and the source of those Christian principles upon which Her Majesty's Government is conducted.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"7. That your Petitioners must further state their conviction of the extreme danger, to the welfare of India, and to the stability of Her Majesty's Government in that empire, of educating the masses of India upon a system which excludes the Word of God; inasmuch as such an education undermines their native religions, and dissolves the social links by which native society has been hitherto held together: while it is powerless to supply any other means by which India can be socially regenerated, or cemented to the Crown of Great Britain.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray, that provision may be made that instruction in the Holy Scriptures may, under suitable arrangements, be permitted to form part of the system of education afforded in the Government Colleges and Schools of India.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c."

At the meeting of the General Committee, July 9, the Secretaries reported that the Right Honourable the President had presented the above Petition to the House of Lords on July 2, in support of the Resolution of the Duke of Marlborough, Vice-President, for the removal of the authoritative exclusion of the Bible from the course of instruction afforded in the Government Schools and Colleges in India:

That the Earl of Shaftesbury, Vice-President, while suggesting the postponement of the Resolution, had expressed his entire concurrence in the principle and in the substance of the Resolution of the Duke, and that it was his belief that it could be carried into effect in India with perfect safety, and with great advantage:

That on the same day, the Duke of Marlborough had moved the adoption of his Resolution, in a most able and forcible speech:

That the Duke's Resolution was met by an immediate moving of the previous question, which was so promptly put and carried as to prevent several other Peers from supporting the Resolution:

That on Friday, the 6th, the Bishop of Oxford and the Earl of Galloway, Vice-Presidents, had expressed their concurrence in the Duke's Resolution.

The Secretaries further stated that the number of Petitions presented to the House of Lords from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, for the removal of the interdict on the Bible, had been more than 1950.*

RESOLVED—

"1. That this Committee are thankful to record the fact that no less than 1950 Petitions have been presented to the House of Lords from all parts of the United Kingdom, in favour of the removal of the restriction upon the Bible in Government Schools in India; that these Petitions were sent up on a very short notice of the Duke's intended Motion, without organized efforts to procure them, and under many other disadvantages.

"2. That the thanks of this Society are due to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough for his able, Christian, and determined advocacy of the cause of Bible instruction; and that His Grace be respectfully requested to print his speech, and to allow this Society to aid in its general circulation.

"3. That the thanks of this Society are also due to the Right Honourable the President, and the Vice-Presidents, who on this occasion have aided the cause in their places in Parliament.

* The entire number, up to the date of our going to press (July 24), was 2041.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"4. That this Committee regard the recent expression of public opinion and the proceedings in the House of Lords as having greatly helped forward the cause of Bible Education in India; and being fully persuaded that the removal of the authoritative restriction which now exists will be a safe as well as a Christian policy, they cherish the hope that Her Majesty's Ministers may see it right to provide for such removal before the next Session of Parliament; for should this hope be disappointed, the object, they are persuaded, will be demanded by a far more general and powerful expression of opinion than on the present occasion."

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY.

The receipts of the Society from Associations for the three first months of the financial year—viz., for April, May, and June—show a falling off of the sum of £1603, as compared with the receipts for the three corresponding months of 1859.

The Committee beg to call the attention of the friends of the Society, and of Country Associations, to this statement; and to express a hope, that though the inclement spring may have affected the usual channels of supply, some efforts may be made to make up the deficiency.

WEST AFRICA—RIOT IN THE TIMNEH COUNTRY.

(From the African, June 26th.)

Capture and Plunder of Magbeli, and Sacking of the Mission Premises.

On Thursday, the 14th of June, a party of Kossohs, employed as mercenaries by the Ro Yonni people in their war with the Masimmerahs, suddenly came upon the town of Magbeli, about half-past five in the morning. Most of the male population were absent, and only the old and infirm were in the town. The Pa Suba was at Ro Masettleh, a town on the Port-Lokkoh road. The attacking party numbered about 300 or 400 men, and for the most part were armed only with cutlasses. They divided themselves into small companies, and assigned different parts of the town to each division. We regret to say that the barbarous people showed no regard to the persons or property of the Missionary party. After having forcibly entered the dwelling-house, they seized the Rev. J. S. Wiltshire and his wife, and stripped them of nearly all the clothing they had on. One man aimed a blow with his cutlass at Mr. Wiltshire, which happily fell short. Another pointed his gun at his breast, and demanded his coat, which was of course given up. Mrs. Wiltshire was then seized, tied, and dragged to the water-side, and then forced into a canoe, with the intention to carry her across the river. But the canoe being too crowded with prisoners, and not having been caulked, was swamped, and sank immediately on attempting to shove off from the beach: all, however, came safely ashore. Most happily and providentially, just at this juncture there was heard a sound of musket-shots in the distance. This proceeded from a few Sierra-Leone traders and others, from Ro Gbenting, who were coming to the rescue. The Kossohs at once left their prisoners and retreated, but not without some loss on their side. Mrs. Wiltshire was left tied in the bush, and, after some moments of anxious suspense, was rescued from her perilous condition by a Sierra-Leone trader. In the mean time, other parts of the town had been given up to plunder. Mr. Thensted, an English trader, was robbed of all his goods, and had his shirt stripped from his back, but happily escaped from his captors,

and from further personal indignities. One of the Mission boatmen who was ill at the time of the attack, was cut across the belly and killed. A school boy, about eight years old, refusing to leave the Mission yard and go with the Kossohs, was killed on the spot, his head being severed from his body. Another of the school children (a little girl) was drowned, along with many others, in a canoe, which, from being too much crowded with prisoners, filled and went down with all on board. The precise number is not known. The most painful feature in this whole affair has been the attack upon the Mission party. Hitherto, both sides in this civil war had agreed, it is said, to leave the Mission unharmed. But in the hour of excitement, with hopes of great booty, and possibly maddened by drink, it is not possible to restrain the ungovernable passions that rage in the breast of a savage; and of all the tribes in our neighbourhood, the Kossohs enjoy an unenviable notoriety for ferocity, and the most unmitigated barbarism. On this occasion each one seems to have acted for himself. The sole object was plunder. Had there been any thing like a plan, and the least concert as to their operations, we believe most of the people in Magbeli would have been made slaves of, and carried into the interior. As it is, many of our traders have been caught and taken away. For the present, but we hope only for the present, an end has been put to the operations of the Church Missionary Society among these treacherous heathen. We are not at all discouraged. Difficulties and dangers will but be spurs and incitements to that Society to urge forward its work of faith and labour of love. It may be that greater security in future will result from the recent act of violence.

WESTERN INDIA.

(*From the Bombay Guardian.*)

Our readers will not have forgotten the decision of the Government with regard to the right of native Christians to take water from the public tanks.(p. 1.) The Hindu inhabitants of Ahmednuggur, or a portion of them, petitioned Government to deny this right; but Government affirmed this right; and expressed astonishment at the misconception that had led the petitioners to suppose for a moment that Government would lend itself to such an unworthy and unjust attempt. Though nothing could be more explicit than the answer of Government, yet the inhabitants of Ahmednuggur have continued to send in petitions on the subject. They lately sent a petition praying that some of the tanks might be set apart for the Christians, and the remainder left for the exclusive use of the rest of the community. In other words, they wished to have Christians treated as outcasts; not merely so treated by Hindus, but by a Christian Government. Mr. Fraser Tytler, reporting on the petition, points out that it is easy for the petitioners, in Ahmednuggur, where there are many tanks to give up a few; but in other places this cannot be done; and that if Christians are denied *in part* their legal rights in Ahmednuggur, they will be denied them *in toto* in the villages.

The following is the decision of Government—

"RESOLUTION—The Right Honourable the Governor in Council fully concurs in the views stated in the Report by the Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, and directs that the Petitioners be informed that the Government will never admit that a tank is polluted by being used by Christian converts. His Lordship in Council sees no reason for any modification of his previous orders, and the intimation now issued must be regarded as final."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, has thought it expedient to publish, in the form of a despatch to the Secretary of State for India, signed by himself and two Members of Council, a reply to the pamphlet of this Society, No. VIII., on "The Effects of Government Orders on the Progress of Christianity in India." This despatch will require more extended notice elsewhere. Meanwhile we reprint a very temperate article from the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, from which the views of our friends in India may be gathered. We regard Lord Canning's statement as a full vindication of the pamphlet to which it attempts to reply. It now appears that *an order* was issued, the precise terms of which were carefully concealed; but the inevitable *effects* of which were precisely those represented by our correspondents in India. Our correspondents have, moreover, correctly described the tenor of it *as communicated by the officer on whom devolved its official promulgation to those concerned* —

"We rejoice most truly that Lord Canning has come forward to explain his policy towards the 24th Regiment Punjab Infantry and its Christian converts and officers, by the publication, in the Indian papers, of his letter of June 18, 1860, to Sir Charles Wood.

"We had previously seen a good part of the correspondence referred to in it, between the Bishop and the military and other authorities on the subject of the alleged dealings of Government with that regiment; and, before we knew any thing of an intention to publish the explanation above referred to, had fully intended to state, in this present Number of the "Intelligencer," that Lord Canning and the Government had been, to all appearance, mistakenly and unjustly charged in the little C. M. S. pamphlet, reprinted in our last Number, as well as in some of the newspapers, with issuing an order forbidding Christian officers to have any religious intercourse with their Christian men, at least when the latter are natives.

"We felt sincere pleasure in having the opportunity to do this. And we can respectfully assure Lord Canning that we should be most truly glad and thankful to be enabled and allowed to place his views and proceedings in such matters before the more religious part of the community in the most correct form; and, further, to lend them any humble support in our power, when they may seem to us to be in accordance with scriptural principle, and the claims of religion on a Christian ruler. We doubt not that his lordship is too wise a statesman (whatever his own religious opinions may be) to be insensible to the advantage of having the religious part of the European public with him in the carrying out of his policy.

"For ourselves, we are but little to blame if we have mistaken the Governor-General's views and measures as touching on the diffusion of Christianity in this country. Disposed, both by political bias and Christian principle, to respect and to aid in upholding the constituted authorities, we made more than one attempt to put ourselves in the way of obtaining such information as might

enable us to act on that disposition; but meeting with no encouragement, the only course was to draw back again, and be content to judge of motives and principles by public acts and other things gathered from the ordinary sources of intelligence. And we must confess, that, from a number of acts and facts—or supposed facts,—great and small, thus gathered, we were led to form a judgment far from favourable of Lord Canning's disposition to favour or encourage the spread of Christianity amongst the people of India; and hence have, perhaps, taken up and repeated some facts, without as much caution as if our previously-formed judgment had not rendered them to our mind *primâ facie* probable.

"The particular matter referred to, as we have said, in Lord Canning's letter under consideration, is the order issued by his lordship on being informed, in May 1859, of the spirit of inquiry, and of inclination to embrace Christianity, which had appeared in the 24th Punjab Regiment, and the account given of that order and its effects in the Church Missionary Society's pamphlet of March 1860.

"The order was (May 23, 1859), "It will be advisable to warn the officers commanding troops at Peshawur against using their authority in any way for the furtherance of conversion."

"Now this order, taken in the barest meaning of its naked terms, can hardly be objected to. No one—at least no Evangelical Protestant Missionary—wants any officer, civil or military, to use his authority in an official or professional way, to make men profess themselves Christians: we leave such practices to Romanists. But we cannot but think that the order, taken with its circumstances, might be fairly considered to extend much further in its application than its precise terms might seem to render necessary, *e. g.*

"1. It must have been known, that just before that order was issued, on May 20th, Lord Canning had seized upon a loose newspaper report of one of the officers of the corps in question, together with two or three civil officers and others, being simply present at the baptism of a few native converts in Umritsur, actually to call upon the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to report upon the circumstance; and what was to be the result of this strange proceeding had not yet appeared. (*See* Occasional Papers, No. VIII., p. 8.)

"2. The mention of officers at all in the order was significant. There was no reference to them in the representation made by Major Hovenden to the Commander-in-Chief, nor in that of the C. in C. to the Governor General. Those representations simply stated that "a strong tendency to embrace Christianity had manifested itself amongst some of the men" of the 24th Regiment, who were "in the habit of going to the clergyman of the place to hear what he had to say;" that the other men of the corps were indifferent to the movement, and consequently that Major Hovenden, the officer in command, had "thought it better not to interfere in the matter." This was all. But upon it, Lord Canning (without expressing a word of satisfaction or even interest in the tendency to embrace Christianity) does not commend Major Hovenden's prudent and cautious conduct in the affair, which might have been a delicate but significant mode of conveying his sentiments, but volunteers what, we must say, appears to us a gratuitous warning to all officers in that quarter, "not to use their authority *in any way* for the furtherance of conversion." Lord Canning may probably regard this as carrying out a "perfect religious neutrality:" to us it appears to be dealing "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the apparently spontaneous spread of Christianity

just commencing in the regiment, and to any officer taking any interest in the matter. And taken in connexion with—

"3. The impression (correct or incorrect) which had gone abroad, of Lord Canning's hostility to the spreading of our faith amongst the natives, and with his Lordship's action just before taken respecting the baptisms at Umritsur, it must have been felt to be so by both officers and men. In fact, we know it was so felt, from letters of officers, written at the time, now before us, and from the statements of Missionaries that there was a sudden check given to the inquiries of the men: they felt that the Supreme Government was opposed to their becoming Christians. How could officers tell what Lord Canning would consider "the use of their authority *in any way?*" The course then being taken by his lordship seemed to indicate that simple presence at a native baptism would be so regarded, and still more so (it would naturally be inferred) would attendance at any religious meeting with the baptized.

"One of the first results was, that Major Hovenden (himself, we believe, by no means hostile to the religious movement in his corps), in communicating the Governor-General's order to the regiment, which he did verbally, added an order that the European officers were "not to attend any religious meetings with the men." This order, Lord Canning seems to think, may have been misunderstood by the officers, who probably considered it part of the Governor-General's order. We know of at least one who, in his distress of mind, and conscientious doubts, offered to resign his commission; and who, on that being declined, sought counsel of some friends of eminent station in the Church, as to the course he should pursue. And hence it is not much to be wondered at or blamed, that the Missionaries also considered it so, it being not all improbable *à priori*.* We must frankly state, that we can see little or nothing in the remarks of the Rev. Robert Clark that is not fairly justifiable on the almost unavoidable supposition that the account the Missionaries had received from officers, of the tenor of the Government order, was correct, and as stating "the effects of the order," though of course one cannot justify the transatlantic mode of emphasizing his statement adopted by the American Missionary, Mr. Loëwenthal.†

"Lord Canning tells us in his letter, para. 17, that the Bishop is to point out to Mr. Clark "the great harm which is done by believing and circulating such tales without inquiry." Very good; but we hope the Bishop will also point out, to more elevated persons, the great harm which is done by hasty interference with the personal religious freedom, freedom of conscience and action of public officers on the part of the Government, and also by incautious and ambiguous Government orders, which have the effect of disturbing the minds of conscientious men, and of discouraging sincere inquirers after the saving religion of Christ among the natives, in the public service and out of it.

"Opinions will perhaps differ as to which is the greater harm, that of bringing

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* Not a word of disapprobation, as far as we have heard, is uttered of the officer who added to the Governor-General's order in such a way as to leave it to be regarded as part of it, or a fair inference from it, that "officers were not to attend any religious meetings with the men." Are we to suppose that his act is approved of, or that the inference is a legitimate one?

† The effects of the authoritative order have appeared again within the last few weeks. A Missionary, visiting the native Christians in this 24th Punjab Regiment, was forbidden by the officer in command of the party to hold divine service with them within the lines of the regiment, and they had in consequence to resort to some other place.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

some discredit on the Governor-General and the Government of India by statements of Government proceedings, partially but unintentionally incorrect, or that of putting a stop to some hundreds of men seeking after the way of salvation; to say nothing of the "heavy blow and great discouragement" dealt out to those natives in a similar state of mind over the whole of India, and the disheartening effect it must have on Missionaries and their helpers and friends in their benevolent labours, already trying and discouraging enough. With the Bible before us, we can feel no doubt as to which will appear the heavier harm when weighed in the balance of eternity.

"One word more. Lord Canning intimates, at the close of his letter, the probability that Government may issue some order laying down the course that officers must pursue in cases like that here referred to. Now we would earnestly and respectfully implore his lordship, and the Bishop, "in whose sound sense and moderate views" he justly feels great reliance, to beware of interfering in these matters, more than the most imperative state necessity demands. We implore them not to be applying remedies before there is an evil to call for them.* They cannot frame orders that will not open thrice as many questions as they will close. Government orders on matters of conscience are worse than out of place.

"We respectfully press upon the consideration of the Governor-General the advice of a wise man of ancient times—

"Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it, lest haply you be found even to fight against God."—Acts v. 38, 39."

We have no additional intelligence of a decisive character from those of our Missions where insurrection and war are prevailing; but the unsettled aspect of affairs in Africa, New Zealand, China, and Syria, is still such as to demand the special sympathies and prayers of our supporters in behalf of our Missionaries, their converts, and the surrounding heathen.

The prayers of the friends of Missions are earnestly desired on behalf of the following Missionary Candidates for Ordination.

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23rd.

For Priests' Orders.

The Rev. John Bishop Wheeler . . . . } Students at the Institution.
The Rev. Arthur Evans Moule . . . . }

For Deacons' Orders.

Mr. John Barton, B.A. . . . . Christ's College, Cambridge.
Mr. Edward B. Puxley, formerly of Brasenose College, Oxford; afterwards H.M. 4th Light Dragoons.

Mr. R. B. Tonge, B.A. . .	Mr. Jonathan Simmons . .	Students at the Institution.
Mr. J. Jackson	Mr. Theodore Walters . .	
Mr. Nigel Honiss . . .	Mr. Jonathan Buckley Wood,	

BY THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

For Priests' Orders.

The Rev. J. M. Speechly, B.A. . . . . St. John's College, Cambridge.

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* Let it not be overlooked, that whatever "harm" has been done as yet has not originated from the native converts or inquirers, nor from the officers who have encouraged them, nor yet from the Missionaries, but from Government interferences, and Government orders. How much better had they been just let alone.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA—PROGRESS OF PROSELYTISM.

The Christianisation of the Kols in the Chota Nagpore district is proceeding at a very rapid rate. Two thousand have already been baptized, or, rather, this was the number some six months ago. The number of those who have broken caste, and have applied for baptism, is also very large. Ninety were baptized in January last. A Missionary writes, that, in the neighbourhood of Ranchee, the Gospel is spreading like a fire in the jungle. As many as 800 villages have received the Gospel. So many Kols were pouring into the station from the jungle that three Missionaries were occupied all day in giving them instruction. The Lieutenant-governor of Bengal visited the district in January, and was greatly astonished at what he saw. His Secretary remarked to the Missionaries, "There was never seen such a sight in India as this." This referred to a gathering of about 2000 native Christians, at which he was present. From the province of Pachete, Kabreepunthees have presented themselves to the number of forty-six, out of eleven villages, asking instruction. They say that large bodies of this sect are ready to embrace Christianity. There are six Missionaries in the Chota-Nagpore field, Germans sent forth originally by Gossner. We see it stated, that in Lucknow and the surrounding villages eighty-nine natives have been baptized since the rebellion.—*Bombay Guardian.*

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

Mr. Duncan has been on a visit to Victoria, Vancouver's Island. The "Victoria Gazette" of July 13, 1860, furnishes us with an account of a Missionary Meeting there, which will be read with much interest. There are not, it would seem, wanting in that, as in other colonies, men who look forward to the extinction of the native race, not only as the inevitable but as the most desirable result of British colonization, and who would seek to accomplish that result by fomenting intestine strife and bloodshed. We trust the kindlier feelings which prevailed at the meeting will still prevail, and that Britain's sons will impart to the children of the soil the best and brightest of their treasures—the everlasting Gospel.

"We publish (says the newspaper) the following proceedings of the meeting held on Tuesday evening last (July 10), for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the Indians who are living in the vicinity of this town (Victoria).

"Before the meeting commenced, a large number of persons, collected upon the spacious stairs in front of the Collegiate School, were amused by a most novel and touching entertainment. A considerable number of Indians assembled by invitation, and, led by Mr. Duncan, sang very sweetly, 'There is a happy land, &c.,' and other hymns. The effect was most telling. To hear these poor heathen children time their voices to those melodies was quite enough to awake the sympathies and arouse the energies of the most indifferent amongst us. The singing being over, the audience quickly filled the room.

"Captain Prevost took the chair, and called upon the Rev. E. Cridge to open the meeting with prayer.

"Prayer having been offered up, the Chairman, in a few appropriate open-

ing remarks, explained the object of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Duncan, Church Missionary, who accordingly came forward, and proposed the first Resolution—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the Indians are capable of civilization, and possess many qualities which, under proper training, would render them not only useful members of society, but also subjects of Christian virtue.

"Mr. Pemberton seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

"The Rev. J. Gammage, after some appropriate remarks, proposed the second Resolution—

"—That the presence of the Indians here entails a heavy responsibility upon the Christian public to set them an example worthy of their imitation, to repress their evil and call forth their good qualities, and to impart unto them that Gospel of which we are the favoured possessors.

"The Rev. A. C. Garrett next rose, and said—The resolution which he was called upon to second was one which carried its own recommendation in the weight of the sentiments which it contained. There was a voice in the bosom of each one present which spoke responsive to those sentiments. But unfortunately it often happened, that though this monitor within spoke, and spoke truthfully, yet his voice was unattended to. Hence it was that the editor of a public journal, in open defiance of this monitor, in his paper urges the public here to encourage enmity and strife, bloodshed and slaughter, among the Indian tribes, in order that we may be safe! Never let us on British soil, beneath the shelter of British laws, tolerate a policy so unworthy of Christianity—so unworthy of civilization—so unworthy of Britain and of England! Away with such a miserable sacrifice of rectitude, humanity, and honour, to a fancied but mistaken expediency! Even if we be not Christians, let us at least be men; and on the ground not only of Christianity, but of common manliness, let us hurl from us, with the most indignant contempt, principles so unworthy of Britons and of men. A simple illustration would show the responsibility which the presence of the Indians here, as a fact, entails upon us. Here the Rev. Speaker graphically described two travellers through a barren desert. When both are on the point of perishing with thirst and exposure to the piercing rays of a tropical sun, one, by the providence of God, discovers an oasis. Shall he recline beneath the grateful shade of the spreading palm, and quaff from the sparkling fountain refreshing draughts, and at the same time turn a deaf ear to the wail of anguish, which, waxing fainter and fainter, is wafted on the desert air, from his perishing fellow traveller? Nay! Shall he not only be indifferent to his sorrows, but, following the advice of the journalist alluded to, shall he consummate his ruin by adding to his miseries? Oh, if such a monster could anywhere be found, let all imaginable horrors be accumulated upon his guilty head!

"The Resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

"The Rev. E. Cridge proposed the next Resolution. The Resolution says: 'Let a school be built.' Mr. Duncan has kindly promised to remain here for a period of time which he has not specified, to organize something for the benefit of the Indians resorting to Victoria. With him upon the ground, the Indians perishing for lack of knowledge, and the responsibility which the meeting had accepted, shall the school be built? If that could not be done, we must have a very poor opinion, either of our responsibility or our resources. He therefore entrusted the Resolution to the meeting with confidence—

"That as an effort to meet this responsibility, a room be built of sufficient

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

size to serve as a temporary schoolroom and church, and that a Committee be appointed to make collections for that object; and that clergymen and gentlemen be requested to act as members of this Committee, with power to add to their number.

"Dr. Piers, of H.M.S. 'Satellite,' rose with pleasure to second the Resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

"The Chairman then rose, and in the course of his very appropriate remarks, told a most touching anecdote, illustrative of the strong and patient affection of the Indian wives. Some years back, a party of Indians in a canoe were attacked by a body of northern Indians. All were killed, with the exception of one woman and her husband. The husband, though not dead, had been shot through the brain. The wife paddled alongside the gallant Captain's ship, the wounded man was taken on board, and attended to by the surgeon. But no Englishwoman could have exhibited greater devotion, and more patient affection, than were manifested by this Indian wife.

"A vote of thanks was warmly passed to the Chairman, proposed by the Rev. E. Cridge.

"The Doxology was sung, and the proceedings terminated."

The following extracts are taken from a later Number of the same journal—

"A feast was given on the quarter-deck of the 'Satellite' (July 19) to the chiefs of the Tsimshean and Nishkah tribes, twenty-eight in number, by Captain Provost. The principal dishes were rice and molasses, strong tea, and biscuit. The object was to make a return to the chiefs for an entertainment given by them to Mr. Duncan on the Naas River. They were shown over the ship, and were astonished by the weight of the sixty-eight-pounders, size of the guns, and quantity of powder in a cartridge. They were particularly struck with a portrait of the Queen, when told she was the great chief of the English nation. They expressed themselves as highly honoured at being invited on board a man-of-war, of which hitherto they have had so much dread, and gave Captain Provost some handsome beaver, ermine, and otter skins. We commend the gallant captain for his judicious endeavours to establish a good understanding with the Indians, and regret he is so soon to leave this station."

Notes on the Indians.

"The Indians are very much misunderstood by many. One misconception about them is, that they are a people living in a state of chaos, having no law or system to guide them. This mistake arose from our witnessing the disorder and riot prevailing amongst them while staying here. But we are to remember that nine-tenths of the Indians about us are not at home, and are therefore seen to great disadvantage; and those prominent vices to which they have become such victims, and with which they so disgust us, are not Indian vices, but white-men's vices.

"For national government, the Indians are divided into tribes. Thus the Tsimshean nation is divided into ten tribes, viz. the Keeshpokahlot, the Keenakangeak, the Keetsahclahs, the Keetwilgeeaut, the Heetandoh, the Heelootsah, the Keenahtohik, the Keetseek, the Kitlan, and the Keetwillukshebah. The latter tribe is now nearly extinct.

"Each of these names has a characteristic meaning: for instance, Keesh-

pokahlot means 'the people among the elder-berries.' The name Tsimshean—with the people called by that name—means simply 'Indian.'

"Each tribe has from three to five chiefs, one of which is acknowledged head. Among the head chiefs of the various tribes one again takes pre-eminence.

"At feasts and in council, the chiefs are seated according to their rank.

"As an outward mark to distinguish the rank of a chief, a pole is erected in front of his house. The greater the chief the higher the pole. Some chiefs are great enough to require a pole over 100 feet high. The Indians are very jealous in regard to this distinction.

"The head chief of a tribe of Nishkah, or Naas-River Indians, foolishly attempted, about a year ago, to put up a stick which was higher than his rank would allow. The chief, whose head he would thus have stepped over, though an old and helpless man, found plenty to defend his right. A fight ensued, and the over-grasping chief was shot through the arm, which led him to shorten his stick.

"The Indians are subdivided, for the regulation of their social intercourse, under several crests, which are common to all the tribes. The crests are the whale, the porpoise, the eagle, the coon, the wolf, and the frog.

"In connexion with these crests, several very important points of Indian character and law are seen. The relationship existing between persons of the same crest is nearer than that between members of the same tribe, which is seen in this, that members of the same tribe may marry, but those of the same crest are not allowed to do so under any circumstances; that is, a whale may not marry a whale, but a whale may marry a frog, &c."

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

North India.—The Rev. H. Stern left Calcutta on June 4th, and arrived in Germany on July 25th.

South India.—The Rev. H. Baker, jun., and Mrs. Baker, left Madras on June 22d, and arrived at Southampton on August 10th.

Ceylon.—Mr. J. Sorrell has arrived in England from Ceylon.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Rev. W. J. and Mrs. Edmonds, and the Rev. W. and Mrs. Ellington, embarked at Gravesend in the "Renown" on July 11th, for Madras—The Rev. J. W. and Mrs. Gedge embarked at Gravesend in July, on board the "Thames City," for Wellington, New Zealand—The Rev. L. S. and Mrs. Tugwell left Southampton on June 16th, for America, *en route* for Fort Simpson (p. 204).

ORDINATIONS IN THE MISSIONS.

The following Missionaries and native pastors have been ordained to Deacons' and Priests' orders by the Bishops of Waiapu and Rupert's Land—

New Zealand, Feb. 17—Rev. Raniera Kawhia, to Deacons' orders.

March 4—Rev. Rota Waitoa, to Priests' orders.

May 6—Rev. Charles Baker, to Priests' orders.

June 3—Rev. Carl S. Volkner, to Deacons' orders.

North-West America, May 17—Rev. T. T. Smith, to Deacons' orders, at Red River.

July 11—Rev. T. H. Fleming, to Priests' orders, and the Rev. T. Vincent, to Deacons' orders, at Moose.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

WEST AFRICA.

INTELLIGENCE had been received at Sierra Leone, that Prince Alfred, in the "Euryalus," might be expected there on Monday, September 23. This had caused no little excitement among the African population. They have subscribed 100*l.* to procure an African gold chain to present to the Prince; and he is to be greeted by 1000 children from the different schools with the National Anthem. "I trust," adds Mr. Jones, "that the youthful mind of the Prince may be convinced of the successful results upon our colony of the benevolent efforts of Christian England."

CHINA.

The last mail has brought intelligence of an attack upon Shanghae by the insurgents, in which they were beaten back, chiefly by the assistance of a volunteer force of Europeans, among whom the French were conspicuous. Great alarm prevailed, and trade, and, we fear we must add, Missionary operations, were at a stand still. Since our last Number, further information has been received of the religious views of the Tae-ping-wangs. It is communicated in the following highly interesting letter from one of the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society. We regret that want of space compels us to omit a long citation from the books of the insurgents, illustrative of their opinion on the important subject of sin—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NORTH-CHINA HERALD."

"SIR,—In No. 520 of your paper, a few remarks were made on the revolutionary movement of the Tae-pings. It was stated that Hung Jen had arrived at Nankin, and was promoted to the rank of king; that his knowledge of Christianity, foreigners, and foreign affairs, must be far more extensive and correct than that of his relative the chief; that his position would enable him to do much towards correcting error and promoting the cause of truth; and that we should possibly find that some of the books which have been recently published evince a deeper insight into, and a more comprehensive view of, the true nature of the Christian religion. From certain documents which have since reached us, we find that this conjecture was well founded. A book, containing about fifty pages, and three or four proclamations, all composed and issued by the Kan Wong, prove not only that he himself is *well instructed* in Christian truth, but also that he is exerting his power and influence in making it known to others. Many truths which have been verbally taught from the commencement, though imperfectly understood, are explained and enforced by him in a remarkably lucid manner. The doctrinal errors into which we supposed the chief had fallen are met with bold and unequivocal positive statements of true doctrine. This fact is very encouraging to all who take an interest in the movement itself, and in the future moral and *spiritual* progress of this great people. We shall now give a few extracts on various points of interest, which will go far to show that the advent of Hung *Jen* in the insurgent camp augurs well to the insurgents' cause.

"We have one very interesting chapter on sin. The importance of a

knowledge of sin, repentance, and reformation, on the part of man—God's willingness to forgive sin—the necessity of atonement—the vicarious sufferings of Christ—and freedom from sin being essential to true happiness, are all treated of in a way that would do honour to any Christian teacher, whether native or foreign. . . . .

"Then we have a very clear statement of the doctrine of innate depravity, which comes in direct opposition to the orthodox teachings of the Chinese. One of the first lessons a child has to learn in China, is that which teaches the inborn goodness of his nature. These men, however, tell him plainly, that he is born in sin; and must be 'born again,' ere he can enjoy true peace in this world, or eternal happiness in the world which is to come. Time will show which of these two doctrines—that which tends to inflate man with a false conceit of his own innate purity and importance, or that which discloses to him his real weakness and vileness—is best calculated to rouse this nation out of its moral and spiritual slumbers, and inspire it with new life.

"It was stated in the communication already referred to, that the insurgents do not seem to regard the Saviour as divine. In proof of this, a passage was quoted in which the title God is denied to Him. 'In heaven above and earth beneath, as well as among men, none can be considered greater than Jesus; and yet Jesus was not called God.' In the book now before us, the divinity of Christ is taught emphatically and explicitly. Take the following as a proof 'He thought it no robbery to be equal with God (Shangte). Should any one ask why it was necessary for Christ, being God, and therefore omnipotent, to be born and become man for the purpose of saving men, then let him know that if the Saviour had not become man, He would be merely a pure spirit. In that case, how could He spread his religion, establish an example, be nailed to the cross and shed his blood? Hence it was necessary that he *should* take a human body, that he might instruct men, and become their substitute. If there be sin, there must be punishment. Though it was the sinless Son of God that became a substitute, according to justice, punishment could not be avoided. This is sufficient to show that the law of heaven is just and impartial.'

"In this book much is said about the Holy Spirit. His divine nature is clearly taught; and his work in renewing and purifying the heart is largely dilated upon. Hung Jen seems to have a profound conviction of the deep and radical corruption of the human heart on the one hand, and the absolute necessity of divine power in its regeneration on the other. Faith he speaks of as the means by which the Holy Spirit is to be obtained. It is by faith, and not by birth, that a man becomes the regenerated child of God. But though his views of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit are clear, we doubt whether his notion of the distinction of persons in the Godhead are quite clear from error. Those who have been extensively engaged in teaching the heathen, know how difficult it is to keep them from falling into the extreme of Tritheism on the one hand, or that of Sabellianism on the other. The doctrine is itself a profound mystery to our contracted reason, and must be received by faith. He endeavours, like many before him, to bring it down within the compass of reason, and explain it by arguments and analogy; and this it is (if indeed he be led astray) that has led him astray. On this point however, we would not be positive. It may be that the mistake lies in his way of explaining the doctrine, rather than in his own mind.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"The observation of the Sabbath is inculcated as the day of the Lord. He speaks of it as a day of rest, when, with reverential hearts and pure bodies, the heavenly Father is to be worshipped. Thanks are to be given for all temporal mercies, as well as for the redeeming and saving virtue of the Elder Brother and Saviour.

"Húng Jen has a most exalted conception of the talents and piety of the Celestial King. He seems, moreover, to be a believer in his visions. We have no doubt but that Húng-siú-tsüen himself is a believer in the visions of 1837 and 1848, as revelations from God; and the impression left upon our minds, during our intercourse with the insurgents, was, that all the chiefs are perfectly convinced on this point. That the man had some sort of visions or dreams, corresponding to the account given of them, is highly probable; that he, being an oriental (and the majority of occidentals are not much more sane on these points), should believe in them as revelations from heaven, is very natural; and that his success, so far, should deepen his own convictions, as well as of those around him, in their reality, is what we might have expected. I believe that no mention is made in the book of any other revelation than those already referred to. In this, the chief and his followers are labouring under a delusion. It would be preposterous, however, to condemn them as impostors of the blackest dye on this account. On the third day of the third moon, a festival is to be celebrated in commemoration of the descent of the heavenly Father; and another on the ninth day of the ninth moon, in commemoration of the descent of the heavenly Elder Brother. These, as well as other festivals appointed by them, show that something remains to be done in the way of enlightenment.

"In one chapter Húng Jen enters into a minute examination of the terms used by the Roman Catholics and Protestant Missionaries for the true God and the Holy Spirit. He concludes with the verdict, that 'Shang-te' should be used for the Supreme Being, and 'Shung-shun' for the Holy Spirit. His views on this point deserve to be considered by the Missionaries, having come from a native, who has nothing at present to hope or fear from them.

"In one chapter he treats of questions which pertain to social and political improvements. He advocates the introduction of railroads, steamers, life and fire insurances, newspapers, and other western inventions. Plans are described, and the advantages stated. Who knows but that, ere many decades shall have passed over our heads, this noble country—vast in its extent, and exhaustless in its resources—will be penetrated and intersected by railroads, and startled into life by the rattling of the fire-carriage, and the flashing of the electric stream?

"Foreign nations are to be treated on terms of equality; and foreigners are never to be called by any opprobrious names. Missionaries will be at liberty to go everywhere to preach the Gospel. We have learnt that Húng Jen is extremely anxious that a number of Missionaries should proceed forthwith to Nanking to teach the people, as most of them, he says, are very ignorant.

"We mention this, not for the purpose of inducing any one to rush to the heavenly capital (which would be a very questionable policy just at present), but as an answer to the following remark, which we have repeatedly heard—'Why don't they send for you, Missionaries to teach them? Let them do this, and I will believe in them. "G. J."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NEW ZEALAND.

Since the remarks in the body of this month's "Record" were printed, we have received further letters from New Zealand. Annexed are extracts of an highly encouraging character, from a letter of the Rev. R. Burrows, dated Auckland, July 30, 1860, which will be read with much interest—

"A meeting of the native chiefs, from different parts of the country, has been convened, and they are now assembled at this place. I have attended most days, simply to hear the speeches of the chiefs. As the meeting consists almost entirely of men who have always been friendly to the Government, their speeches have been of course of a friendly character: some of them, however, have not hesitated to speak out on the question of the war at Taranaki, and have very significantly asked why the Governor did not call them together before he commenced hostilities. Not one of them has advocated a continuance of the war, but many have pleaded with great earnestness for a cessation of hostilities between the Government and William King. Several of the chiefs who would be likely to have influence with William King, have offered their services as mediators.

"Another question which has also been discussed is the Maori king movement. A few days before the meeting of these chiefs, Potatau, the so-called 'Maori king' died; they therefore expressed their hope that the name of 'Maori king' might die with him. As far as we know, no steps have as yet been taken to set up another in Potatau's place, but the combination into which various tribes have entered, not to sell more of their land, is still in force.

"There has been one feature in this conference, which, whilst it will tend to cheer and encourage us in our work, will also be gratifying to the Parent Committee. I refer to the testimony which has almost unanimously been borne by the numerous speakers to the positive, as well as the negative good which has resulted from the introduction of the Gospel of peace among them. The 'Gospel came first,' say they: 'we embraced it, and found it good, without any mixture of evil, for it was from God. After, came the law (meaning the Queen's sovereignty): that was also good, but it brought with it some evil, for it came from man.' Thus, while, on the one hand, your Missionaries are being accused by editors of newspapers, and by individuals through those papers, of disloyalty to the Queen, and as being enemies to the colonists on the other hand, we have the testimony of those among whom we have laboured that our labour has not been in vain in the Lord.

"You will be anxious to know what is the general state of the natives. So far as we can ascertain, the great body of them are not only anxious to live on amicable terms with the colonists, and to live also under the protection of British law, but are fully determined not to mix themselves up with the quarrel of the Government with the Taranaki natives. Still we cannot but see that there is much sympathy among many of them with William King. In a religious point of view there has been no falling off in our congregations, and I trust not a few feel wherein their strength lieth, that 'it is better to trustin the Lord than to put confidence in princes.'"

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

North-West America.—The Rev. T. H. Fleming left Moose on September 9, and arrived in London on October 19.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

CHINA.

Very conflicting views are entertained respecting the true state of religion among the insurgents. The subject is dealt with at length in the "Record" for the present month; and in its pages a communication received from our Missionary, Mr. Burdon, who accompanied the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society to Soo-chow, will be found at full length. But for the information of those readers of the "Intelligencer" who do not see the "Record," we insert here some extracts, of opposite tendencies, and each propounding the grounds on which the writers have been led to the estimate they have formed of the movement, and its leaders. The first series of extracts are taken from a letter of the Rev. G. John, of the London Missionary Society, dated Shanghae, August 16.

"My Dear Brother,—By the last mail you were informed that two letters had just been received from Soo-chow; one from Hung-jin,* the Kan-wang, to Mr. Edkins, and another from Chung-wang, to Mr. Edkins and myself, inviting us both to Soo-chow, to meet the former king. We felt that only one course of action was left open to us as Christian Missionaries. We were exceedingly anxious to have an interview with this man, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth on various points of interest—of encouraging him in his praiseworthy endeavours to correct the errors connected with the movement—of learning what might be done towards spreading the truth among his people—and of suggesting plans and improvements for his consideration. . . . .

"We reached Soo-chow early on the 2nd inst., and had an interview with the Kan-wang on the same day. He appeared in a rich robe and gold embroidered crown, surrounded by a number of officers, all of whom wore robes and caps of red and yellow silk. On entering, he stood up and received us with a hearty shake of the hand. He said that our visit made him very happy, and that his heart was quite set free. He then made kind inquiries about his old friends in Shanghae, both native and foreign. He was much pleased to hear of the progress of the Gospel at Amoy; of the recent accession of converts to the church in the neighbourhood of Canton and Hong-Kong; and of the late arrival in the West. 'The kingdom of Christ,' said he, 'must spread and overcome every opposition: whatever may become of the celestial dynasty, there can be no doubt concerning this matter.' He then put off his crown and robe, and dismissed his officers; after which we had a free and confidential conversation on various points. We gladly accepted an invitation to dine with him. Before partaking of the viands prepared for us, he proposed that we should sing a hymn and pray together. Having selected one of Dr. Medhurst's hymns, he himself started the tune, and sang with remarkable correctness, warmth, and energy. After a short prayer, offered up by Mr. Edkins, we sat at table. The conversation turned almost exclusively upon religious subjects; in fact, he did not seem to wish to talk about any thing else. He seemed to feel very grateful to Dr. Legge, Messrs. Chalmers, Hamberg, Edkins, and others, for their past kindness to him. He told us that his object in leaving Hong-Kong for Nanking was solely to preach the Gospel to the subjects of the celestial dynasty; and that on his arrival he begged permission of his cousin to be allowed to do so. The chief, however, would not hear of it; but insisted upon his immediate promotion to the rank of king. Though thoroughly devoted to the new dynasty, and determined to live or die with it, he told us repeatedly that he was much happier when employed as a native assistant at Hong-Kong than now, notwithstanding the dignity conferred upon him and the authority with which he is invested. We were escorted on horses to our boat at a late hour.

"We visited him again on the following day. . . . .

"After the merchant had left, we had a very interesting conversation with him on various matters, but especially the character of Tae-ping Wang, the chief. Before separating, he proposed that we should commend each other to the care of Almighty God, and invoke his blessing in prayer. After singing a hymn, he engaged in prayer. His prayer was exceedingly appropriate, fervent, and scriptural. He prayed that all the idols might perish, that the temples should be converted into chapels, and that pure Christianity should speedily become

* Formerly a Catechist of the London Missionary Society at Hong Kong.

the religion of China. This was a most interesting spectacle—a spectacle never to be forgotten. We parted again with a hearty shake of the hand. We were escorted to the boat as on the previous day. A present of a goat and some fowls followed us from the Kan-wang. Having now done what we proposed to do, we turned our faces homewards. We reached home on the 5th instant, in safety, deeply sensible of the kindness of our heavenly Father towards us and our families during our absence.

"We were all much pleased with the Kan-wang. His knowledge of Christian truth is remarkably extensive and correct. He is very anxious to do what he can to introduce pure Christianity among his people, and to correct existing errors. He says, however, that he can do but very little actively in this work, and that hence he is very anxious to get as many Missionaries as possible to Nanking, to teach the people. 'I cannot do much,' said he; 'but if you will come, I will get you chapels, exhort the people to attend, and will attend myself regularly.' He has prepared a prayer for the use of the soldiers, which is remarkably good. He wished us to prepare a series of simple prayers for general distribution. We took with us a number of copies of the whole Bible, and a good selection of tracts—all publicly delivered to his care. These will, I have no doubt, do their work among not a few. He expressed his opinion that the chief is a pious man, notwithstanding all his errors. He devoutly worships God, and is a constant reader of the Scriptures. The Bible and the 'Pilgrim's Progress' seem to be his favourite books. The Kan-wang thinks that much may be done, in course of time, towards putting him right on various points. It is very gratifying to find that he does hold the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired Word of God, and the standard of faith. We were very sorry to learn that piety has materially declined since their arrival at Nanking, and that even Hung-jin himself has given in on one or two points, such as polygamy. We ought to remember this man at the throne of grace, and earnestly pray God that he may be kept from apostacy. He is exposed to five thousand temptations, of which we have but the faintest conception. Though these men will teach a Christianity of some fashion, whatever may become of him, we all feel that the progress of pure and undefiled religion does depend, to a great extent, upon Hung-jin."

Our next extracts are less hopeful. They are from a letter from the Rev. J. L. Holmes, of the American Mission, who had made his way to Nanking, about the same time that Mr. John and his brother Missionaries were at Soo-chow. He was admitted to the audience-hall of the Tien Wong, and there presented to his two brothers, and others of his family, but the Tien Wong did not appear. The impression left upon his own mind as the result of his visit he thus describes—

"I went to Nanking predisposed to receive a favourable impression; indeed, the favourable impressions of a previous visit to Soo-chow led me to undertake the journey. I came away with my views very materially changed. I hoped that their doctrines, though crude and erroneous, might notwithstanding embrace some of the elements of Christianity. I found to my sorrow nothing of Christianity, but its name falsely applied—applied to a system of revolting idolatry. Whatever there may be in their books, and whatever they may have believed in times past, I could not escape the conclusion that such is the system which they now promulgate, and by which the character of the people is being moulded. Their idea of God is distorted until it is inferior, if possible, to that entertained by other Chinese idolaters. The idea which they entertain of a Saviour is likewise low and sensual, and his honours are shared by another. The Eastern King is the Saviour from disease as He is the Saviour from sin. The Holy Spirit they make a nonentity. The whole transformation may be concisely stated in the language of Scripture, 'They have changed the truth of God into a lie, and they worship the creature more than the creator.'" Mr. Holmes then specifies some of the blasphemous notions which had most shocked him. He proceeds: "Furthermore they do hold that Tien Wong is the Son of God, as really and in the same manner as Jesus is. Some of their most intelligent men with whom I conversed defended their worshipping him precisely on this ground, 'He is the Son of God, and in worshipping him we worship God,' they said. That this worship is of the same character as that addressed to Jesus and the heavenly Father there can be no doubt. No one defended it upon the ground that it was not. On the other hand, they defended it upon the ground of his claim to divine worship. The assumptions which he makes in his proclamation,

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

it appears to me, moreover, would unmistakeably indicate the kind of worship he would demand. The son of the chief is likewise a member of the divine family. He is the adopted son of Jesus, and is appointed to be the head of all the nations. So it is stated in the edict, and so it was explained to us by those familiar with their theories. Polygamy is another dark feature of their system. The Tien Wong has married about thirty wives, and has in his harem about 100 women. The other kings are limited to thirty. The other high officers are also allowed a plurality of wives.

"I had hoped, too, that though crude and erroneous in their notions, they would yet be ready to stand an appeal to the Bible, and to be instructed by those competent to expound its truths. Here, too, I was disappointed. They have a new revelation which is to be their criterion of truth, and are quite competent to instruct us. In fact, they bear in their hands a divine decree to which we are to submit, according to their account. To be sure they invite Missionaries to come: they invited me to remain, or to return and remain with them. But it is easy to see how long they would be willing to tolerate a man who would preach doctrines radically opposed to those which they themselves promulgate, and upon which they found their claim to the obedience of China and the rest of the world. Their willingness—if indeed they are willing—to receive Missionaries among them is doubtless founded upon a misapprehension of their character. They suppose that the Missionary will prove an instrument which they can bend to suit their own purposes. Exceptions might be made in favour of individuals: it is of those who hold the reins of power that I speak."

In reference to the opium patients referred to by Mrs. Gough in her letter of May 22, she writes, August 10, 1860—

"When I last wrote, in the month of May, we were about to send two native Christians into the district from whence the greatest number of opium-smokers had come, and, amongst them, the one whom I mentioned as an applicant for baptism. He was received into the church, and remained as a guest in our house for some days before he returned home. My husband furnished our native brethren with a list of the persons whom he had received from the neighbourhood they visited, and they succeeded in finding out a large proportion of them. There were instances in which they had returned to their old habit, but there were comparatively few, about one in five, and the report they brought was, on the whole, an encouraging one. The most interesting part of the whole, however, was the readiness of the people to listen to the Gospel, as it was declared to them by the catechist and his companion, and they expressed the most earnest desire that some one should go and settle among them. They sent word to my husband that if he or any other would only go, they would provide a house and give their services."

THE SLAVE TRADE.

We regret to state that there has been a great impulse given to this nefarious traffic of late, and that, too, in different quarters and under different forms. We are told in some of our communications from Africa, that slaves are frequently shipped in what appear to be ordinary trading vessels, in parties so small as to escape detection. But the hydra does not always skulk in corners. The "West African" asserts that there is reason to believe, that during the last four months of 1859, not less than 12,000 Africans were carried across the Atlantic into slavery, from ports between St. Paul and Lagos, and from the south coast. On the 12th of August, 1860, a large screw steamer left Whydah (the great sea-port town of the kingdom of Dahomy) with 1200 slaves on board, and got clear off. Whilst embarking them, twenty-five were drowned in their chains in the surf by the upsetting of the canoes. One American ship is supposed to have left Whydah, September 28, with 600 slaves on board, and another sailed a few days previous with a cargo of slaves. The present king of Dahomey has made fourteen slave-hunting expeditions since his accession. The terrible sacrifice which he announced some months since, has, we are sorry to say, been consummated. The message sent by the British Government was not forwarded, the death of the Consul at Lagos having intervened, so that there was no officer on the spot by whom it could be transmitted.

The following is an extract from a private letter from the Bahamas, dated August 4th, 1860—

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"I have something worth telling you this morning. We are in a state of great excitement from the arrival of 350 rescued slaves. It appears that the slave captain mistook the 'Karnack' (mail packet) for a man-of-war, and rushed out of the way through the nearest channel, where his vessel ran aground, and the native boats found her, and they are coming in laden with the poor naked Guinea men and women: 350 have landed, and I see another boatfull is coming over the bar. The passengers on board say that the captain and crew jumped overboard, and others that the captain cut his throat: this may be, but no doubt the villainous crew are trying to pass themselves off as passengers from Africa. What a change for these poor creatures, when they realize where they are! They say they are covered with sores from flogging. Many of their countrymen, the Congoes here, have gone to meet them, and the gathering must be marvellous. They have made some of them comprehend their blessed position. Every one is sending them clothes, food, &c.—rather different to being slaves in Cuba. The children on board, it is said, were sold by their parents for debts to the slaver. How such things make us pray from the bottom of our hearts, 'O Lord, come quickly.'

"The slave captain offered 200*l.* to any Bahamian boatman who would take him to Cay West, but not one would listen to him."

A slave ship has also been lately captured and taken into the Mauritius, with 800 of the natives of East Africa on board. Of this number, 100 were children, who have been placed in the Orphan Asylum, under the charge of Mr. Ansorgé.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

THE instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn, on Friday, September 28th, to the following Missionaries, at the Missionary Children's Home, Islington—

West Africa.—The Rev. M. S. Jackson.

Yoruba.—The Rev. G. F. and Mrs. Bühler, the Rev. J Buckley Wood, and Dr. A. A. Harrison, M.B.

Mediterranean.—Rev. Theodore F. Wolters.

Western India.—The Rev. T. K. Weatherhead, B.A.

North India.—The Rev. J. M. Brown, B.A., the Rev. J. Barton, B.A., the Rev. E. L. Puxley, and Mr. William Sandys [Shwai-tui), a Burmese Student.

South India.—The Rev. Nigel and Mrs. Honiss, and the Rev. J. B. and Mrs. Simmons.

Ceylon.—The Rev. R. B. Tonge, B.A., and Mrs. Tonge.

China.—The Rev. Arthur E. Moule.

The Missionaries were addressed by the Rev. H. V. Elliott, and commended to Almighty God in prayer by the Rev. W. B. Mackenzie.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Yoruba.—The Rev. G. F. and Mrs. Bühler, and Mr. Faulkner embarked at Liverpool, Oct. 24th, in the "Armenian," for Lagos.

Western India.—The Rev. T. K. Weatherhead left Southampton in the steamer "Ellore," for Bombay, on October 12th.

North India.—The Rev. J. B. and Mrs. Wheeler, and Mr. W. Sandys, embarked at Gravesend in October, on board the "Lady Melville," for Calcutta—The Rev. B. and Mrs. Batty left Southampton in the steamer of October 4th, the Rev. J. Barton in the steamer of October 20th, and the Rev. E. L. Puxley in the steamer of November 20th, for Calcutta.

South India.—The Rev. N. and Mrs. Honiss, and the Rev. J. B. and Mrs. Simmons, left Gravesend, Oct. 4th, in the "Trafalgar," and the Rev. J. M. Speechley left Southampton in the steamer of November 20th, for Madras.

Ceylon.—The Rev. R. B. and Mrs. Tonge left Southampton in the steamer of November 4th, for Ceylon.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Sindh.—The Rev. A. Matchett arrived in London from Bombay on November 9th.

North India.—The Rev. T. H. and Mrs. Fitzpatrick left Mooltan, September 21st, and arrived in London on November 9th.—The Rev. A. L. Stern and the Rev. H. Stern have arrived in London, after a sojourn for some time in Germany.

THE

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OF

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"THE EARTH SHALL BE FILLED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GLORY OF THE LORD, AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA."—*HABAKKUK* II. 14.

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CONTENTS.

Africa.

THE SLAVE TRADE DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

Page

Compact entered into by European nations respecting the Slave-trade . . 149
Decrease in the number of slaves exported from Africa—Substitution of lawful commerce 149, 150
The Slave-trade during the last two years—The Cuban planters—their demand for slaves 150, 151
Neglect of Spain to keep her part in the compact of 1817—Remonstrances of the British Government 151
Use of the American Flag to cover the traffic—Treaty of Britain with the United States at Ghent 151, 152
Capture of the Slaver "Rufus Soulé" by a British Commander—Official Correspondence—General Cass to Mr. Dallas—Reply of Lord John Russell . . 152, 153
Cuban mode of obtaining pecuniary means for the purchase of slaves—Despatches of Consul Crawford to Lord John Russell 153 155
Proposal of the British to the American Government—Decision of the President—Lord John Russell's Despatch . . . . . 155—157
Further Correspondence—Remonstrance of General Cass, and reply—Remarks . 157—159

DANGERS AND PRESERVATIONS.

The Wars in the Yoruba Country—Critical position of the Ibadan Missionaries . 283, 284
Letter from Mrs. Hinderer, Ibadan, June 10, 1861 . . . . . 284, 285
Letter from the Rev. D. Hinderer, Ibadan, August 2, 1861 285
Death and Burial of Ogunlade—A Convert 285
Scene in a Native Court of Justice—the Accuser outdone 285, 286
Departure from Ibadan on March 6—Journey to Lagos 286
Sickness at Lagos—The return journey—Dangers of the passage—Arrival at Ibadan 287, 288
Present situation—Difficulty of obtaining provisions—State of health . . 288

India.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES 172

THE EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, THE PERPETUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POLICY.

Questions raised by the Indian Mutiny—The Church Missionary Society's Memorial to the Queen 58, 59
The principle of "Neutrality" the great national delinquency in India—Danger of an apparent indifferentism 59, 60
The Bishop of Calcutta on Neutrality—Failure of the system to conciliate the heathen 60, 61

CONTENTS.

Page

The introduction of the Bible into Government schools—Despatches of 1854 and 1859—Dr. Kaye's statement 62
Has the system of Neutrality been really impartial? Infidel tendency of its working—Testimonies of Mr. Hodgson Pratt and Professor Henderson—Remarks on the question 63, 64
The great remedy needed—The divorce between secular and religious education, unnatural—Plea of "a native of Northern India" 65, 66
Classes of objections against the introduction of the Bible—Extracts from Sir J. Lawrence's Minute 67, 68
The Government permission that the Bible may be taught out of school, an insufficient one—Case of the Berhampore College 68, 69
The subject resumed—Present impolitic position of Government in this respect . 69—71
Sentiments put forth in the "Friend of India"—Extract from the proceedings of the South-India Missionary Conference 71
Which of the two systems is fraught with least danger to the Indian Empire?—Extracts from "the thoughts of a native of Northern India" 71, 72
Change of opinion going on among the Pundits of Bengal—"Is the Bible a charm?" 72, 73

RECENT GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Oct. 13).

The General Committee of October 13th, 1861 258
Discouragement and encouragement—Want of funds, and increased call for enlargement of Missionary operation 258
The Punjab—its importance strategetically 258, 259
Its importance commercially—Capabilities and productive powers—River system—Grain and salt trades—Cotton—the Baree Doab Canal 259, 260
Facilities of communication with England—Kurrachee—Railway connexion with Sindh—Population of the Indus provinces 260, 261
Attention of the authorities to the improvement of the people—Beneficial effects of Christianity 261, 262
The Punjab in a Missionary point of view—The Derajat or Damin—Invitation to the Society to occupy this district 262
Importance of Derajat as a station on the road of Afghanistan's commerce—Mountain Passes—the Golaree and Korah Passes, &c. 262, 263
The Bolan Pass—Border tribes—the Wuzurees—Remarks by Colonel Rennell Taylor . . . . . 263—265
The Mission at Peshawur—Paper by a Missionary—Peculiar character of the Mission—Languages spoken at Peshawur 265, 266
Present opportunity for Missionary enterprise—Determination of the Committee 266, 267

MISSION TO THE DERAJAT.

Letter from Sir Herbert B. Edwardes to Rev. H. Venn, October 15th, 1861 . 278
Letter from Colonel Reynell Taylor to Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, August 14, 1861 281
Extracts of a Letter from Sir R. Montgomery to Colonel Reynell Taylor . . 283
Resolution of the Committee, Church Missionary Society, October 14, 1861. . 283

THE FAMINE AT DELHI.

Latest particulars as to the state of Delhi 147, 148

THE KAREN MISSION.

Commencement of the American Mission in Burmah—The first convert—Karen traditions 75
Extension of the work—Success followed by persecution 76
Continued increase of blessings—British occupation of Burmah . . . 77
Enlarged openings—Arrival of Mr. Mason—his journey to Toungoo . . 77, 78
Success at Toungoo—The native minister, Sau Quala 78

Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner at Pegu . . . . . 78—81

CONTENTS.

Page

The Native Pastorate—
Importance of the native pastorate—Extract from a former article—Address of the Rev. R. S. Hardy 81
Report drawn up at the Convention at Moulmein by the American Missionaries 82, 83
The Native Pastorate in Tinnevelly—Want of it in North India—The Rev. D. Mohun at Allahabad 83, 84

The support of the Native Pastorate—
Duty of native flocks to support their pastor—Extracts from the Primary Charge of the Bishop of Calcutta, and proceedings of the South-India Conference . . . . . 85—87
Support of native pastors in Burmah—Extract from the Report of Dr. Mason 87, 88
The native church at Allahabad—Letter of Rev. D. Mohun, native minister—Native Agents at Benares (*note*) 88, 89
Self-supporting action in the Tinnevelly Churches—Self-denial for the cause—Letter of W. Gray, June 15, 1860 . . . . . 89, 90
Loss to the Church of Tinnevelly—Death of the Rev. Paul Daniel . . 91, 92
The subject of Native Pastor support further considered 92, 93

Preparandi and Training Institutions in the Karen and Tamil Missions . . 93
Normal Schools in Burmah—Letter of Mrs. Mason 93, 94
Preparandi Institutions in South India—Oversight of the Parent Society . 95

Connexion of American Missionaries with the British Authorities 95
British Grants of money to the Americans—Letter of Mrs. Boardman to the English Commissioners—The result 95, 96
Application of Dr. and Mrs. Mason for a Government allowance—Reply of the Governor-General 96, 97

The regions beyond 97
Dr. Mason's account of the Red Karens—Their costume, location, population, traditions, &c. 97, 98

REVIVING INFLUENCES.

Missionary action of the early Christian Church 25
Corresponding duties of Churches of the present day—Requirements of the Church's Head 26, 27
Defects of the Modern Church—Need of a revival—God's readiness to give one . 28—30
The divine power manifest in the late revivals in Ireland, &c. 30
The Revival in Tinnevelly—Letter of the Rev. W. Gray, Sept. 10, 1860 . . 30—32
Letter of the Rev. A. Dibb, Sept. 17, 1860 32
Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker 32
Moral effects of the late Irish Revival—Extract from a Speech delivered at Belfast 32, 33
Results of the revival in Wales—Extract from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. Venn . 33, 34
Like effects of the Tinnevelly Revival—Extract from Letters of the Rev. Messrs. Clark and Gritton 34, 35
General reflections on the subject . . . . . 34—38

LIFE OF THE REV. T. G. RAGLAND.

Annual Commemoration-day at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—Inauguration of the Portrait of Ragland 49
Extracts from the sermon of the Rev. T. T. Perowne—Reflections on Mr. Ragland's Christian character 49, 50

LETTERS FROM TINNEVELLY.

Introductory remarks 114, 115
Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker, Jan. 23, 1861 . . . . . 115—118

CONTENTS.

Page

Translation of a Letter of the Rev. P. Simeon, Dec. 31, 1860 . . . . . 118—120
Letter of the Rev. R. R. Meadows, Sivagasi, Jan. 22, 1861 . . . . . 120—124
Letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Jan. 20, 1861 124

CUSTOMS OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

Customs at Mohammedan Births, Marriages, and Deaths . . . . . 142—144
Ditto at periodical Festivals—The Mohurram—The Sheeas and the Soonees—The Bukra Eed—Legend of Ishmael and Abraham—The Ramazan . . . 144—146

*** *Vide* also the articles "English Movements in Central Asia," and "Commercial Intercourse between India and Central Asia," under "Miscellaneous."

Ceylon.

COLOMBO, AND THE REV. HENRY WHITLEY

Bereaved state of the Ceylon Mission 51
Situation of the Mission Church—Slave Island and its inhabitants . . . 52
Object of the Mission Church—Method of evangelizing 52
Extracts from the Report of the Rev. H. Whitley . . . . . 52—55
Obituary of Mr. Whitley—Early Life—Curacy at Sapcote, and departure for Ceylon 55, 56
Letter of the Rev. C. C. Fenn, communicating the particulars of Mr. Whitley's death 56, 57
Address of sympathy to the widow—Remarks by a member of the Ceylon congregation 57, 58
Appeal for a successor to fill the vacant post 58

The Mauritius.

THE MAURITIUS.

Importance of Central localities being selected as Mission stations . . . 223
The Mauritius—Its appearance from the sea—Harbour of Port Louis . . . 223, 224
Races in the Island — Cosmopolitan population of Port Louis—Scenery of the interior—The Pouce Mountain . . . . . 224—226
Division of Mauritius into districts—Its past history—Present number of inhabitants 226
General population (white and coloured)—Former slavery—The "Code Noir" . 226, 227
Influence of Romanism over the coloured population—Spread of that religion—Endowed Roman bishop and staff of priests 227, 228
Education—Government school system—Lady Mico's charity—Grants-in-aid—Note by the Superintendent of Government schools 228, 229
Compulsory education not extended to Indian population—Remark by the Superintendent—Despatch of the Governor respecting the education at the Orphan Asylum . . . . . 229—231
The Royal College—Remarks by the Governor—The element needed . . . 231, 232
Indian or Coolie population—System of immigration—Apathy of Indians in Mauritius to their old religion—Festival of the Yamseh . . . . . 232—234
Accessibility of Indians to Missionary operations—Need of teachers . . . 234
Occupation of Mauritius as a station of the Church Missionary Society—Progress of the work—Extracts from journals of the Rev. S. Hobbs and Rev. P. Ansorgé—Remarks . . . . . 235—237
The island a dépôt for captured slavers—Landing of East Africans—Letter of the Bishop of Mauritius, May 4, 1861 237

CONTENTS.

China.

THE AFFAIRS OF CHINA.

	Page
General glance at the state of Chinese affairs since the war—Treatment of Europeans—Decrease in the average value of importations—The Tae-pings	73, 74

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN CHEKIANG.

The treaty of Pekin—Opportunities of Missionary effort	106
Narrative of a journey to Hang-chow, by the Rev. T. S. Fleming, Church Missionary	107
Boat accommodation—Gale on the river—Chinese "Pôs," or Sluices	107, 108
Effects of the Rebel Movement—Scene at Meng-kô-yin—Natural phenomenon—The Lo-ho-t'ah pagoda—Mr. Burdon's account	100—111
Arrival at Hang-chow—Appearance of the place—Interview with the authorities—Departure	111, 112
Yü-yau, near Ningpo—Its desirableness as a Missionary Station—A Missionary's appeal for men—January Prayer Meeting at Ningpo	112, 113
The New Treaty between China and England—Gratuitous clause—Remarks	113, 114

THE LORD'S DEALINGS WITH THE NATIONS.

Opening remarks—Difficulties in the way of Missionary work	125, 126
Interferences of Providence—The opening of China to the Gospel—The surrender of Pekin	126
Sufferings of British prisoners at the hands of the Mandarins—Destruction of the Summer Palace	126, 127
The Civil War in the Yoruba country—Peril of Abbeokuta	127, 128
The Famine in India—State of Delhi in distress: Extract from the "Mofussilite"	128—130
Opportune moment for Christian revenge—Importance of the crisis	130, 131
The Chinese—their indifference and superstition—Apathy to the Gospel exemplified—Native Converts at Ningpo	131, 132
Events at Nankin, Hang-chow, and Soo-chow—Misery of the poor of those cities,	133, 134
Missionary Tours from Shanghae—China's need of the Great Specific	135

NANKIN AND ITS RULERS.

Recent visit of Missionaries to Nankin—Desolation of the country—Destruction of idols	188, 189
Interviews with the Kan Wang—Etiquette at his court—Interest of the people	190, 191
Public preaching in the city—Official proclamation—New-year's day—Females among the Tae-pings	192, 193

*** *Vide* also the articles "Our Position and Duties," "The Tung-hae Peen," "Russia and Central Asia," and "English Movements in Central Asia," under "Miscellaneous."

New Zealand.

MAORI NEW ZEALAND.

Government regulations for conveying free grants of land to New-Zealand emigrants—Its inability to keep the promise	10, 11
Difficulties in the way of European acquisition of native land—The forty-acre system—Extract from the "Southern Cross" newspaper	11—13
Maori New Zealand—Meaning of the term—Native law regarding land tenure—Tribal right	13, 14
Tract of country inhabited by the Aborigines	14

CONTENTS.

	Page
Description of the above—Its hills and valleys, rivers and lakes—The volcanic region—Extract from Taylor's New Zealand	14—17
East Coast Districts—General remarks on the native territory	17
Ignorance respecting the true position of the native—Extract from an Australian newspaper—The subject examined	18
Native population—Is it decreasing?	18—20
Chart of the progress of civilization in New Zealand—Remarks	20, 21
What Christianity has done for the country—Extracts from letter of Rev. R. Burrows	21, 22
Intellectual and industrious action—Trade—Money circulated, &c.	23
Has the native too much land for himself?—Testimony of the Bishop and Archdeacon Kissling	24

NEW ZEALAND.

Treaty of peace with the tribe of Ngatiawa at Te Aréi	210, 211
Error of the English party in proclaiming war—The subject examined	211, 212
Cause of the war—Sale of the Waitara land—Speech of Mr. Forsaith	212, 213
Action of Governor Browne—Conduct of William King—Executive Council at Auckland, Jan. 25, 1860	213, 214
Governor's proclamation and native translation—Correspondence of Lieut.-Col. Murray with William King—Remarks	214—216
Crisis of Affairs—Adjudication—Letter of Mr. G. Clarke—Directions of the Governor	216, 217
Letter of the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu—Letter of the Waikanae claimants—Mr. M'Lean's evidence	217—219
Worthlessness of the deed conveying the Waitara land to the English—Debate in the House of Representatives—Memorandum of the Governor	219, 220
Letter of William King to the Governor—The Governor's terms for peace	221, 222
Article from the "New-Zealand Spectator" of April 17	222

*** *Vide* also the article "Light in the Pacific," under "Miscellaneous."

North-West America.

THE RED-RIVER SETTLEMENT VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE CANADAS AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

The co-operation of Providence with human efforts for the spread of the Gospel traced	99
Case of the Red-River Colony, hitherto isolated in position, becoming the connecting link between Canada and British Columbia	99, 100
Russian Annexation in Eastern Asia—Course of the River Amoor	100
Impracticability of a railway route being carried east and west through the United States	100, 101
Physical value of the British territory north of the United States—Future destiny of the Red River Colony	101, 102
The Red River and Assiniboine Exploring Expedition of 1857-58—Extracts from the published narrative	102
Route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg—The Ka-ka-beka Falls—Division of the Expedition at Fort Frances	102
Detention of the party by Indians at the Lake of the Woods—Parley with the Chief—His refusal to allow the travellers a passage	102, 103
Return of the party into the old route—Course of the Winnipeg—Arrival at Islington, the station of the Rev. R. M'Donald	103, 104
The River below Islington—The Silver Falls—Entrance into Red River—Description of its course, &c.	104
Ascent of the River from Lake Winnipeg—The Indian Settlement—Grand Rapids—St. Paul's—St. John's—Fort Garry	105
Description of the large prairie west of Red River	106

CONTENTS.

Page

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE ASSINIBOINE AND SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICTS, RED RIVER.

State of religion at Red River, and condition of the population—The half-breeds: their habits and mode of life 136, 137
Religious classification of the population—Romish action in the Colony . . 137
Church Missionary Stations—Accounts of the Indian Settlement, Portage la Prairie, Fairford, Cumberland, Nepowewin, and Qu'appelle 138, 139
The Plain Crees—The mode of entrapping the buffalo—"The Fox," Chief of the Tribe 140
Superstitions of the Crees—Fairies—Dreams, &c. 140, 141
Need of increased effort for the spiritual benefit of the Indians 141, 142

Home.

VALEDICTORY INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSIONARIES.

Instructions of the Committee delivered June 21st to Missionaries proceeding to India, China, and Ceylon . . . . . 183—188

LIBERALITY OF THE JEWS IN RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

The building of the Temple—David's zeal for the cause—Magnificence of his contributions—Gifts of the people . . . . . 193—196
The Spiritual Church the antitype of the Jewish Temple—Duties of Christians in the present day to bring their choicest gifts to the erection of this temple . 196—19

INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE IN INDIA—THE RIGHT WAY OF DOING IT.

Attacks of the "Colonial Church Chronicle"—Charge reiterated by it against the Church Missionary Society 271
Past Services of the Society in the cause of the Church of England—Its claim to be heard on its own behalf 271, 272
The Question re-examined—Obligations of the Gospel on Native Churches . . 272
India to be Evangelized thoroughly, not by European but by Native Missionary effort 273, 274
Danger of infusing a European element into the Native Indian Churches—Case of the Church of Ireland, and failure of the establishment of Irish Protestantism 274—276
Position of Native Pastors under English Bishops—Probable results of English Bishoprics being multiplied in India 276, 277
Concluding Remarks 277, 278

Miscellaneous.

OUR POSITION AND DUTIES.

The great specific needed by man—Reflections for the commencement of a new year 1, 2
A glance at the present state of kingdoms—Aspects of Popery—Inauguration of a statue of the Virgin Mary in France—Accident on the occasion 2
The House of Hapsburg and its prospects 3
Mohammedanism—State of Turkey—Minutes of Annual Missionary Conference—Smyrna, Nov. 5, 1860. . . . . 3, 4
China—The new treaty—Will the Emperor observe it? 4, 5
Russian aggressions on the north-east of Asia, in the regions of the Amoor—Her possessions in the south-east 5, 6
Projected overland route between India and China—Papers read at the Royal Geographical Society 6, 7
Results attained by evangelization—Analogy between its mode of work and that of the coral insect 7, 8
System of Missions—The native churches a centre of radiating action . . . 9

CONTENTS.

Page

LIGHT IN THE PACIFIC.

The islands of the Pacific—Rarotonga 38
Implantation, growth, and expansion of Christianity among the Pacific Islands . 39, 40
Islands where Missionary work is incipient—The Paumotu and Marquesas groups . 40
Map of New Hebrides, &c. 41
New Caledonia—Its seizure by the French 41
Missionary voyages by the Bishop of New Zealand—the Loyalty and New Hebrides Islands 41
Eromanga—Martyrdom of John Williams—Christian revenge of the Rarotongans—Visit of Bishop Selwyn to Eromanga 41, 42
Narrative of a voyage to Loyalty and Banks's Islands by the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, New Zealand Missionary 42
Three classes of Islands—Method on first landing 43
Departure from New Zealand—Arrival and entertainment at Ngeone—Lifu and Toka—Conversion of the chief 43, 44
Departure for Mae—Christian services there—The Aurora Isles—Mara Lava 44, 45
Arrival at Banks's Islands—Formation of a Mission station, and commencement of building at Amota 45, 46
Return voyage—The party land at Eromanga—Account of Williams's murder 46, 47
Shipwreck of the vessel in Ngunguru Bay, New Zealand—A night of terror . 47, 48
Happy deliverance from death—The hand of Providence 48, 49

THE TUNG-HAE PEEN, OR EASTERN SEA-SHORE PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

Treaty between China and Russia in November 1860—Cession of land to the latter Power 167
The Amoor and it course—Irkutsk—Nertchinsk—Junction of the Argoun . . 167, 168
Albazin, a fortress—Sketch of its history—Bend of the river—Beauty of the scenery—Ai-goon 168, 169
The Soungaria—The Shih-hih-teh Mountains—The Ossouri—New frontier line . 169, 170
Terms of the Russian and Chinese Treaty—Direction of the new frontier line—Nicholaiofsk at the mouth of the Amoor 170, 171
Conjectures as to the ultimate use Russia may make of her new acquisitions . 171

THE REGIONS OF MANCHOURIA.

Perouse's Visit to the Tartar Coast—Features of the country, &c., described by him 173
Visit of H. M. S. "Barracouta" in 1854-56—Tronson's account of the people—Traces of Russian occupation 174
Founding of Kopal by the Russians—Severity of the climate 175
The "Barracouta" at Bullock Bay—Description of a Tartar house—Port Seymour—Victoria Bay 176, 177
Inhabitants of the interior—The Ghiliacks, the Goldi, Tongouz and Mangoors—Shamanism—Romish Missionary efforts 177, 178
Funeral customs—Ceremonies at the death of Sultan Darma Syrym—Traffic—Fairs . . . . . 178—180
Division of Manchouria—Need for Protestant Missionary effort—Extract from the Letter of an American Missionary . . . . . 188—182
The Gulf of Liautung and Newchwang—Extract from the "North China Herald" 182, 183

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.

Resemblance between Russia and England in their relations to Asia . . . 199
Starting-points of the Great Caravan Routes—Sand Pillars—Semipalatinsk—Merchants there . . . . . 199—201
Routes from Semipalatinsk—The Mirage—Chinese town of Tchoubachak . . 201, 202
Route by Ayagus—Scenery—Graves of Genii—Remains of Canals—Traces of former inhabitants, Tumuli, Stone circles, &c. . . . . 202—204
The Alatau Chain of Mountains—Hardships endured by Russians . . . 204, 205
Extent of the Russian frontier—Russian annexations in Asia—The Kirghis . 206
Khiva and Persia the present objects of Russian ambition 207
Route from Kashgar to Yarkand—Town of Mai-ma-tchin—Dwellings of the Merchants—Custom-house at Troitska . . . . . 207—209
Free trade established between Russia and China—Extract from "the London and China Telegraph" 209, 210

CONTENTS.

Page

ENGLISH MOVEMENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

Progress of Russian Annexation in Central Asia—Need for England to be on the alert 238
New doors open in China—New Chang—Commencement of a Mission at Tien-tsin 238, 239
Exploratory trip from Canton to Hankow, performed in April last—Establishment of a Consulate at Hankow 239, 240
The Yang-tze-yiang, the great artery of China—Description of its course—Prospects of its becoming the highway to Central Asia 240, 241
Extract from speech delivered before the British Association at Manchester—The opium question—Remarks 241, 242
Expedition overland from China to Lhassa—The river above Hankow—Failure of the attempt (*Note*) 243, 244
Important position of Pegu—Practicability of a route to Thibet through Nepaul—Remarks by Mr. J. D. Hooker—Extract from the "Friend of India," May 11, 1861 . . . . . 244—246
English survey of Western Thibet and Cashmere by Captains Elliott and Montgomerie 246

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA, VIEWED IN ITS BEARING ON MISSIONARY EFFORT.

Hindrances to the spread of the Gospel—Commerce an auxiliary in meeting them 247
Physical dissimilarity of India and England—Productions of either suitable to the other—India's fecundity 248, 249
The high countries of Central Asia, and their supplies—Animal productions of Thibet 249, 250
The Inter-Himalayan countries—Kumaon—the Bhótiya, or border districts, described—Commerce between the tribes . . . . . 250—252
Kunawur, its position, inhabitants, &c.—Beauty of its valley scenery—Trade of Ladak 252, 253
Events tending to the removal of obstacles—Formation of roads—Trigonometrical survey 253
Proposed expedition through Burmah to the Chinese province of Yunnan—Exploratory expeditions from Simla to Ladak . . . . . 253—255
Trade of Bengal for the last year—Demand for British imports—Need of the genuine article 255, 256
Efforts of India to throw out strength—Railways—Speech of Mr. Turnbull . . 256
Speech of Lord Canning at the opening of the East-India Railway to Rajmahal—Remarks 257

JAPAN.

The Seclusion of Japan a modern policy—Romish Intercourse with the country—Imperial edict 159, 160
Attempts to re-open the country to foreigners—American Treaty 160, 161
The Elgin Treaty—Oliphant's description of the physical aspect of the country . 161
Visit of the Bishop of Victoria to Japan—His description of the city of Nagasaki . 161—163
His description of a tour in the suburbs—The village of Tokitz 163, 164
The Bay of Yeddo—Description of Simoda 164, 165
Description of Kanagawa—Vegetation—Farm-houses—The Bishop at Kanagawa . 166, 167
Attack on the British residence, Yeddo, July 5th 268
Circulation of Bibles in Japan—Speech of the Bishop of Victoria—Reply of the Rev. J. Liggins 268, 269
Letter of the Rev. J. Liggins—Laws relative to the profession of Christianity in Japan—Remarks 269, 270

JAPAN AND ITS PEOPLE.

European discovery of Japan—Early rumours—Arrival of the Jesuits, and their expulsion 288, 289
Arrival of the American Squadron—Commercial Treaty—Action of Lord Elgin . 289, 290
Outward aspect of Japanese society—The true estimate—Heyleyn's account of Japan, A.D. 1664 . . . . . 290, 291
The Mountain Fusi-yama—Sketch of Yeddo—Area of the city—Impressions of the Bishop of Victoria—Houses of the people 291, 292
The People—Position of the women—Dress of the gentlemen—Mode of dressing the hair, &c. 292, 293

CONTENTS.

Page

Moral Standard of the People—Severity of the Laws—Drunkenness—Mendicity, &c. 293, 294
Laws enforcing Suicide—Dualism of the Japanese 294

Illustrations.

(Engraved by Johnston.)

Fortified Pa, Taranaki, New Zealand 1
First Visit of Missionaries to a South-Sea Island 25
Mission Church, Galle Face, Colombo 51
Group of Church Missionary Native Agents at Benares. *From a Photograph* . 75
Fort Garry, Red River 99
"The Fox," Chief of the Plain Crees 125
Bay of Simoda, Japan 149
Fort Seymour, Russian Tartary 173
New Plymouth, New Zealand 199
Hindu Coolies in the Mauritius 223
Entrance to the Bolan Pass from Dadur 247
Residence of the British Embassy, Yeddo 271

Map.

The New Hebrides, &c. 41

Recent Intelligence.

Supplement to January Number—News from the Niger.
Female Education among the Parsees.
Report of Indigo Commissioners in Bengal.
Death of Rev. H. Whitley, Ceylon.
Letter from Rev. P. Ansorgé, Mauritius.
Affairs in New Zealand.
February—Bible in Indian Government Schools.
Affairs in New Zealand,
Appeal for Prayer.
March—New premises in Salisbury Square—Ceremony at laying the Foundation-stone.
Letter from Rev. J. Long, Calcutta.
Death of Rev. P. Daniel, Tinnevelly.
Departure, return home, and decease of Missionaries.
April—Letter from Rev. H. Townsend, Abbeokuta.
Minute on the Indigo Question.
Letter of Rev. S. Hobbs, Ceylon.
Affairs in New Zealand.
May—North-West Provinces—Extract from the "Homeward Mail."
Death of the Bishop of Madras.
Parcels for North-West America.
Dismissal, departure, and return home of Missionaries.
June—Sixty-second Anniversary of the Society—Annual Sermon and Meetings, Movers of Resolutions, Committee, Finances, and Conclusion of Report.
Affairs in New Zealand.
Departure and return home of Missionaries.
July—Rev. J. T. Wolters' visit to Syra, Greece.
North-West Provinces—The famine and the Secundra Orphanage.
Affairs in New Zealand.
Dismissal, return home, and decease of Missionaries.
August—Letters of Rev. F. E. Schneider, Agra.
Dismissal, return home, and departure of Missionaries.
September—Treaty with the King of Porto Novo.
Affairs in New Zealand.
October—Affairs in New Zealand.
November—Death of Are and Ogubonna.
Niger Mission—Letter of Rev. J. A. Maser and Dr. Baikie.
Affairs in New Zealand.
December—Tinnevelly—Letter of Rev. S. Hobbs.
Niger Mission—Letter of Rev. S. Crowther.
Decease of Missionaries—Appeal for Prayer.

FORTIFIED PA, TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND.

Church Missionary Intelligencer.

OUR POSITION AND DUTIES.

THERE is one specific which man needs, and, with great cost, it has been provided for him. The wise of this world may despise it, yet nothing else can reach and effectually deal with the miseries of humanity. That great panacea is the Gospel. The nations of the earth are afflicted with manifold sufferings; "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" nor have they been left unnoticed by Him who says, "when the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them; I the God of Israel, will not forsake them. I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys." It shall be so: "I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert." In the most unlikely places strange movements shall take place. The tribes of man have long, and with intensity, expended themselves on vain idolatries, of which they may with truth say, "they have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks they pass away; which are blackish by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid: what time they wax warm, they vanish: when it is hot they are consumed out of their place. The paths of their way are turned aside: they go to nothing, and perish. The troops of Tema looked; the companies of Sheba waited for them. They were confounded because they had hoped: they came thither and were ashamed." But there are amongst them deep yearnings and aspirations after an unknown something. God is teaching the nations the vanity of idols and the need of something better, and is thus preparing the way for the wide and more efficient preaching of Him who is even *now* the desirable object for all nations; for, individually and collectively, man can have no rest except in submission to his yoke; and who shall yet become the desired object of all nations, when "all kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall serve Him."

They who thus regard the Gospel of Christ as the true ameliorative, and who, under the force of such convictions, labour for its advancement, are despised by the world as weak, although well-meaning enthusiasts. Yet we believe that in this matter we are fellow-workers with God; and that all other undertakings on which man expends himself, are only valuable just so far as they can be taken up, and, in the providence of God, wrought into the furtherance of this great object. And thus it is, that many who deride and even oppose us, are unintentionally working out the same great problem. The decisions of statesmen, the march of armies, the dismemberment of nations, the researches of travellers, the exploration of new countries, the aspirations of commerce, and the adaptation of scientific discoveries and inventions to practical purposes, are all made by an overruling hand to work in the same direction. And thus many who have no other object in view than their own interest and gratification, and who utterly repudiate the idea of identifying themselves with any thing so vain and puerile as Missionary effort, are, nevertheless, rendering valuable contributions to this object, and furthering thus the divine purposes, although "they know not the thoughts of the Lord, neither understand his counsel."

It is well, at the commencement of the new year, that they who, as believers in the revelation of God, and who, guided by its predictions, and encouraged by its promises, desire with an increasing prayerfulness and energy, to consecrate themselves to God's work and service, should consider what the position is which they occupy, and what the aspect of the world around them. "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"—such should be our inquiry. And the answer is still the same as it was in the olden time—"The morning cometh, and also the night." The day shall at length break, and He shall rise to his appointed ascendancy, who shall be "as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain." Yet before that day arrives, a deep night of affliction may overspread the earth. The more reason there is to work while yet there be opportunity, and whatever our hand findeth to do, to do it with all our might. This we may be assured of, that events are approaching of portentous magnitude, and that

to professing churches and individuals they will be night or day, according to the condition in which we are found, of unprofitableness, or holy preparedness and active service. "Blessed is that servant whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Then assuredly the times are not such as to admit of ease and self-indulgence, and efforts which assume to be for God, but which, from their uncertain and intermitted character, appear to be like those of one who "beateth the air." The Lord is at work. His providence is moving the earth. "I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form, and void; and the heavens and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly." His Spirit is at work, agitating human hearts with wonderful convictions, and bringing to repentance men who have long held his truth in iniquity. When God is working, it is time for us to work. His example may well shame us out of our listlessness, and move us to a renewed consecration of ourselves and our substance, to that which is the cause of true philanthropy, the conversion of sinners to the faith of Christ.

Let us look abroad upon the earth, and observe what is going forward. Kingdoms and dynasties which have long obstructed the Gospel, are marvellously passing away: "He toucheth the hills, and they smoke." The papacy is being despoiled of its temporalities; the Hildebrands and Gregorys of more palmy days have degenerated into the Pio Nono of our day. Mailed warriors have placed themselves on the steps of the papal throne, and are prepared for something more decided than words, if they avail not to detrude the old man from the hierarchal throne. He pronounced *ex cathedra* the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary—that phantom of the Romish church, which has no realization in any living existence; for between the disembodied spirit of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the imaginary queen of heaven, who "with the authority of a mother commands her son," there is no resemblance. Why, then, does not the deified one appear to the help of her votaries? No doubt her aid is often invoked; and, if no one else does, at least the superstitious pontiff himself, with bended knee and oft-repeated aves, craves her interference. There is no time to be lost, or soon the sovereign priest will be divested of his sovereignty, and the mitred cap be denuded of the crown. Redouble your outcries, ye priests of the mysteries of the papacy; call upon the names of your gods: Alas! it is as of old: "there is neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded." The current of events rebukes the idolatry; and she, in whose adulation Rome has so debased itself, refuses on critical emergencies to put forth that miraculous power, which, if we are to believe her priests, is often exercised in matters of no moment. The position of the Roman church in relation to the Virgin was scenographed, on a recent occasion at Vienne, in the department of the Isère, during the ceremony of the inauguration and benediction of a statue of the goddess. "A platform was erected about twenty feet from the ground, and the Bishops of Grenoble and of Viviers, the Archbishop of Turin, several of the clergy, the Marquis de Castellane, and the municipal authorities, took their places upon it; several others, doubting the solidity of the erection, declined to ascend. The Bishop of Grenoble was proceeding with the ceremony of benediction, when a frightful cracking was heard, and the whole came to the ground with an awful noise, which was increased by the cries of the terrified multitude that surrounded the place. The planks and timbers were immediately removed, and the unfortunate persons who were on the platform raised from the ground. Almost every one was more or less injured, their flesh torn by the nails, and their limbs smashed or terribly bruised. One ecclesiastic had both legs broken, and the bones protruding through the flesh; another had a compound fracture of the wrist; the Maire of Vienne was seriously injured; the Bishop of Viviers had a fractured leg; the Bishop of Valence was comparatively fortunate in escaping with considerable external injury to his legs, and the Marquis de Castellane had one of his knees severely injured by falling on the blade of his sword. The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons was to have been present at the ceremony, but, fortunately for himself, was prevented attending. It is remarked that the Archbishop of Turin had a similar mishap three years since at Montluel when he and Bishop Chalandon fell to the ground, but happily without any serious consequences."* We condole with the sufferers, and sincerely wish them a speedy recovery from their injuries. But we wish it would open their eyes to the sinfulness of such idolatry, and persuade them that it is safer to be absent from, than present at, such rites and ceremonies. For this they may be assured of, that they who persevere in standing upon the platform of this idolatry will meet with a worse catastrophe.

The papacy is in decadence: with its loss

* Daily Paper, Dec. 13, 1860.

of power, a door is opened for the entrance of the Gospel, and opportunity of access is afforded to twenty-four millions of Italians, to whom Christ may be preached as the one name given to man whereby he may be saved. God's book, no longer arrested on the frontier, like a plague-stricken garment, is permitted free course. May that truth of uncorrupted Christianity, which alone can make a nation free, be received and welcomed amongst them! On this depends the future of Italy.

Nor is it only the temporalities of the papacy, but the throne of the Hapsburgs is in jeopardy. The provinces and kingdoms of which it is composed never had any union or sympathy with each other. The monarchy was the alone bond which held them in combination; and now that this has lost its prestige, and has become feeble, the empire is threatened with dissolution. The various nationalities refuse any longer to wear the fetters of despotism, and clamour fiercely for the restitution of long-lost rights and privileges. Hungary is ripe for open insurrection; the once loyal Tyrol repudiates the charter and constitution recently conferred upon it. Croatia, Dalmatia, Transylvania, Bohemia, and the Volvodina, demand a separate administration and constitution. The sin of Austria's rulers finds them out. The bitter oppression of their Protestant subjects which past times have witnessed; the persecution of scriptural truth, and of all who confessed it, reacts upon their present representative. Instead of profiting by past experiences, Francis Joseph, by his memorable concordat, linked himself more closely with the papacy, and participates in its paralysis and approaching downfall.

The eastern antichrist, Mohammedanism, is in a like ruinous condition; and Turkey, which has been the rod of its power, must either disembarass itself of the blighting influence of this false religion, or cease to be a nation. Mohammedanism, like the papacy, is being shorn of its temporalities.

We have before us the minutes of a Conference held at Smyrna, by the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. A perusal of them will at once convey to our readers the convictions of experienced men upon the spot, who are daily observant of the alterations which are going on around them, as to the condition of the once great Ottoman empire—

Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Turkish Mission of the Church Missionary Society, held at the Mission House in Boujah, near Smyrna, November 5th, 1860.

1. The first subject discussed was, the best ways and means of making known the truth to the Mohammedans. All agreed that public or street preaching was not yet practicable, and, if attempted, would almost with certainty lead to such consequences as might endanger the work in general, and hinder its quiet progress.

"As yet, and probably for some time to come, the work must be confined to friendly intercourse with the Turks; the distribution of the Scriptures and religious books and tracts; divine service in Turkish whenever a few regular attendants can be secured; visits to the cafés and to the shops in the baazars of friendly Turks; the translation and preparation of suitable books; and travelling among them. The careful and zealous use of these means, as far as knowledge of the language, the strength of the stations, and other circumstances, will allow of it, seems for the present the only way in which the work can be carried on.

"2. Encouragements and prospects of the work among the Turks.

"No earnest spirit of inquiry is observable among the Turks, either at Constantinople or in Smyrna. Though a few converts have been the fruit of the late movement at Constantinople, connected with the labours of the American brethren among the Turks, yet the movement has not realized the expectations that have been based upon it, and it seems now to have almost entirely subsided.

"No doubt some came forward with improper motives, and, finding that such ends could not be obtained, they withdrew; and others may have been induced to draw back in consequence of the late excited state of the land. But, on the other hand, there is the fact of the Turkish converts, as well as the Turkish native assistants, both in our own and the American Mission, having met with no hindrance or persecution, though well known to the authorities and the public.

"The Turkish services also, commenced at Bebek by the American Missionaries, and by Mr. Wolters at Smyrna, have met with no obstruction on the part of the Government: the public sale of the Turkish Scriptures continues, although the purchases are just now not so numerous as formerly. To all this is to be added the present state of the Turkish empire, both in a political as well as in a religious point of view.

"The Turkish empire, as a Mussulman power, has ceased to exist; and there remains for Turkey no other alternative but either a rapid assimilation to European political and social forms and principles, or a dissolution

and division among the European powers. The well-informed Turks are aware of this position, and the other classes also are more and more opening their eyes to this altered situation of their empire. This greatly affects, also, their religious feelings and views, and loosens the old opinions they have had of the superiority of their power and of their religion, and this the more so, the closer Mohammedanism, political ascendancy, and religious faith are connected. Now, in this state of things lies for the Missionary much of hope and of encouragement. It is clear that God in his wonderful providence is preparing and opening up the way for the entrance of his Gospel into these long closed-up lands. The Conference, therefore, consider that we have every reason to be of good cheer, and to prepare and get ready for the work the Lord is opening before us.

"3. The Conference record their gratitude to God in having enabled Messrs. Wolters and Pfander to go on with their translational labours. The latter has completed the 'Miftah-ul Asrar,' and the 'Mizan ul Haqq,' and the former has finished the 'Life of Christ,' and has made a beginning with the translation into Turkish of Dr. Barth's Bible History. He has also translated the following tracts—(1.) a Summary of the Bible; (2.) 'Immanuel, or Scripture views of Christ;' (3.) 'Do you want a Friend?' (4.) 'The Two Ends and the Two Ways; (5.) the World and the Soul;' (6.) 'the Words of Jesus;' (7.) 'Homily against the fear of Death; (8.) The Christian's Journey to the City which is to come.' These, and 'The Life of Christ,' only await their final revision in order to be ready for the press.

"The Conference would add, that Christian books and tracts in Turkish are much wanted, and that they therefore consider the translation of books and tracts adapted to the wants of the Mohammedans as a most important part of the work.

"4. Study of the Arabic language.

"Arabic words being largely, almost unlimitedly, used in Turkish, a correct knowledge of the latter is impossible, without at least some knowledge of the former: besides this, the Korán existing only in Arabic, and almost all theological works studied by the Turks being Arabic, the Conference consider a knowledge of Arabic of great importance for a Missionary labouring among the Turks. They would therefore record, that in their opinion it is highly desirable that every Missionary and native assistant should make himself as much master of the Arabic language as his abilities and opportunities will allow.

"5. The Conference feel greatly thankful for the addition the Parent Committee has made to the Mission in sending Mr. Wolters, junior, to Smyrna, and Mr. Weakley to Constantinople. But they are obliged to add that this augmentation, however seasonable, does not yet meet all the immediate wants of the Mission. The Constantinople station should be strengthened as soon as possible with an additional Missionary, who ought to be a University man of superior linguistic talents, and a good English speaker and preacher, besides being truly devoted to the work. Exclusive of the Turkish, a knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and French is wanted. And as the Mission advances, it is desirable, or rather necessary, that the Mission should also occupy its proper position and standing among the English community there. Monthly and annual Missionary meetings for the Society should be held, and a proper part in other public religious meetings be taken. Now, for all this the proper man is wanted, and the Conference would press it upon the Committee not to lose sight of this want, and to fill it up as soon as they can, when God in his providence supplies them with a labourer for such work."

On the far eastern shore of the great Asiatic continent other dynastic changes are in progress. By despatches received by way of Petersburg, the English public has just been informed that the Chinese, having accepted the terms of the Shanghae ultimatum, the allies had concluded with them a treaty of peace; Pekin had been evacuated, and the troops were on their march back to Tientsin; indemnities were to be paid out of the Chinese treasury; and Christianity and its counterfeit are to have alike free access to those millions of heathen—the one to win souls for Christ, the other to obtain, by whatever means, proselytes for Rome, and, by new conquests in Asia, indemnify itself for the losses it is sustaining in the continent of Europe; while, to inaugurate the new prospects thus opening to the mischievous energy of Romish Missions, a *Te Deum* and *Domine Salvum* were to be sung in the cathedral of Pekin, after the replacing of the cross on the summit.

We are to consider, therefore, that the fugitive emperor, brought back from the wilds of Tartary, is reinstated in the imperial palace of Pekin. Hien-hung once more occupies his ancestral throne; yet to us it seems as though this dynasty had received its death blow. We have completely broken down its prestige, and have left behind us a breach so wide that the Tae-pings, unless they prove more wanting to themselves than they have

hitherto shown themselves to be, will not be slow in attempting to enter in. With an exhausted treasury, a discouraged army, and a disaffected population, how shall the Tartar defend himself against a new invasion fron the south? Perhaps before our ships shall have reached Hong Kong, he shall have fled again, deep into the recesses of Mongolia. Should it be so we shall have no lament to utter at the obsequies of the Tartar dynasty. Under its blighting influence the entire nation has suffered; places of greatest responsibility have been sold to the highest bidder; a venal magistracy has fleeced the people that they might enrich themselves; and Europeans have been placed in the most disadvantageous of positions; for while the worthless portion of them have had the fullest opportunity to demoralize the Chinese, they who desired to benefit that people, by introducing amongst them the truth and saving power of Christianity, have been stolidly and pertinaciously interfered with and obstructed. It is true a new treaty has been obtained, embodying, no doubt, stipulations of a very advantageous character. But this we feel assured of, that from the Tartar court no fidelity to treaties can be expected. So long as the presence of an imposing European force, with their Armstrong guns and other appliances of war, places the emperor under restraint, so long will he be subservient; but with the wind that fills the sails of the last ship that leaves the Yellow Sea, treaty engagements, if he finds it practicable so to do. will be flung away, the reverses of the war will be forgotten, and the emperor and his mandarins will relapse into their wonted imperturbability and forgetfulness of engagements. After the treacherous and cruel murder of our officers and other English gentlemen, on a recent occasion, we feel that whatever supervenes, we can have no worse than the Manchoo dynasty, and that almost any change must be for the better.

All the dynasties to which we have referred, and on which the stroke of political paralysis seems to have so remarkably fallen, have been obstructive to God's truth, and antagonistic to the progress of his kingdom. The sentence appears to have gone forth against them, and they are being moved away, that the divine message may have unimpeded circulation, and the Gospel be preached for a testimony to all nations.

But again, the progress of geographical discovery is remarkably working in the same direction. The mysterious depths of the great Asiatic continent are being laid open. Atkinson has penetrated the regions of the Amoor, and from his researches, as well as from other quarters, we are made aware of the southernward progress of the Russian empire, and the stealthy, yet important, inroads that it is making on the Chinese empire and the regions of Central Asia. On the banks of the Angara, not far from its embouchure into Lake Baikal, stands Irkoutsk, the capital of oriental Siberia, a vast territory, the importance of which has been amazingly increased by the addition of regions of which the great river Amoor constitutes the southern frontier. It contains a population of 20,000, and the number of its buildings has increased considerably of late years. Forty miles below the city the river enters the great lake, a mighty stream, more than a mile in width, and, as it rolls down a steep incline, forming a rapid nearly four miles in length. The lake itself spreads out like a sea, dashing its waves against the rocky shores, which, in some parts, rise in precipices 800 and 900 feet, and in one place to the elevation of 1200 feet. On its waters a steamer plies; the engines, boilers, and all the machinery having been transported from St. Petersburg overland, a distance of 4000 miles. Amidst the mountains to the south-east of Lake Baikal are to be found the sources of the head waters of the Amoor; the Keroulun, its longest affluent, and the Onon, which, with the Ingoda, forms the Shilka. The Keroulun, which subsequently becomes the Argoun, and the Shilka, after a course, the former of 1000 miles, and the latter 750, have their confluence at Strelkoi Karaoul, lat. 53° 19′ 45″ N., and long. 121° 50′ 7″ E., and together form the Amoor. From 1689 to 1854 this was the most easterly point of the Russian empire in the regions of the Amoor. It was not from the want of persevering effort on the part of the Russians that their further acquisitions were so long delayed. Nothing can surpass the indomitable energy of this people in acquiring territory and extending the limits of their empire. In a nobler cause, which knows no selfish interests, they present to us an example which we would do well to imitate. Dangers, privations, nay, even the sacrifice of life, all are without hesitation risked, if so be their grand object may be forwarded. The results are obvious. In 1854 the whole country between the Amoor and the Russian frontier to the north of the Yablonoi range was transferred from China to the grasp of Russia, and "she has now possession of the great watercourse, and the only one through which access from the sea to the vast plains and mountain districts of Central Asia can be obtained."

We are now becoming acquainted with the

caravan and Cossack routes of these regions. From Orenburg to Khiva, south-west of the Sea of Aral, there are two routes; from Orenburg to Bokhara, lat. 39° 40′ N., and long. 64° 45′ E., is a sixty-days' journey, being the great road from Central Asia to Nijne Novogorod: again, between Semipalatinsk there is considerable intercourse with Tashkend, Kokhan, Samarkand, Kashgar, and Yarkand. These are points which are reached by English calicoes, and these are from thence carried by the Tartar merchants among the nomades of Central Asia. Nor is this surprising, when it is remembered that between these places and Cashmere caravans often pass, and thus there is already traced out the great commercial route between the regions of the Indus and those of Central Asia.

Yarkand is a large town, containing a population of from 85,000 to 90,000, and here reside Chinese, Tartar, Bokharan, and Cashmerian merchants. The bazaars are three and a half miles in length, and on market-days present a busy scene. From hence one route stretches north-west to Kashgar and Kokhan, while another penetrates north-east into Mongolia, and, advancing through mountain tracts, attains the regions to the south-east of Lake Baikal, where the Russian town of Kiachta and the Chinese town of Mai-ma-tchin, or "the place of trade," confront each other.

In the western regions of Independent Tartary, as well as from the Siberian frontier on the north, Russia is extending herself. The capture of Schamyl has brought under her yoke the Eastern Caucasus, and now nearly the whole of Caucasia between the Black Sea and the Caspian is covered with Russian fortresses. With that stronghold in her possession, Turkey in Asia and Persia are at her mercy. Over the Kirghiz hordes of Tartary she has been gradually acquiring power, until a large portion of the great horde has established itself within the Russian frontier.

As for British India, we trust that the Suleimans will continue to be regarded as our natural frontier, beyond which no attempt will be made at territorial acquisition.

But we as earnestly desire that commercial enterprise may be pushed far beyond their limit, and that the opportunities of amicable intercourse with the interior Asiatic nations will be vigorously prosecuted. The materials are already in existence, and require only to be fostered and developed. There is a trading class which carries on a traffic between India and Central Asia, through the routes of Peshawur and Dehra Ismael Khan. From the far west they bring furs and wool, raw silks, fruits, groceries, drugs, leather, chintzes, and horses; and they remit British piece-goods, European hardware, Indian fabrics, and the sugar of the Punjab. Fairs should be opened on the banks of the Indus, like those of Orenberg and Nijne Novgorod. "One great fair, as far up the Indus as possible, would be the best." "Whenever there shall be fairs on the Indus, the Kirghiz will send into India vast numbers of good horses annually. Silver and gold also are plentiful in their country."

And surely wherever the merchant obtains a footing, the Missionary, charged with a mission of so far greater importance, will not be far behind. They who have devoted themselves to this great work will never permit themselves to be outstripped by the enterprise and forward movement which characterize the secular European in the pursuit of trade and of discovery.

As a further evidence of the opening up of the great continent of Asia by the progress of geographical discovery and commercial enterprise, we may refer to the statements which have been put forward with reference to the possibility of various lines of overland route between India and China. At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, papers were read on this subject, of which the following is a *resumé*—

"The first paper read was, 'Communication with the South-West Provinces of China, from Rangoon, in British Pegu,' by Captain R. Sprye and Mr. R. H. T. Sprye. The authors stated, that unless the provinces of Western China possessed, in their climates, products, populations, transport facilities, and commercial capabilities, it was useless to discuss the proposed line of approach to them. Having adverted to prevailing errors and misrepresentations respecting this subject, and dividing China Proper into equal parts by the 111th degree of east longitude, a detailed account was given from the best authors of the two western provinces nearest to Eastern Pegu, viz. Yunan and Se-chuen. A more succinct account followed on the same points of the other four western provinces, and of the four cultivated central provinces, a portion of which lies west of the assumed longitudinal dividing line. The result of this review of the western half of China Proper, with which England has no commerce, showed that it comprised an area of 600 square miles, of which at least 25,000,000 acres were cultivated; 100,000,000 people, exclusive of the independent hill tribes; seventy cities of the first, and 400 of the second and third orders, with numerous

forts and garrisons; and that, enjoying the advantage of every variety of climate, this western half of the empire yielded in abundance gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, millet, rice, wheat, together with a variety of valuable vegetable and tropical products, including grass cloth and other textile fibres. The Chinese of these provinces are described as being equally desirous of acquiring riches by commerce and trade, and also as being far more independent of the Imperial Court at Pekin. According to that most able Governor of Singapore, the late Sir Stamford Raffles —'India cannot manufacture sufficiently cheaply or abundantly for the Chinese: England can. But it is idle to talk of the extent and cheapness of our manufactures unless we bring them into fair competition. There is no reason why all China should not be in a great degree clothed from England.'

"The geographical position of Esmok, the frontier town of Pürh, the most south-western department of Yunan, was described as within 250 miles of our north-east Pegu frontier, at the point of the Salwan river. The intermediate Burman Shan Princes were most desirous of the establishment of such a commercial route between British territory and China across their states.

"The second paper read, by Dr. M'Cosh, late of the Bengal Medical Staff, was on the various lines of overland communication between India and China. The author proposes the appointment of a scientific mission to survey and report upon these routes with a view to the selection of the best. Of the five different routes he gives the preference to the one by Munnipur. There is a good steam communication from Calcutta, by Dacca and Sylhet, to Banskundu, on the Barack; thence a good road to Munnipur, an inferior one to Mong-fong, on the great Ning-tse; and a road might easily be constructed to Bamo, on the Irrawaddi, where the great line of communication between China begins, and leads up the valley of the Pinlang into Yunan. In this province the main channels of the great rivers of Martaban, of Cambodia, and of Nankin, are in close proximity. Thus, if an expedition leaving Calcutta on the 1st of November could be at Munnipur on the 1st of December, on the Ning-tse on the 15th, at Bamo on the 1st of January, across the Chinese frontier on the 1st of February, and safe in summer quarters in the mountain of Northern China and Tibet before the hot season, early in October it might cross over into Assam by the line of the Dihong, after having settled the still doubtful course of the Tsan-poo, and be again in Calcutta on the 1st of January. At Bamo an annual trade, estimated thirty years ago at 700,000*l.*, is carried on between Burmah and China, which, if thrown open to England, might be more than doubled. Before any expedition could be allowed to cross the Burmese and Chinese frontier, Dr. M'Cosh mentions that passports from both those Courts would be essential. Such a commercial line, if ratified by a tripartite treaty between England, Burmah, and China, could not fail to add another link to the world's chain of communication, scarcely second in importance to that of the Isthmus of Suez or of Panama."

On the circumstances of the great continent of Africa we shall not now dwell, the progress of discovery on its shores, and the remarkable solution of some of the mysteries of its great central area, having been frequently dealt with in our volume for 1860. Sufficient is it to observe that there also, as in Asia, the position of the interior nations, and the internal traffic carried on by means of great caravan routes, are becoming better known, and a way is being prepared, by which the Gospel may penetrate its midnight darkness, and hasten the coming of that predicted period, when "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God."

We shall advert to one more feature of encouragement at the present moment, which should put heart into the friends of the Missionary cause, and arouse them to increasing earnestness—the importance of the results attained by that work of evangelization during the last fifty years, and the healthful aspect of our churches and congregations throughout the world. The elevation of land from the ocean's depths, until, surmounting the surface level it becomes dry land, and eventually a home for man, is one of the most magnificent of natural phenomena. It is one not of bygone days merely, but one which, at the present time, is silently progressing, and operating great changes on the crust of our globe. New Zealand presents one of the most interesting specimens of this uplifting. Similar movements may be traced throughout the vast extent of the Pacific, even to the extreme north, where the Aleutian isles, a group of black masses of lava, rising perpendicularly above the sea, and peering above the clouds, have been increased in number, by at least two islands, within the limits of the present century.

Volcanic action prepares the foundation on which the coral insect raises its wondrous superstructure. Slowly, yet powerfully, a submarine ridge is elevated from the vast

profound, and on this, when it has approached within a few hundred feet of the water's edge, the coral insects begin to pile, until they reach the surface, which terminates the structure as to height. The growth of the coral ceases, when no longer exposed to the washing of the waves, and the reef continues to extend itself laterally, until a horizontal field is formed, raised by multitudinous insects upon the volcanic formation beneath. On this platform a key is formed by the tide, loose pieces of coral, sand, and other materials being heaped upon it. The sea-birds visit it; salt plants take root upon it. Floating upon the waves, perchance from Ceylon's shore, comes a more valuable contribution. The cocoa-nut palm affects the margin of the sea, and seems to court the dashing of the spray. There, where other trees suffer, and withdraw themselves to a greater or less distance, the palm flourishes. Its fruit ripens over the waves as they dash upon the rocks where its roots have hold, until at length, from weight of full maturity, it falls, and seems to be lost amidst the waves. But it has a destination and a home to reach. It is to become the parent seed of a numerous progeny. The waves bear it onward. It is caught by some of the great river-currents of the ocean, and is hurried on. Its future home at length is reached. The clouds have gathered round that home to prepare it for the reception of the coming seed. There, amidst the island regions of the Pacific the voyager beholds "with wonder and delight the gorgeous piles of cumuli, heaped up and arranged in the most delicate and beautiful masses that it is possible for fleecy matter to assume. Not only are these piles found capping the hills among the islands, but they are often seen to overhang the lowest islet of the tropics, and even to stand above coral patches and hidden reefs, a 'cloud by day,' to serve as a beacon to the lonely mariner out there at sea, and to warn him of shoals and dangers which no lead or seaman's eye has ever seen or sounded out. These clouds, under favourable circumstances, may be seen gathering above the low coral island, and performing their office in preparing it for vegetation and fruitfulness, in a very striking manner. As they are condensed into showers, one fancies that they are a sponge of the most exquisitely and delicately-elaborated material, and that he can see, "as they drop down their fatness," the invisible but bountiful hand aloft that is preparing and squeezing it out.*

* "Physical Geography of the Sea," p. 347.

Thus to prepare new homes for man, influences of various kinds are brought into operation. Volcanic forces upheave the earth's crust; tiny insects become a building agency of extraordinary power and perseverance; seeds enveloped in mucous matter, so as to preserve their vitality for a lengthened period from the injurious influences of the sea-water, and committed to the currents of the ocean, are wafted to the newly-formed, and as yet barren shores; the numerous islets of the great Pacific arrest the trade-winds, and force from them a contribution of fertilizing rain ere they pass entirely by. And then, after a time comes the human sea drift. It was thus that the Polynesian race migrated from its original nidus amongst the large islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and spread themselves about from the Sandwich group in the northern hemisphere, to New Zealand in the southern, and from the Tonga group in the west to Easter Island in the east, until it peopled the island world.

There are formations rising out of the deep sea of heathenism far more interesting and important. They are often preceded by moral earthquakes and the fiery eruptions of human passions, causing political convulsions and alterations, distress of nations, with perplexity. These prepare the way for the work of evangelization. The agency employed is one as apparently unequal to the accomplishment of changes in the character of nations, as the coral insect to the formation of the rocks and foundations of islands which it rears. Like the sea-workers, toiling and spinning beneath the waves, it carries onward, with a minute and persevering toil, its labour of love, never contemning the minutest opportunity, contented, in the first instance, with increments so small as to be scarcely perceptible, willing that its primary results should be of such a nature as to remain unseen for a considerable period, until they have gathered strength enough to appear above the surface of society. Meanwhile, Missionary agents are contented to be despised, and patiently to endure the scoffs of an unbelieving world. The old taunt, which troubled the children of the captivity when they addressed themselves to the erection of the second temple, still meets them, and they are reproached with their unfitness for the work which they have attempted, and the feebleness of the results they have produced—"What do these feeble Jews? Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone-wall."

Yet even thus new formations have uplifted themselves above the waves, the loftier summits of a new world slowly, yet surely emerging from the deep sea of heathen ignorance and superstition. Christian churches and congregations, brought into existence in various parts of the heathen world, have assumed sufficient consistency to be designated as permanent structures. Temporary islands have been raised occasionally from the ocean's depths: they assume a tangible outline, but a few months suffice to terminate their existence, and they subside and disappear. And delusive results have, just in the same way, been raised up for a time in the midst of heathenism, like the far-famed Romish Missions in South India, Japan, and Paraguay. They counted their converts by hundreds of thousands. But they had no consistency. What has become of them? In the rapidity of their disappearance they have resembled the temporary island of Sabrina, when it rose from the deep off the coast of St. Michael, in February 1811, and sank again in the subsequent October. With such a complete and sudden subsidence did Romish Missions sink amid the deep waters of Japanese heathenism. They rose for a time, but with no mild influence. They emitted fires; they sent forth sulphureous vapours. They were a distraction and a trouble, instead of a blessing, to the natives. A brief struggle, and they collapsed; and where they once stood, the scornful waves of heathen superstition have resumed an undisputed ascendancy.

The system carried out in Evangelical Missions has been altogether different. We have been contented to put into requisition God's mode of action; to make known, in their respective languages, to the perishing nations of the world, the saving truths of the Gospel; and these have been effectual, because God has wrought by them. The Christian formations, which, in different directions, have risen to the surface from amidst the depths of heathenism, are solid and reliable, fitted to become the foundations of more ostensible structures. Already they are assuming shape and form, as new converts are being added, and to the eye, even of the indifferent spectator, appear as something entirely distinct from heathenism. On these the clouds of the divine blessing manifestly rest, and an invisible hand distils upon them reviving and refreshing influence. The work of revival has commenced amongst our Missionary churches, bringing them to a fuller realization of what it is to be a Christian, and drawing forth their sympathies on behalf of the perishing heathen around. Men who have experienced in their own characters and lives the converting power of the truth, are girding up their loins to do the Lord's work, and going forth as evangelists amongst the heathen. The churches, whose messengers they are, afford to them supplies, and await, as their recompense, the happy intelligence that the Lord does not disdain to employ, in this great work of saving souls, their simple agency. From the churches of the Karens, the churches of the Tamils, the churches of Sierra Leone and Yoruba, the churches of Polynesia, the churches of the scattered Armenians, as well as from many others, native evangelists are going forth, and the hand of the Lord is with them, and will be so increasingly. Names might be mentioned of many whom the Lord has thus used, but it would not be wise or well to do so. Perhaps, in our anxiety to convince hesitating minds at home that the Lord is at work amongst our Missions, we have too often pushed aside the overshadowing leaves, which, if they conceal the blossoms, protect them from a too great exposure to the sun's glare, and thus the Lord's work has suffered.

And now these Christian churches afford to us, each one of them, a fulcrum, on which may be planted the lever of new and extended operations. It is a time to work. The results of the past encourage us as to the future, and our old Societies must put on the strength and vigour of their youth, that they may rise to the grandeur and importance of the present opportunity. Is this a time to relax effort? Now that there is needed a largeness of grasp and a promptitude of action, to consolidate the results of past victories, and to prepare the way for more, shall the heart beat feebly, and the vital energy of our Missionary bodies be found to flag? Shall we have throughout the country a diminishing interest and an inferior income? What a moment the present is to offer largely to the Lord's treasury! What an invitation the cogency of the crisis addresses to able and devoted men to offer themseves to the Lord's work and service. Our great and leading Missions need to be strengthened. Reinforcements might, with the greatest advantage, be thrown into the Punjab, where varied populations and languages require distinct appliances. Throughout India generally there is a necessity laid upon us to enlarge our sphere of action, both as regards the young and old, the male and female population. On the west coast of Africa, where Dahomey is perpetrating its ruthless hecatombs of human sacrifices, and where the slave-trading interest, by its pernicious machinations, has succeeded in kindling intestine war, and setting one free city in arms

against another, we need to put forth a mighty movement for the purpose of grasping the whole country from the Bight of Benin to the banks of the Niger, and occupying the cities with an army of Missionaries. In China we know not the moment when urgent demands will be made upon us to avail ourselves of great and unexpected openings.

We have to inform our readers, that at this juncture the income of the Church Missionary Society is below the average of five years by some 3000*l.* There are still three months left to recover the deficiency, and place the Society in advance of former years; an object most necessary to be attained, inasmuch as the expenditure does not diminish, but, with the growth of the work, of necessity increases. Let prayers arise that the whole Society—officials, members, and friends—may be pervaded with a hearty earnestness, until the old experiences of the Lord's people be repeated—"And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Jerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts, their God."

MAORI NEW ZEALAND.

IN a previous paper we dealt with Colonial New Zealand. We stated, that in 1858 the colonial population amounted to 59,234, and that this small section of population, not larger than that of a second-rate English town, had placed at its disposal not less than forty-five millions of acres, purchased from the Maori proprietors, at rates varying from one farthing to sixpence an acre.

During the year 1859 there occurred a very considerable increase of immigrants: the number of new arrivals for that year presenting the large total of 12,180, "viz. 7428 males and 4752 females; an augmentation, the magnitude of which becomes evident when it is shown centesimally, the increase upon every 100 of the gross population having amounted to 20·54; on taking the comparative numbers of the sexes separately, to 22·10 on the male, and 18·50 on the female population respectively." Auckland, Canterbury, and Otago have been the chief points of attraction, and received the largest dividends. The peculiar advantages of the two latter settlements, amongst other points, in the absence of a native tenure, sufficiently accounts for this. In the province of Auckland the desirableness of being located in the vicinity of the capital is, with many, a chief ground of preference. But something also must be attributed to the advertisements put forth on behalf of that province in the "New-Zealand Examiner,"* offering "Free grants of farms of forty acres and upwards to every suitable emigrant, male or female, proceeding to that settlement." "Capitalists, farmers, agricultural labourers, mechanics, servants (male and female), are therefore informed, that, on paying their own passages, or the passages of their families or others, to Auckland, they may, on arrival, receive land orders for free grants of land, viz. forty acres for each person aged eighteen years and upwards, and twenty acres for each child aged five years and under eighteen." We observe a difference between the inducements offered to emigrants by Auckland, when compared with Otago and Canterbury. The two latter settlements want population, even more than Auckland. They offer, therefore, "Assisted passages" to shepherds, ploughmen, labourers, carpenters, masons, or female domestic servants; that is, the Provincial Governments pay a part of the passage-money, equal to the sum paid by the emigrant: half the passage-money, therefore, is all that is required of him; and even this, if the emigrant be unable to pay it, the Government will advance, as a loan, upon the promises of repayment in the colony. The difference in the mode of action is obvious: Auckland offers land and no money; the southern settlements offer pecuniary aid to reach the colony, but make no promise of free grants of land; they aid the moneyless emigrant to reach the island, but on his arrival they throw him for support on his own labour. Auckland offers land but no money. The colonists of that province have published to the world, in heartrending terms, the inconveniencies to which they are subjected in consequence of the insufficiency of land. In May of last year we found them thus writing to the Colonial Secretary—"How are our increasing stock to be fed? Where is the land to produce wheat and other necessaries for our present population? During this year, many of our stockholders have been compelled to feed their sheep and cattle on potatoes. Two months after har-

* Printed and published in London monthly.

vest the whole of the wheat grown by the settlers of this province was consumed. In three months there will be an increase of 40,000 lambs. Some of the flockholders have not allowed the rams to run with their young ewes, because they have not sufficient food for their increase. Many of our cattle are killed at two years old, when they could, with considerably increased profit, be grazed another year, if there was a sufficient supply of grass. And, further, no flockmasters, within this province have attempted a flock of wethers; they have been compelled to part with this source of profit to the butcher, before the sheep were two years old, to make room for their coming increase." And then, after this preamble, comes the great point intended to be urged on the authorities—"The land hitherto acquired from the natives is insufficient in grants, indifferent in quality, and quite inadequate to the increasing wants of the public." And yet, with all this extreme deficiency of land, so calamitously affecting alike pastoral and agricultural pursuits, the provincial authorities offer free grants of land to all emigrants, male and female; so that a man and his wife, with six children, three of them above, and the others under, eighteen years of age, are assured, on arriving at Auckland, of having placed at their disposal 240 acres of land. If, during a year, one third of the 12,000 immigrants of 1859 should select Auckland, one-half above eighteen, and of the moiety, one-half above five years, the authorities would be pledged to free grants of land to the amount of 100,000 acres; and, if the same rates of increase should be sustained for six years, to upwards of half a million of acres; and this at a time when, if we are to believe the statements made, the deficiency of land, and the consequent disadvantages of the colonists are such, that, in order to obtain more, the Government is strenuously urged to an abandonment of the system under which native land purchases have hitherto been made, to so large an extent, and with so much quietude, and the adoption of a new policy, by which land might be acquired more rapidly, and at less cost.

Now to the acquisition of more land, so sadly needed, there exists a double difficulty, the unwillingness of the natives to sell, of which we shall speak presently more fully, and, besides this, the inability of the colonists to buy. This they very naïvely admit in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle—"In reference to the pecuniary difficulty, namely, that of obtaining money wherewith to extinguish the native title, after the 180,000*l.* borrowed for that purpose shall have been expended, which, we are informed by the despatch, 'is one which it is in the power of the local legislature to provide against,' we have only to observe, that many of the subscribers to this letter are members either of the Assembly, or of the Provincial Council, and that we are unable to perceive how the legislature will be enabled, out of the ordinary revenue of the colony, not only to make provision for meeting liabilities already incurred, but also to furnish the [requisite sums for continuing the present system. No one acquainted with the financial position of the colony can entertain any such expectation."* Thus Auckland appears to be doubly impoverished from want of land—and of the money to buy the land. Yet it would seem that there is more land to spare than money, as, in order to induce immigration, she offers not the latter, but the former. What element of prosperity does she expect to acquire by this artificially-induced immigration—money or labour? Experienced men do not hesitate to say it will yield neither one or other. The emigrants who go forth from the home country under such inducements, as a class, will be neither pecuniarily or industrially independent. The prospect of so many free acres of land will serve as a glittering bribe in the eyes of families, who, not having succeeded at home, do not know what to do with themselves. Their friends are anxious to get rid of them. By some means or other, as much money is scraped together as suffices to pay for the passage. They arrive in New Zealand with scarcely a penny left, and find themselves in possession of free land without the means of cultivating it. The free farm is in the wildness of nature. The bush has to be cleared away; the ground subdued to the use of man; the necessaries of life are high; the settler, even if he has brought with him industrial habits, gets discouraged, for he finds he has the land, and no capital to work it. His little child of five years of age owns twenty acres of land; they must lie waste until the little fellow grows big enough to work it himself, for the father has more than enough to do with the eighty acres which belong to himself and his wife. Perhaps he finds himself disadvantageously situated, and the communication with Auckland difficult; and as his day-dream fades away, he becomes restless and discontented. He would do better, he thinks, if he was elsewhere, and his mind fixes itself on this spot or that spot, where he would wish to be; but they are in the possession of the native. Thus the native comes to be regarded as in his way, and he wishes him out of the way; for is he not a white man, an En-

* Blue Book, pp. 149, 150.

glishman, and why should these "niggers" divide with him the land? Is he not of the superior race, and must not the inferior race give way before it? Of what use, then, are laws which recognise the rights of natives? Would they not far better be repealed, and leave the question of the land to be settled between the native and himself after the *old* colonial fashion? for, after all, if the native should resist the attempt to oust him from his land, and a conflict ensue, it would only be to expedite the procedure of that law of extermination, which, sooner or later, must close the existence of the Maori race. Such, we fear, are not unfrequently the thoughts which suggest themselves. Auckland, it appears, wants both land and money. Immigrants of substance would help to relieve her of these difficulties. They would bring money, and we doubt not, that if the Maori can get the money, he will be sure, after a time, to sell the land. But the immigration she is inducing is a pauper immigration, which brings no money, and makes no provision for the lawful acquisition of more land. What, then, can be the object of inducing the arrival of such a population? Is it that, as numbers increase, Auckland may get land without money? We may be quite certain of it, that the uneasy feeling which has manifested itself of late amongst the native tribes has not arisen without a cause. The king-movement and land-selling league, in their commencement, were simply measures of defence. They were the manifestations of a strong conviction which had possessed itself of the native mind, that if, as a nation, they were to be preserved, they must cling together for mutual protection. They were like the precautionary measures of the mariner, when he takes in sail, and sends down his topgallant masts, because he sees the storm coming. It is our duty to search into the complicated tissue of colonial events, in order to discover, if possible, the cause of this alarm. The Maoris would never have set up a king, had they felt that they were so secure under the shadow of Victoria as to be shielded from unjust aggression. But if they have had reason to think that they, the original proprietors of the land, whose rights had been guaranteed by national compact and royal pledge, were regarded as intruders, to be thrust out as soon and with as little ceremony as possible, it is not surprising that they have proceeded to adopt such measures as they conceived might help them in this emergency.

The following extract from an Auckland newspaper, the "Southern Cross,"* will confirm the truth of the foregoing observations.

"The forty-acre dodge still continues to work, and probably will only be thoroughly exploded by the news of the war at home. The results of the forced immigration, which has been going on so long, are evident to all: discontent, idleness, and want. The forty-acre victim of twelve months date is, in many instances, as little naturalized as when he first set foot on shore; whilst those who remember the immigrants of former days—when men came out, not at the instance of paid agents, nor bribed by the promise of imaginary farms—will recollect how speedily they were absorbed into the mass, and how difficult it soon was to distinguish them from older settlers. ...

"One natural result of the forty-acre system is beginning to develop itself. People are leaving the country within a very short time of their arrival here. Now of these, such as have made a selection of land, leave behind them forty acres which nobody can touch, sell, or do any thing with, for five years. If the exodus goes on much longer, we shall soon have in this province the novel sight of a large quantity of the soil belonging nominally to absentees, who have no power to do any thing with it, neither to sell it nor to lease it—for a four or five years' occupation of forty acres, whatever agents may say in England, would hardly, we think, make a man's fortune—and the land itself taken out of the market, where it might have been bought by real settlers, who knew what to do with it. The province is beginning already to feel the bad effects of forgetting one of the first principles of political economy, namely, that attempting to force any branch of industry, instead of leaving it to its natural development, is ultimately ruinous to all concerned. An attempt, by means of provincial agents and lectures, and a delusive bribe, to convert everybody in England, who was foolish enough to listen, into farmers, was not the way to cover this province with flourishing farms; but will, we fear, on the contrary, soon have the effect of creating useless wastes, where productive farms might have been.

"The province of Auckland, from its land system, which offers no inducement to capitalists either from England or the neighbouring colonies to settle here, is fast falling behind its sister provinces in the race of improvement, and will soon present the pitiable spectacle of a British colony obliged to im-

* September 1, 1860.

port, not only articles of manufacture, but actually agricultural produce. How every thing is to be paid for, when the grand day for balancing accounts arrives, is a problem which it is as well, perhaps, not to be too curious about; but the future is gloomy, and unless a most advantageous peace throws open to us native lands, and gives enterprise a field to work in, the province will never be able to hold its own. Should the native war extend, and our out-settlers once lose confidence, and nothing subsequently occur to restore it, we shall be reduced as a community to do, what many, as private individuals—most forty-acre men of course included—are already doing, namely, expend our capital on the very means of existence."

We now pass on to a review of the Maori New Zealand. We do not mean, by this expression, New Zealand under Maori sovereignty, and independent of the British crown, but the Maori, as joint-tenant with the European colonist, holding under the protection and supremacy of the British crown; for let it be remembered, that he also is a British subject, and that his rights, as obtained, not by purchase, but by hereditary proprietorship, have been guaranteed to him in the most solemn manner. Let the language of the treaty of Waitangi—a treaty which has been recognised by British ministers and statesmen, and by successive governors of New Zealand, as a valid and binding compact—be attentively considered. The second article runs as follows:—"Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to their respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be pleased to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and such persons as may be appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on that behalf." And then, article third—"In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the privileges of British subjects."

In these stipulations there is an express recognition of that kind of land tenure which existed amongst the Maoris, which was handed down to them from their forefathers, and which they still retain in its tribal, family, and individual aspects, and as exercised by the chiefs, heads of families, and freemen, according to their several rights. In explanation of the peculiarity of tenure which prevails amongst them, and which was distinctly recognised by the treaty of Waitangi, we shall quote from a pamphlet* which has recently been transmitted to England from New Zealand, and which contains very much that is valuable and important, although, at the same time, we do not agree with some of the views and statements put forward in its pages.

"Every tribe owns large tracts of land. These are the common property of the tribe. Particular hapus, or individual freemen, appropriate by occupation, cultivation, and otherwise, small portions of the common estate. Such occupation vests in them the ownership of the portion appropriated, and gives a right of separate ownership, as against all other individuals. But it does not confer the right of absolute alienation. To other members of the tribe, the hapu or individual may alienate; but they cannot alienate from the tribe, without the consent of the tribe. The power of giving this consent is usually vested in the chief, who is a trustee of the rights of the tribe. This limitation is founded on reason, the political status of the tribe, as a whole, depending on its maintaining the integrity of its territory, and on the exclusion of foreigners who might be members of a hostile tribe. 'The cultivation of a portion of the forest-land renders it the property of those who cultivate it, and this right descended from generation to generation. But this individual claim did not give the individual the right to dispose of it to Europeans.' 'The sale of territory, to be valid, must be effected by the chief of the tribe and all the chiefs of the various hapus acting together. Such a sale, whatever be the price given, would never be disputed.'"

Such is the tribal right, and to the full and unreserved recognition of it, as long as it continued to be the land-tenure of the natives, the British crown solemnly pledged itself. It might of course be altered with the consent of the Maoris, both chiefs and people acting in concert, and it was perfectly consistent with good faith, should it be found that this tenure acted injuriously to the mutual interests of native and colonist, to counsel the native to decide on its alteration and re-ad-

* "The War in New Zealand." By William Fox, Member of the House of Representatives.

justment to the altered circumstances of the islands; but until his free consent had been obtained, its stipulations required to be scrupulously observed, nor could any conviction on our part of its undesirable action, however well founded that conviction might be, justify us in proceeding to disregard it or set it aside, without the consent of the native.

Let it be observed, also, that it was left entirely to the discretion of the native as to what he decided respecting his land, whether to alienate it or otherwise; that it was simply as he pleased; that, so long as it was his wish and desire to retain his lands and estates, he was at liberty so to do; nor were his rights in this respect to be interfered with because his exercise of them was against the wishes, and even prejudicial to the interests, of the Europeans. He was not the less a British subject because, according to his own pleasure, he exercised those rights which the British crown had recognised and confirmed; and in the use of those rights that crown was bound to protect him, just as much as any other of its subjects, so that neither should he be forced to act against his will, or, when he had so acted, assailed and injured for so doing. The Maori landholder was guaranteed in the retention or disposal, sale or reservation, of his lands, just as much as any British land proprietor. It might be the wish of certain parties that a landowner in this country should part with a portion of the estates handed down to him from his forefathers, and it might be for their advantage that he should do so. But what should we say if, on his refusal, an outcry were immediately raised against him, and forcible measures were adopted to oust him from the land? Why, even the sovereign power dare not commit itself to such a proceeding; and if any functionary, however high his position, should so far lower his high office as to compromise himself with such a proceeding, his acts would at once be disavowed, and his prompt supercession prevent for the future such mistaken action.

It is requisite that all this prefatory matter should be kept distinctly in view, in order that we may clearly understand the great wrong which the British authorities have perpetrated against the Ngatiawa tribe and their chief, Wiremu Kingi.

We have already seen that the Maoris have sold largely and cheaply to the Europeans. The Middle Island, a few blocks excepted, has been entirely surrendered, and the native title extinguished. In the North Island, the peninsula constituting the northern projection may be considered as alienated; while in the southern province, Wellington, they retain only one million of cultivable acres. Altogether, of that island they have alienated between seven and eight millions of acres, retaining in their hands between seventeen and eighteen millions. This, now the proper Maori territory, occupies the great central area of the North Island, extending east and west from sea to sea, and north to south from the westerly bend of the Waikato as far south as to include the northern parts of the Wellington province. Of these tracts, large portions are wholly unsuited for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The centre of the island is occupied by a group of mountains, from whence ranges are thrown out in different directions, more especially in a backbone extending in a southerly direction as far as Cook's Straits. Tongariro, one of the peaks, is an active volcano, the smoke which it emits evidencing that the fires are not extinguished which laid waste the surrounding districts, and formed, by the subsidence of the earth, Taupo and its kindred lakes. The richest districts are the valleys of the Waikato and Waipa, the valleys of the Thames, the tracts which, on the east, abut on the Bay of Plenty, and the province of Taranaki on the west. Let the traveller be supposed to have landed at some harbour on the western coast—that of Wangaroa or Kawia—with the intention of visiting these interior districts. A wooded ridge, separating the valley of the Waipa from the sea-coast, has first to be surmounted. The formation of the hills is volcanic. Portions of them are covered only with fern; others, especially in the ravines, are clothed with the forest, which seems once to have entirely prevailed. From the summit an extensive view presents itself. Towards the north-east stretches out the broad and open valley of the Waipa, bounded on the east by distant hills. This valley has an average breadth of about thirty miles. The lower part, which is flat and even, especially up to the point at which the river Waipa joins the Waikato, rivals in fertility the best districts in the island. Sheltered from the gales which are so prevalent on the coasts, it is particularly adapted "for grain, tobacco, safflower, and hops:" higher up, the country is broken and undulating. Through these extensive and fertile districts flows the Waipa, having its source in the Rangitoto mountains, a range connecting the western-coast hills with the central group of the Ruapahu. This river, navigable for sixty miles above its junction with the Waikato, brings these interior districts into easy communication with the sea:

there is thus an almost uninterrupted water communication with the Manukau harbour and Auckland.

The valley of the Waipa is bounded on the east by the hilly range of the Maungatautari, which separates it "from another valley more to the eastward, in which three rivers flow—the Waikato, the Piako, and the Waiho, or Thames." The most easterly of these rivers, the Waiho, runs at the foot of the hilly chain, the Aroha mountains, which shut in the valley from the east-coast districts. The Thames and the Piako form an extensive agricultural valley in easy water communication with the Frith of the Thames, and the Waitemata harbour and Auckland. This valley is about a hundred miles in length, the lower part of it being separated from that of the Waikato by hills which run towards the gulf of Hauraki.

The Waikato, the most westerly of the three rivers, is a considerable and deep stream, which issues from Lake Taupo, and, winding around the northern slope of the Maungatautari, is joined, about a hundred miles above its embouchure on the western coast, by the Waipa.

This river is described as one of the finest rivers in New Zealand, "meandering through a rich country, amidst lakes clothed with trees." The vegetation in the forests along its margin is magnificent. "Gigantic flax and tohi-tohi grass, with its razor-edged leaves, form a complete jungle, whilst the dragon, or ti-trees, impart quite a foreign character to the scene." "The graceful rimu and the koroi pine, seventy or eighty feet in height, mingle their evergreen foliage. The large white stars of the clematis are wreathed like garlands round the sombre foliage of the tall trees, and the golden blossoms of the kowai are scattered in showers over the bosom of the stream." Occasionally the forest vegetation is varied by open fern-hills, with peeps of the distant blue ranges beyond.

Mr. Swainson says—"The Waikato, to be seen to advantage, requires bright and genial weather: its characteristic features are the numerous aits, or small islands, to be met with throughout its course. They are low, and flat, and commonly of a long oval form; some of them having evidently been formed by the gradual accumulation of sand and pumice-stone, thrown up from the bed of the river by the shifting of the current; others, again, by portions of the river's bank cut away by the gradual inroad of the stream. The smaller islands are devoid of wood, being overgrown with reeds, Raupo-tohitohi, and tall sedgy grass; while the larger islands are covered with clumps of the dark and stately kahikatea, their borders fringed at the water's edge with the light and graceful tohitohi. The most beautiful part of the river is in the neighbourhood of Tuakau, fifteen or twenty miles from the sea; and if he happen to encamp for the night, the traveller can scarcely fail, in the camp of sunset or early dawn, to be charmed with the grand beauty of the scene. . . . .

"Here the English lake tourist will be reminded of the scenery of Rydal Water. Twenty miles higher up, the river expands into a broad, open, lake-like sheet of water, and flows through an extensive level plain, bounded on the east by the mountain range, which divides the plains of the Waikato and the Piako. . . . . From the summit of Taupiri, on the eastern bank of the river, and about three miles below its junction with the Waipa, is to be seen one of the most extensive views in the northern district of New Zealand. The broad plains of the Thames, the Waikato, and the Waipa; the river Waikato itself, through a large part of its course, and many of its lakes and tributaries; the track of the Waipa in the distance, and here and there a peep of the river itself, are all distinctly visible; and in the far south, in clear weather, the snow-clad ranges also of Ruapehu and Tongariro."*

Strangely contrasting with these fertile districts is the volcanic wilderness which extends for about sixty miles round Tongariro.

"The grand centre of volcanic action extends from White Island to Rotorua, and thence by Taupo and Tongariro to Wanganui, a distance of nearly 200 miles, forming a continuous line across the entire width of the island. The number of boiling gulfs, solfatara, and boiling mud pools in that line are extraordinary. They are seen in every direction—in the forest, in the plain, and in the water. A large number of them are concentrated at a place called Tikitere, and a most extraordinary assemblage of them is found at Ohinemotu, which renders that place one of the most remarkable in New Zealand. At Paeroa, near the Waikato, there is one of the largest of these mud pools; it is from sixty to a hundred feet wide: in the centre, first an enormous bubble of mud arises, which gradually increases in height and size, and at last becomes a jet of mud eight or ten feet high, with several smaller ones on each side: the mud is thrown up in large masses on the

* Swainson's "New Zealand," pp. 247—250.

sides, where it dries, and assumes a cubical form: it readily separates into laminæ of different thickness, which bear a very close resemblance to slate, and, perhaps, in this mud vortex is to be seen, on a small scale, what was once the state of a large portion of the earth's crust, during the formation of slate.

"At Orakokorako, on the Waikato, the boiling springs are almost innumerable; some of them shoot up a volume of water to a considerable height, and are little, if at all, inferior to the Geysers of Iceland. A village is placed in the midst of them: the reason assigned for living in such a singular locality was, that as there is no necessity for fires, all their cooking being done in the hot springs, the women's backs are not broken with carrying fuel, and further, from the warmth of the ground they were enabled to raise their crops several weeks earlier than their neighbours; but, as a counterbalance for these advantages, many fatal accidents occur from persons, especially strangers and children, falling into these fearful caldrons, and being boiled.

"Rotomahana, a warm-water lake of considerable size, is surrounded with innumerable boiling gulfs; in fact, it is itself nothing but a crater, the sides of which are full of action: it is perhaps one of the most singular places in the world: its boiling gulfs, and natural snow-white terraces, formed from silicious deposits, are as wonderful as they are beautiful. Thence to Hohake and Rotokawa there is nothing to be seen but jets of vapour, and so on to Taupo, where fearful boiling gulfs abound at the two extremities of that noble lake, at Rangatira and Tokanu. One of the boiling springs at Tokanu possesses the property of changing the nature of any thing which may be placed in it, and converting it into a beautiful silicious substance of pure white, and this is done without any apparent addition of matter; but if the article be not entirely immersed, having only the water flowing about it, then it becomes enlarged by a silicious deposit upon its surface. The process of thus converting wood into stone is very rapid, and in some localities, water does not appear to be a necessary agent in accomplishing this change. At Rotorua, large pieces of wood are thus lignified by the aid of heated gas, highly charged with sulphur, alum, and iron, or other chemical substances, which penetrates the pores of the wood, and fills them up with silex, converting them into agates, and even giving them the transparent form of chalcedony.

"Again at Roto-aira, a beautiful lake at the base of the Tongariro range, which attains an elevation of 10,236 feet, boiling springs abound. Tongariro itself is not so lofty, but from its cone it constantly belches forth a volume of smoke, and occasionally of flame, which has been distinctly seen at a distance of 150 miles, and although the powers of this fearful volcano appear to have long lain dormant, there is no security that it will not break out again. The size and active operation of Mount Erebus appear to be the greatest security of New Zealand, and that crater may be viewed as its safety-valve; for, if any thing were to impede its operation, the entire line of New-Zealand craters would, very probably, break out again. Lofty as Tongariro now appears, there is reason to suppose that its present height is much less than it was formerly; or rather, that the grand crater of former days has sunk down, and, in doing so, caused Mount Taranaki to rise up. This is agreeable with native tradition, and, moreover, with the general features of the spot, a space of nearly twelve miles intervening between the two principal mountains, Tongariro and Ruapehu. This, at a distance, appears to be an elevated tableland, but it is, in fact, a deep lake.

"The matter ejected from these craters has been immense, chiefly pumice-stones and sand; formerly, the central plains had a superstratum of yellow ochre, and were heavily timbered. The hot pumice ejected from the neighbouring volcanoes appears to have first charred the forest, and then covered it to the depth, in many places, of a hundred feet, and wherever there is a deep ravine, the charred timber is seen jutting out in large masses. This deposit, in some places, extends a very long way; and, even at the mouth of the Wanganui, the low lands are deeply covered with it, as well as with solid lumps of charred wood. That Tongariro has caused the formation of the great Taupo lake, by the subsiding of the land to supply the place before occupied by so much ejected matter, appears certain; and further, that this occurred at different intervals is also evident; for although the ancient extent of the lake was nearly double what it is at present, it seems to have become wider and deeper than formerly. Many trunks of trees are still visible in its waters, which were there when the country was first peopled, and are so well known that each bears the name of some ancestor. What is here said of Taupo, applies to all the neighbouring lakes as well; but whilst their basins were thus formed to the extent of the matter ejected, it is evident that the throes of the volcanoes mainly contributed to the elevation of the country. From the sea to the base of Taupo there is a regular series of stages, one rising higher than another, until we reach the central

plains of Tongariro: thence the country gradually slopes to the north. But although much of the upheavement of the land occurred during the time these volcanoes were in eruption, it is also evident that even yet the land is rising. This must now solely be attributed to the agency of earthquakes. The southern and central parts of the island appear to be the principal seat of their action; and though, in general, the shocks are slight, yet, periodically, every five or six years they have been more violent, and attended with serious consequences."*

The east-coast districts alone remain to be noticed. These are separated from the open tableland of the interior by a range of wooded hills. These hills, somewhat flat on the top, on their western slopes terminate abruptly like an artifical embankment of the tableland of the Thames, but on the eastern side slope gradually towards the coast, spreading out into flat land as they approach the shore. From these summits an extensive and splendid prospect presents itself of the coast-line, from Mercury Bay to the north, the Bay of Plenty, with White Island, emitting from time to time volumes of smoke, and thence, far away to the south, its smooth outlines extending themselves. Descending along the crest of one of the spurs, whose ramifications form swampy valleys, the plain country is reached, the vegetation of which indicates the richest soil.

We have thus given an outline of these important territories, of which the Maori continues to be the proprietor. According to the map of New Zealand appended to the Blue Books, for the purpose of showing approximately the extent of land acquired from the natives, it appears, that of fifteen and a half million acres comprised within the province of Auckland, thirteen and a half millions, extending over the tracts which we have run cursorily over, remain in the hands of the native. While a certain portion of the territory is mountainous and barren, it yet comprises some of the richest and finest districts in New Zealand. It is, in fact, the choice territory of the North Island, the grand central and commanding region through which flow the largest rivers, and which, notwithstanding its central position, is thus brought into easy communication with the sea. It is here we find concentrated the great body of the native race. There are probably not less than between 30,000 and 40,000 Maoris in the occupation of these districts, the Waikatos alone numbering nearly 10,000 souls.

* Taylor's "New Zealand," &c., pp. 223—226.

This territory, then, the Maori appears determined to retain for his own special use, and, after the review which we have taken of the circumstances of the island, many of our readers will be disposed to think that he is perfectly justified in so doing. In the land which gave him birth, and which his forefathers possessed for generations before him, it is but right that he should have a fair inheritance. Two-thirds of the territorial extent of these islands he has transferred to the European: it seems not unbecoming that he should retain the rest for his own use. He cannot reasonably be expected to part with the entire fee-simple of his estate, and submit to be thrown on the blocks reserved for his use amidst the newly-acquired estates of the Europeans. The race, to be preserved, must be kept together, whereas this would be to break it up into fragments, and ensure its speedy extinction. The feeling of nationality is strong in every race, nor is the Maori less sensitive on this point than other tribes or races. The determination, therefore, to which they have come, to retain intact the territories in which the race is massed together in the greatest number, is necessarily that natural course, which a feeling of self-preservation would lead them to adopt, as well as one which, according to the provisions of the treaty of Waitangi, they are perfectly justified in maintaining.

That such an arrangement, however, should be regarded by many amongst the colonists as in all respects inconvenient and undesirable is precisely what might be anticipated, and accordingly various objections are urged against it. Some say that the reserved territory is much too large; that it is far more than the Maori can ever by possibility require, for the numerical aggregate of the race throughout the islands amounts only to 56,000, and these under a process of rapid decrease.

It appears to be generally admitted that a decided decrease of the Maori population is going forward, and this is regarded by certain speculators as a matter of congratulation rather than of regret. The Maoris, in their eyes, are no better than the wild forest that overspreads the land while in its natural state, and the sooner they are stubbed up and cast aside the better. A sample of such philanthropy as this will be found in the following extract from the "New-Zealand Examiner" of November 14, 1860, purporting to be a portion of a letter addressed by Dr. Mackay, of the Melbourne circuit, to the Governor of Victoria, through the "Geelong Advertiser." He suggests—

"That 900 men, volunteers if possible, be raised, to be forthwith sent to New Zealand, to be placed under the command of the commander of the forces there, to be selected and appointed by the commander of Her Majesty's troops here, to serve for six months. I think these troops could be raised, drilled, and ready to be on board in one fortnight, the drill to be carried on while on the voyage. I venture to say the war would be well over in three months, and nineteen-twentieths of these troops home again without a scratch. From 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* would, I should suppose, be amply sufficient for the expenses of this expedition. This to be advanced by this Government, to be repaid by sales of land in the conquered portion of New Zealand. The savages to be entirely subjugated. The males carried over here to be prisoners of war, to serve in this country as slaves for seven years; the females to be carried away and dispersed as wives for the Chinese and well-conducted white convicts, Dr. Cairns and the Bishop of Melbourne, and all other ministers of religion, to be at liberty to use all fair means for their conversion. Every man who returned alive to receive a grant of land, of not less than eighty acres, or not more than 160 acres, according to his deserts, or an equivalent in money. The deficiency of the expenditure to be sought for (if any) from the British Imperial Government, and Acts of Parliament of this colony, New Zealand, and Great Britain, to be passed, sanctioning the above."

This gentleman, residing in Australia, appears to be as little informed of the actual condition of the natives of New Zealand as he does of Orotchous, Manyargs, and other races in the regions of the Amoor. The Maoris, in his estimation, are all savages and heathen, to whom he proposes that Dr. Cairns and the Bishop of Melbourne should become the first Missionaries, while to facilitate the process of conversion, and leave the islands open to the grasp of the white adventurist, the whole race is to be transshipped to Australia, the men to be sold as slaves, the women to be handed over as wives to the Chinese, or whoever else might be disposed to take them. Seldom has a more disgraceful document met our eye, or one that is more richly deserving of reprobation. But it serves to show the animus that is abroad on the subject of native races, and how readily, if they appear to interfere with the white man in his process of emigration, they are denounced as worthless, and their enslavement and extirpation advised by free-born Britons. We deny the existence of any ethnological law of nature which dooms the black savage to disappear before the white settlers; but this we can understand—when a race, elevated by Christian influences to a superior state of civilization, and brought into contiguity with another race as yet only emerging from barbarism, uses its superior intelligence, not for the purpose of improving the native, and raising him to a level with itself, but for the purpose of oppressing him, and depriving him of those just rights which belong to him as a man, then indeed the black race must perish before the white; but we are persuaded whenever such a catastrophe takes place, retributive dispensations never fail to follow.

With respect to the decrease of the native race, we suppose it must be taken for granted. We have before us several writers on New Zealand, and they all agree in affirming this point. Mr. Swainson says—"There is no longer any doubt that the Maori race are fewer in number than they were twenty years ago."* Mr. Hursthouse concludes that sixty years ago they were full thrice as numerous as they are at present, and refers in proof of this to the deserted gardens, villages, strongholds, as evidential of the former existence of a much larger population. From this conclusion, however, our Missionary, Mr. Taylor differs.

"Our countrymen are inclined to fancy that various circumstances are conspiring to exterminate the native race, and that, before many years are past, it will be extinct; that the Maori population is rapidly diminishing. . . . . There is good reason, however, for doubting the accuracy of this conclusion." He is of opinion that the alteration for the better in their food will not fail to exercise a beneficial influence on the race. "Ten years ago the native did not cultivate wheat, and did not possess cattle: he has now abundance of both; in fact, of the former more than he consumes. Hitherto the chief mortality has been amongst the children, who literally were starved, having nothing but the breast until they could eat the potato, which was the main support. It was not to be wondered, therefore, that the poor little creatures should be cut off: having so little stamina, the influenza became peculiarly fatal to them.

"The insecurity of life in former days compelled them to dwell in fortified places, and these were always situated near their cultivations. The native had no idea of renewing his land when exhausted by succes-

*Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 12.

sive cropping, and, in fact, had no necessity for doing so, having such an unlimited extent at his command: therefore, when he found the land no longer able to yield him the usual return, he abandoned it, and sought a fresh locality for cultivation, and there erected a new pa for his defence. When I first came to Wanganui, I laid down the course of the river, and marked the pas on its banks: there are scarcely any of these places now inhabited, all having been abandoned for fresh ones. In fact, their abodes may be regarded rather as fortified camps than towns, their stay in one place being only until they have exhausted the surrounding country. The conclusion, therefore, is, that the native race was never very numerous, and the present ills which threaten its existence are more than counterbalanced by the advantages of better food and clothing, and an altogether improved way of living. As religion, civilized habits, customs, and peaceful pursuits gain ground on the savage life of former days, the New-Zealand race may not only endure the evils consequent on civilization, but even gain thereby.

"The population of these islands has been variously estimated, some rating it at 100,000, others at 80,000: perhaps the latter may be the nearest approximation to the truth."*

But while we may be prepared to admit that the race has diminished, we doubt the accuracy of the census referred to by Dr. Thomson, which reduces the Maori totality to figures so low as that of 56,049. Taylor, as we have seen, rates them at 80,000; Hursthouse at 70,000; Swainson at the same number. These are all recent writers. It is only the census of 1858, made, as we are informed by intelligent European and native enumerators, which reduces them so low as 56,000. But this census is, after all, only an estimate, and possesses very little reliability. The native enumerators very probably reckoned after the native fashion, which is to omit the women and children, and number the fighting men only. And that such has been the case is rendered more probable by the confusion respecting ages and sexes which pervades the census.

Dr. Thomson, indeed, offers evidence as to a positive reduction of number in certain localities, and a certain district of the Waikato country is referred to, where it appears that there has been, during the period 1844-1858, a reduction to the amount of nineteen per cent. But we more than doubt whether, from data of this kind, any positive conclusion can be drawn as to the general decrease of the race. Is there no other way of accounting for this and similar cases of local decrease? Has not the country become freed from that condition of disturbance and insecurity with which it was afflicted previously to the introduction of Christianity, and may not the people, who had crowded together at certain places for mutual defence, be now more equably dispersed over the face of the country, the tribe extending its occupation of the land, and, in doing so, becoming scattered over a wider area? We believe this to be the case, and that, while it be true that in some localities the reduction of numbers is considerable, in other directions it will be found that the lonely place is resonant with the sound of human voices, and that the land is, in fact, being sown with the people, which had previously been housed in pas and strongholds. And it is this we conceive that renders the formation of an accurate census impracticable, except by a measure of co-operation on the part of the natives, which has been attainable in the Punjab, but which the colonists of New Zealand have not yet been successful in securing.

But let it be supposed that the lowest average is correct, and that 56,000 constitutes the entirety of the native population, we have then to dispose of the objection, that the lands which they retain are far more extensive than they ever can by possibility require, and therefore that the decision to which they have come, to sell no more land, is one which cannot be permitted, and must be set aside. Yet surely this is an objection which comes with a very bad grace from a New-Zealand colonist; for if thirty-five millions of acres be not enough for 71,000 people, how can nineteen millions of acres be too much for 56,000, or more probably 70,000 Maoris? How would it be, if the proportions were reversed, and the colonial population found themselves in the position of the native, with nineteen millions of acres at their disposal, and no more? How earnestly would they agitate for an enlargement of territory? and how indignant would they not feel, if instead of obtaining for their case due consideration, they were informed that they had too much already, and must be prepared to have the quantity reduced. The fact is, for the European much is thought requisite; while for the native any thing will suffice; and we are inclined to think that there are many, who, if they could only rule matters in their own way, would reduce the native to the minimum of nothing, and raise the European to the maximum of all.

But it will be said the European knows how to employ the land placed at his dispo-

* Taylor's "New Zealand," pp. 256—258.

sal. He brings industry and intelligence to bear upon it, causes it to yield forth its hidden treasures, and makes it available for the common good; whereas, with the native, every thing is left in the wildness of nature, and the best land is little better than a run for pigs. Is this precisely true? A considerable amount of ignorance exists as to the condition of the Maori people. It may be well to look a little into this part of the subject, and see whether they have not evinced themselves to be an improvable race, one which has so very decidedly responded to the efforts made for their amelioration, as to show that not only are they already a very valuable portion of the New-Zealand population, but that, if fairly and equitably dealt with, and permitted peaceably and without oppression to go forward in the path of progress, they promise, at no distant period, in intelligence and productive powers to rise to a level with the European.

True civilization results from the renovating influence of Christianity on the national mind, and is always characterized by progress. When this healthful progress has been commenced, it will not rest until all in the moral and social habits of the people of an injurious character has been corrected, and the race has been set free for a corresponding growth in whatever is becoming and praiseworthy. There are inferior kinds of civilization, but they are very defective in their operation. They leave many evils in society uncorrected, to the removal of which they are unequal; and having reached a certain point of outward progress, are arrested there, and become dwarfed and stunted. Such, is the civilization of China, and of other nations which might be mentioned. The principles in operation have been incompetent to the greatness of the task, and they have done little more than polish the surface of society. Now the principles at work among the Maoris have been of the right kind, and they have accomplished all that could be expected of them during the brief period they have been in operation. Nations are not raised from a savage to a civilized state in a generation; and Christianity in New Zealand is not yet a generation old; for there are many persons, both here and there, who remember its first introduction into the islands? But what and how much has it effected, and what encouragement have we in the past, that, if opportunity be afforded it, it will accomplish yet more! The measure of improvement which has been attained by the Maoris under the influence of Christianity, we shall now proceed to show, availing ourselves, for this purpose, of the following chronological statement, taken from "Thomson's Story of New Zealand."

Chronological Statement showing the progressive Civilization now going on among the New Zealanders.

	State of the New Zealanders in	
1770.	1836.	1859.
1. Cannibals.	Cannibalism practised.	No instance of cannibalism since 1843.
2. Wars frequent.	Wars frequent.	No general civil war for eighteen years.
4. Murders frequent from superstition.	Murders less frequent than in 1770.	Murders less frequent than in 1836.
5. Child-murder common.	Child-murder less frequent than in 1770.	Child-murder less frequent than in 1836.
6. Strangers not tolerated.	Strangers tolerated.	Anxiety to have English settlements near villages.
7. One-tenth of the people slaves.	One-tenth of the people slaves.	Slavery extinct.
8. Population estimated at 100,000.	Population variously estimated.	Population estimated at 56,000.
9. Language unwritten.	Language written, portions of Scriptures translated.	All the Scriptures translated, several books printed in Maori.
10. Not protected from small-pox.	Not protected from small-pox.	Two-thirds of the people vaccinated.
11. No potatoes, pigs, or cattle.	Potatoes and pigs abound, few cattle.	Potatoes, pigs, and cattle numerous.
12. Plough unknown.	Plough unused.	Plough in frequent use.
13. Wheat unknown.	Wheat rarely cultivated.	Extensive wheat cultivations.
14. No commerce.	Trade limited to ships.	Extensive trade with English settlements.

1770.	1836.	1859.
15. Native laws in force.	Natives laws in force.	Occasional reference to English Courts, anxiety for English laws.
16. Huts badly ventilated.	Huts badly ventilated.	Huts badly ventilated, a few wooden houses.
17. Native dress in use.	Blankets in occasional use.	Blankets and imperfect European dress common.
18. Native food.	Native food, with pigs and potatoes.	Native food, with pigs, potatoes, and wheat.
19. Dead not interred.	Dead occasionally interred.	Dead almost always interred.
20. No half-castes.	A few half-castes.	Nearly 2000 half-castes.
21. No fire-arms.	Fire-arms and ammunition abundant.	Double-barrelled guns and ammunition abundant.
22. Tea and sugar unknown.	Tea and sugar never used.	Tea and sugar in frequent use.
23. No European settlers.	About 1000 Europeans in the country.	Nearly 60,000 Europeans in the country.
24. European ships plundered.	Ships occasionally plundered.	Ships never plundered.
25. Tobacco and spirits unknown.	Tobacco-smoking in use, spirits rarely used.	Tobacco-smoking universal, spirits occasionally drunk.
26. Iron, nails, and coloured clothes taken as payment for curiosities.	Gunpowder, tobacco, and blankets, taken in exchange for flax, pigs, and potatoes.	Money alone an article of exchange, no idea of interest for money.
27. Women subjected to much labour.	Women lead lives of labour.	Women do much labour.
28. Native cookery in use.	Native cookery in use.	Pots, pans, and native cookery in use.
29. Christianity unknown.	1500 Christians.	35,000 Christians.
30. Believed in a future state.	Believed in a future state	Believed in a future state.
31. Property in common.	Property in common.	Moveable property individualized, land occasionally,
32. Wars, tapus, feasts, subjects of conversation.	Wars, fire-arms, selling land, Christianity, the subjects of conversation.	Trade, ships, land, flour, laws, ploughs, horses, wheat, &c., the subjects.
33. Tribes kept apart by ancient feuds.	Tribes kept apart by ancient feuds.	Union of some ancient foes for mutual protection.
34. Stimulated to work by hunger.	Stimulated to work by hunger and the wish for fire-arms, &c.	Stimulated to work by hunger, and to obtain various articles of use and luxury.
35. The people distrusted each other.	The people distrusted each other.	With few exceptions the people trust each other.
36. "Come on shore, and we will kill and eat you all," were the defiant words addressed to some of the early navigators.	Several chiefs dying about this time exhorted their followers to protect the Missionaries, even if they waged war against the traders.	"Were we to turn against the settlers, we should be shutting up the road by which we receive many advantages," said Moanui, in his letter to the "Hawke's-Bay Journal," in 1857.

The reader is placed, as he peruses this statement, mid-way between two extremes. He is enabled to look back and see what has been done. He is enabled also to compare the present measure of attainment with the high standard of moral and social culture which Christianity is capable of affording to man, and see at once how much remains to be effected. But let him mark what deep-seated evils have been eradicated, and let him feel assured, that if the Maori race be not crushed by cruel and oppressive wars, and if the efforts hitherto put forth for their improvement be sustained with the same measure of Christian diligence and perseverance, results will be reached still more decided and encouraging.

There are some points in which the preceding table fails to bring out the whole of the results which have been accomplished. Thus, for instance, it numbers the professing Christians among the Maoris at 35,000; whereas, if the statements of those who are best competent to give an opinion are to be accredited, heathenism in the land is but a remnant, and that one so rapidly hastening to extinction, that "nationally the land is Christian." Of the Christianized natives, probably one-fourth are Wesleyan, and three-fourths Church of England. The Romanists are not more than 3 per cent. of the entire population.

Interesting evidences continue to be presented of the strong hold which Christianity has taken upon the native mind, of the value the people attach to it, and the sacrifices they are prepared to make in order to secure amongst them the continuance of its

healthful ministrations. In the "Church Missionary Record" for November there was published *in extenso* an interesting journal of a visitation carried out by the Bishop of Waiapu throughout a large portion of those extensive districts which we reviewed in an earlier portion of this article, and which may with propriety be called Maori land. The Missionary stations in the Waikato district were visited. The country was crossed to the Bay of Plenty, and then the route lay through the villages along the coast. On entering the diocese of Waiapu a hearty welcome awaited the bishop. "We were now," writes the Rev. R. Burrows," among a people who for several years have been under the immediate charge of a native pastor, with occasional visits from an English Missionary; and as we passed through this part of the Waiapu district, and witnessed the order and regularity with which the people attended the services of the church, the care which had been taken to prepare the candidates for the Lord's Supper, the respect with which both the native teachers and the congregations of the several settlements treated their pastor, and the general influence which he exercised over the people at large, I could not help remarking to the bishop, that here was encouragement for him to look out from among the people other men of like spirit whom he might ordain to this holy work.

"As we travelled along the coast, and met the various congregations which assembled to meet the bishop, the fruits of the past labours of those several Missionaries, who had for a longer or shorter period laboured among them, were very apparent. Waiapu is doubtless the most thickly populated native district in New Zealand; and, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, I believe the most prosperous in a Missionary point of view. The whole population, with scarcely an exception, are church-going people, and, for the most part, are regular attendants at the Sabbath services. No doubt there are many among them to whom the language addressed to the church of Sardis might be applied—'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead;' but no man of proper feeling could pass through this extensive district, and meet, as we did, the large congregations of orderly and attentive hearers, assembled in commodious and substantial churches of their own building, and witness the serious behaviour of the numerous members who partook of the Lord's Supper, and then compare the present state of this people with what they were thirty years ago, and not exclaim, 'What hath God wrought!'"

Further on, at a place called Whareponga, the long-tried native teacher of that place was presented to the bishop for holy orders; his name Raniera, a man of middle age and of sterling worth. Fully 500 natives witnessed the interesting ceremony. All along this portion of the East Coast substantial weather-boarded churches showed the anxiety of the Christian natives to afford becoming maintenance to the ordinances of Christian worship.

After a long day's journey, Turanga, the bishop's own station, was approached at dusk, when "the whole settlement turned out to welcome him home. There were middle-aged married couples, with their families, young married couples, grown-up young men and boys of all ages, besides a limited number of girls, who, for want of more accommodation in the way of buildings, are domiciled and taught in the bishop's own dwelling, which will account for then umber being limited. The whole establishment numbers about 130."

Here various and important operations, having especial reference to the increase of native candidates for the ministry, and the consolidation of the native church, are being actively prosecuted. "Besides the ordinary routine of school duties, there were buildings in the course of erection—land being cleared, fenced, and ploughed—cattle and other stock being attended to, besides a variety of other employments suited to the younger children of the establishment, so that the whole settlement presented one busy scene of life and activity."

This institution promises to become "in a few years one of our first training institutions for native pastors and teachers. The bishop will have the advantage of constant intercourse with the young men who are brought together for instruction, and thus be able to judge of their fitness for the work of the ministry, or as teachers."

Here the native deacon to whom reference has been already made, Rota Waitoa, "having purchased to himself a good degree, and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus," was admitted to priests' orders, in the presence of a large congregation, several of whom had accompanied him to Waiapu for the express purpose of witnessing the ceremony.

We have introduced these fragments as specimens of the work which is going forward throughout New Zealand; and we introduce them that our readers may clearly understand what sort of people these Maoris are, whom Dr. Mackay designates as heathen savages, and whom he recommends to be sold as slaves.

With the progress of Christianity, intellectual and industrial action are awakened

The native has learned to read and write. "One half the adult population can read their own language; one-third can write, add up figures, subtract and multiply."* "There are New Zealanders who have a good knowledge of geography, arithmetic, and history; are deeply read in the Bible; are in holy orders; lend money, and keep running accounts at banks; treat women with consideration; can read and write, and act as interpreters between settlers and their own race; can calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood, the area of a plot of ground so as to sow two bushels of wheat to the acre, or the live weight of a pig, and its value at threepence a pound, deducting one-fifth as offal; are conversant with the principle of striking for higher wages; can make gunpowder, hew stones, plough, and navigate ships with the compass; can play chess tolerably and draughts inimitably; can build wooden houses; prefer sitting on chairs to squatting on the ground, and the wearing of spectacles to seeing imperfectly, &c."†

From statistical tables furnished by Thomson it appears, that during the four years from 1852 to 1855 inclusive, there reached Auckland and Onehunga annually some 2000 canoes loaded with native produce, manned by crews of from 8000 to upwards of 10,000 persons, and bringing to the Auckland market kits of potatoes, onions, maize, kumaras, cabbages, peaches, flax, bundles of grass to the amount of 6000; 2000 tons of wood; fish, pigs, goats, ducks, fowls, tons of flour, geese, turkeys, kits of pumpkins, melons, grapes, apples, quinces; upwards of 2000 bushels of wheat; bundles of straw; kits of raupo; tons of kauri gum; kits of pipi; oysters; bushels of bran; amounting in value, in the minimum year (1852), to 6460*l.*; and in the maximum (1854), to 16,180*l.* This sum, the produce of their own industry, is expended by them in articles promotive of their comfort and gratification. They buy ploughs and carts, horses and oxen; they pay large sums for the erection of flour mills; they purchase trading vessels; they provide themselves and their families with articles of European clothing. "Not less than 6000*l.* were invested in flour mills in 1853 by the natives living within fifty miles of Auckland.‡

In 1850 it was calculated that every native around Wellington spent twenty-five shillings in buying European articles; while it has been estimated that in 1858 upwards of 40,000*l.* of the customs revenue was paid by the natives, the net customs revenue of the Northern Island for the year 1857 amounting to not more than 79,689*l.*

We cannot refrain from noticing a state paper on native affairs drawn up by Mr. C. W. Richmond, in which he estimates the contributions to customs revenue of the Maori population of the Northern Island at not more than 15,994*l.*; and that in the face of the fact that in two years (1855 and 1856) our merchants of Auckland shipped to the East Coast alone goods to the value of 52,479*l.* The native Secretary in a memorandum very properly corrects this error.—

"In estimating the amount of native contribution to the customs revenue, it should be remembered that, not only as consumers, but as producers, they swell the amount of receipts. In enumerating the causes operating to make the contributions in the Northern Island exceed, per head, those of the southern provinces, the large native population is omitted. It cannot be doubted that the produce of native labour, and the exports they mainly contributed to furnish, were not without considerable influence in causing the excess of revenue. It is believed that double the amount set down by ministers as the Maori contribution to the customs would not be an over-estimate of the revenue accruing through their means, exclusive of the land revenue. Their labour and productions support a considerable proportion of the European population, who, as consumers of all excisable articles, contribute a full share to the revenue.

"With respect to the balance of customs revenue, it should be remembered that the land revenue is also derived, indirectly, from the natives, and should therefore be added to that balance."*

Enough has been said to show that the position of the Maori is changed; that he is become himself an agriculturist and an owner of flocks and herds. And as they become sensible of the value of land, and how by its cultivation their means may be increased, they become less willing to part with it. They understand it is better for them to sell the produce of the land than the land itself; and that, when they sell the land, they are like the man who, thinking he might have all at once killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Experience has shown them, that when they sell the land, the money soon goes, and they find themselves without any money or land; but that, when they keep the land and till it, they have the land and the money likewise.

We desire to put the case of the Maori

* Thomson, vol, ii. p. 297.

† Thomson, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.

‡ Thompson, vol ii., p. 298.

* Papers relating to New Zealand, p. 55.

fairly before the British public, that they may decide whether his refusal to sell more land, and his anxiety to keep the last district remaining to his race intact from European purchasers, is, after all, an act of such exceeding criminality, as to justify a recurrence to extreme measures, which reduce the Maori to the alternative of surrendering rights secured to him by the treaty of Waitangi, or of defending them by force of arms. Let us hear the Bishop of New Zealand on this point, whose acquaintance with the Maori character and customs, renders his testimony of especial weight—

"If the present native population were to adopt English habits and ideas, the available country, which they at present occupy, would not be more than sufficient for the maintenance of their flocks and herds upon the proportionate scale of the same number of English colonists." Yet, "the belief is growing that this territory belongs to the province of Auckland; and that it is the outlet for its immigrants, and the means of its aggrandizement;" and "every vituperative epithet is heaped upon them in the public journals, and even threats used openly in the Provincial Councils, because they are accused of not selling their land fast enough to supply" the "thousands of immigrants brought into this country by the promise of free grants of land."

Thus the pauper settler who has land without the means of cultivating it, looks upon the Maori occupant as in his way, and abuses him as a nigger whenever he has the opportunity; and the Maori, with his usual acuteness, perceiving the unfavourable light in which he is regarded, and conscious that his position is becoming one of increasing peril, unites with his native brethren for defensive purposes. "It is but natural they should cling to their rights with more tenacity, the more they are called in question. Land-leagues are the unavoidable protest of an unrepresented majority against an aggressive minority."* Archdeacon Kissling takes the same view. "The keen eye with which the natives watch immigrant ships bringing accessions of Pakehas to their shores, the deep feeling heaving from their breast when hearing of the injudicious and exaggerated statements, set forth in local newspapers, relative to the rapid diminution in their population, the excitement caused by a movement of Europeans to effect a direct and individual purchase of land from them, together with other circumstances too numerous to be mentioned, are, to a competent observer, significant enough to show that the New Zealanders mean to strain every nerve for the preservation of their nationality and their landed possessions.

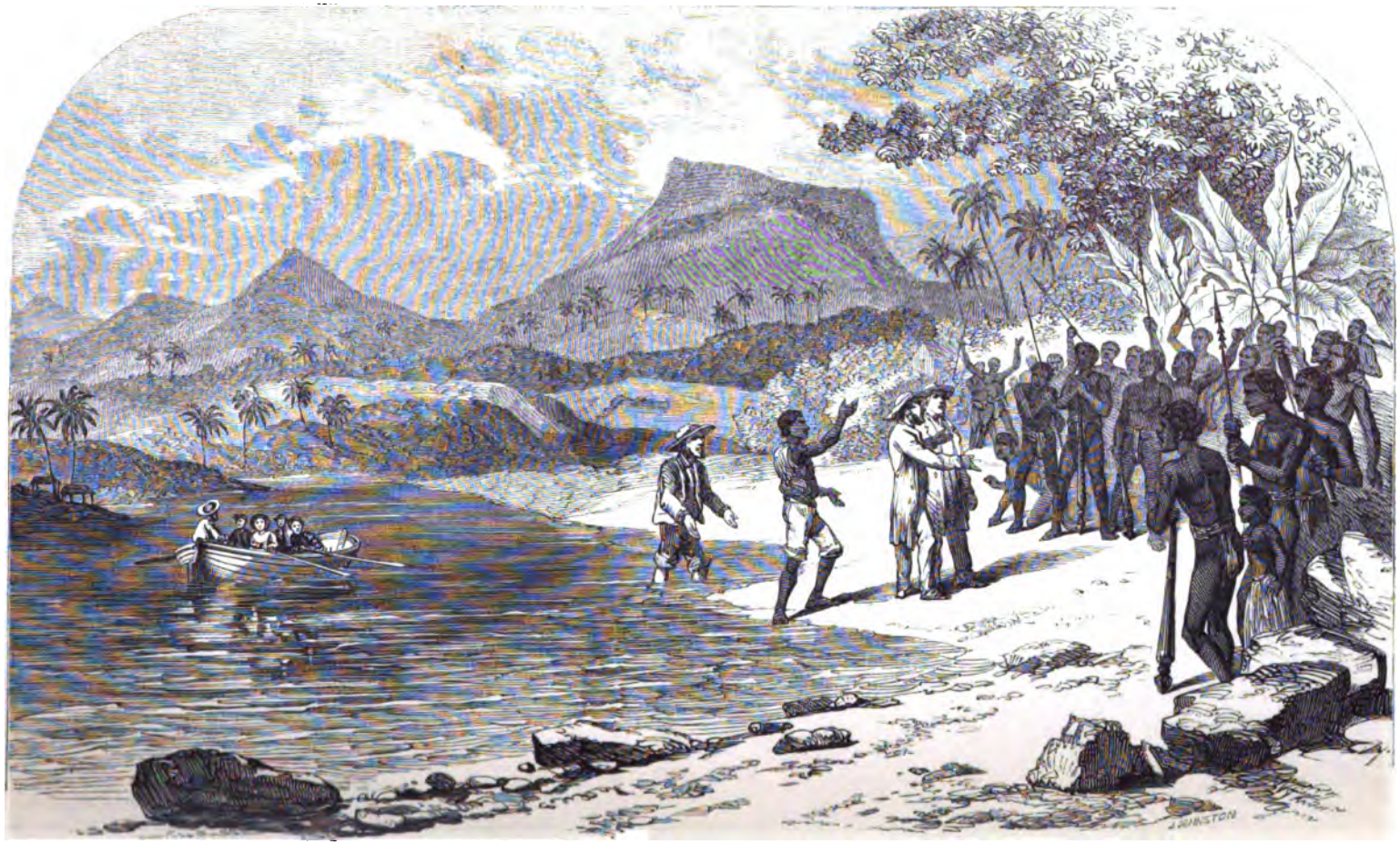
"On the other hand, the new-come race assumes a bolder tone of voice, selfishness interferes, objects tempt, vice increases, the country is overrun by various characters, and the immigrants call for the land promised them before their departure from England."*

There is another consideration which may be introduced, with a view to facilitate a correct judgment on these questions. It is said that the Maoris are decreasing, and that with great rapidity. If it be so, then all that the colonist has to do is to be patient for a little while, and then the Northern Island, like the Middle Island, being depopulated of natives, will be entirely at his disposal without purchase or difficulty. It is scarcely worth while to knock a dying man on the head. It is also somewhat dangerous to approach too near a wounded lion. He is dying, but irritate him, and it will be found that the stroke of his paw is still dangerous. The Maori, if assaulted, will die hard. He will turn to bay, and defend the national fortresses of his island to the last extremity. The existing war is a proof of this.

But the native does not think he is dying out, nor do we think he is either. Let it be conceded that the Maoris have decreased, and that for some years. Still the race has been in a transition state, undergoing a complete change of habits and mode of life, affecting their dress, food, habitations, &c. That is always a weakly season: it is like the moulting time to a bird. It is sickly while putting off the old plumage, and while the new plumage is as yet but imperfectly developed, and to an inexperienced person it seems as though it were dying. But it revives and recovers its pristine strength. And so with a native race. Under influences such as have been referred to, it may dwindle down to a seed; and yet that remnant may become the root of a new and healthful and increasing population. It has been so in other cases, and if war had not intervened, we are persuaded it would have been so with the Maori; and we are still hopeful enough to think that, if this outbreak be brought to some happy termination, and the mutual distrust which has grown up between the races be removed, the Maori will yet increase and fill the districts which he now retains with a numerous and healthful population.

* Bishop of New Zealand, Papers relating to New Zealand, p. 7.

* Archdeacon Kissling, Blue Book, p. 117.



FIRST VISIT OF MISSIONARIES TO A SOUTH SEA ISLAND.

REVIVING INFLUENCES.

In our last Number we referred to the Christian churches and congregations which, by the powerful action of the Gospel, have been raised up in many and benighted portions of our earth, and which have now assumed sufficient consistency to be regarded as permanent structures. In these lesser, yet deeply interesting results—the precursors, we are persuaded, of still more remarkable movements—we are reminded of the first grand expansion of the Gospel which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. There we see the type of all our present labours. Evangelists went forth from a common centre of action. Directing their steps to some commanding point, on which Christianity, when kindled, might be as a beacon fire on the hill-top, they commenced their work, often amidst great discouragement. Thus it was at Philippi. Specially directed thither, as much so as the Israelites were when the pillar of fire went before them in their encampments, the door seemed closed on their arrival. No synagogue of the Jews afforded opportunity for immediate action. A few women, meeting for prayer without the city, by the river's side, were Paul's first hearers, and one of these his first convert. Yet this sufficed to awake the watchful jealousy of the god of this world. A wild commotion ensued, and Paul and Silas, bitterly scourged and their feet made fast in the stocks, became, as often before, sufferers for the Gospel's sake. Yet here, in this very place, where its messengers were bound, the word of the Lord had free course and was glorified. Lydia, the one convert, multiplied into a noble band of devoted brethren; and Paul, whom the Philippians had reviled, was subsequently supported, in his Missionary itinerancies to far distant parts of the earth, by the contributions of the Christian church which was raised up from amongst them.

And thus the work of evangelization wondrously proceeded. Christian churches were raised up here and there, points of light on the dark expanse of heathenism, like a few of the more powerful stars coming out, in a dark night, on the face of the heavens. They were to be found in the Holy Land, throughout Asia Minor, in Macedonia, Greece, and Rome; and it remained that these churches should reproduce themselves, and thus extend the knowledge of Christianity among the surrounding heathen. That they might be capable of this, great pains were taken in laying their foundations. Their members were brought together amidst the severity of a fiery persecution, and thus the strongest possible security was obtained as to the soundness of the materials. The apostles were careful to expedite their organization, so that, being furnished with all due helps, their growth and efficiency might be in every possible way facilitated. Elders being ordained in every city, they were placed under their own native pastorate. Epistles were addressed to them, corrective of evils as they arose, and admonitory of diligence in the cultivation of the Christian character. In these they were reminded of their obligation to be as lights in the world, and to communicate freely to others that light of truth which they had so freely received themselves. They were told that as Christian churches they had special duties, which they were expected with fidelity to discharge, and that they existed, not only for the edification of the members, but the conversion of the world around. Built on sure foundations, they were intended to serve as lighthouses, where the flame of divine truth might be carefully maintained, and light be thrown on the troubled waves of this world. The Saviour assigned this high office to his church—"Ye are the light of the world." St. Paul expected the same of the churches which he had been instrumental in planting, and therefore he did not work out from a permanized centre, refusing to take up a new standing-point, until the localities which intervened between it and the original centre had been subdued by a gradual process; but having raised up a church in any given place, he left it there, and, passing on to some distant spot, commenced a new series of operations, looking back on the old points of labour, only just so much as might be needful to invest them with an increasing fitness for their work. To the Philippians he writes, "Be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain." To the Corinthians he expresses his hope, that, when brought to a more healthful state, they would not be wanting in this their proper work, "having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you." And just as the churches were spiritual and earnest, they did so exert themselves. The church at Thessalonica is thus commended—"Ye were

ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad." And that the churches were led promptly forward to the fulfilment of this their true vocation is evident from the way in which St. John, in his third Epistle, speaks of the brethren and strangers, who, engaged as they were in the evangelization of the heathen, needed to be helped by settled and affluent Christians, like the well-beloved Gaius, "because that, for His name's sake, they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles;" and then he adds, "We, therefore, ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth."

Christian churches of the present day have the same duties to perform, especially our new organizations among the heathen. They are surrounded by decidedly antagonistic influences, and in their vicinity, light and darkness, truth and error, come into direct and sharp collision with each other. In old settled and nominally Christian countries, there is a belt of twilight where these elements so fuse that it is difficult to say where darkness ceases to rule and light is in the ascendancy; but in heathen lands there is thrown around our Christian communities no penumbra of this kind. In those countries if the light were disposed to compromise, and to forego all further conquests, on the condition that it should be left in the undisputed possession of whatsoever it had already obtained, the energy of evil would never rest contented with a divided empire. There must be conflict, and light must prevail against the darkness, or darkness will extinguish the light. The continued existence of Christian organizations in the midst of heathenism depends on their being indomitably aggressive. Nor can the old churches at home derelict this great duty with impunity. Their desistence from it is a compromise with the world, which must be fatal to themselves; and under such a system of dishonourable tergiversation, they may continue to exist, but with a name to live whilst they are dead.

A church which is faithless to this high responsibility is not deserving of the name it bears. The world is not so enlightened, the truth of God is not so universalized, that the churches have no longer to discharge this high responsibility. There is no church, no congregation, which has not around it, in greater or less numbers, unconverted men who need to be brought to Christ. They may be as cold and dead under a profession of Christianity as in professed heathenism. Their ears may be familiarized with Christian truths, and their intellects may have become conversant with them, and yet the heart be as estranged from God, and the life be as devoid of Christian consecration, as the far-off heathen who have never had any opportunities at all. But besides these, there are now, as of old, "the regions beyond," the unreclaimed wildernesses, in the subjugation and culture of which every settled church ought to be engaged. These Christian churches, dispersed as they are over a wide area—the great old centres at home, the new organizations on the frontier and in the midst of heathenism—all are most advantageously circumstanced for aggressive action. Were they all so endued with holy faith, and love, and zeal as to place them at once in effective working order, efforts for the salvation of souls and the world's regeneration might at once be commenced on a most extended scale.

Of the action of his churches, in relation to these high responsibilies, He who is Head over all things to his church is no inattentive observer. He was not so of old, and we may be assured of it He is not so now. When John was in Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, he heard a great voice as the sound of a trumpet, and when he turned to see who it was that spoke, he beheld a glorious vision, one whom he promptly recognised, his divine Lord, whom he had known as the man of sorrows, but now wondrously glorified, as became Him to whom all power was committed in heaven and on earth. He was there in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, holding the seven stars in his right hand. His professing churches, and the ministers of those churches, are then objects of his special concernment. He has expectations of service to be rendered, and He looks to see that those expectations be fulfilled, that his ministers be as stars, and his churches be as golden candlesticks. He looks to see that his ministers be as planetary bodies, shining not with an inherent but with a reflected light. As the planet has the sun for its centre, by which it is influenced, around which it describes its prescribed orbit, and from whence it receives its light, so that, becoming thus illuminated, it gives light to others, so is it with a faithful ministry. Christ is its sun and centre; around Him it describes its orbit of duteous service; by Him it is ruled; to Him it looks for encouragement; from Him through the word it receives its light, and thus becomes a light to others; and a ministry thus faithful to its Lord is upheld by his right hand, as the pos-

derous globes are upheld by his almighty power in the position He has assigned them. He looks also to see that his churches be as candlesticks, holding up, in suchwise that men may perceive and be enlighted by it, the light of revelation. These Gospel times in which we live, when compared with the ages which have preceded them, are as the day which succeeds the night; but when compared with the brighter period which awaits our world, when "the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days;" and as in the night-season we light lamps in order that each, shining with the measure of brilliancy that belongs to it, may illuminate a portion of the darkness around, so the Lord has set up his churches, that, shining as lights, they may illuminate, in some measure, the spiritual darkness of the world. This is his purpose, and He is observant of the degree in which his high intentions are fulfilled. He walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks. He looks not on the outward appearance, for the Lord looketh on the heart. He notes the effectiveness of each, its fitness for the work, and its truthfulness in discharging it. He institutes, in this respect, a searching scrutiny. He did so of old, when He examined the Asiatic churches; and as, with eyes like a flame of fire, He looked each through and through, He said, "I know thy works." In what condition did He find them? Some faithful and effective, others the reverse. We have, in the pages of revelation, the records of the Lord's visitation of his churches, as well ministers as people, and his judgment upon them. They are ranged out before us, with a striking dissimilarity, in almost every possible phase of religious condition, the extremes of the series strongly contrasting with each other. We have the church of Smyrna, poor in temporalities, and poor in her own estimation of herself, yet rich, because dependent on Christ and on his fulness: we have the church of Laodicea, rich in temporalities, and rich in her estimation of herself, but poor, because self-complacent, and, in proportion as she was so, neglectful of her Lord: we have the church at Philadelphia, with limited capabilities, "a little strength," yet earnest, indefatigable in the use of them, while Laodicea is lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, neither openly opposed nor heartily consecrated to the Lord's work; the expression "lukewarm" carrying with it a beautiful allusion to the tepid waters at Hieropolis and Laodicea, in which the inhabitants loved to luxuriate and enervate themselves, so as to become unfit for action. And so with many professing Christians at the present time; they love a lukewarm temperature, somewhat of the world and somewhat of religion: not all world, lest conscience be disquieted, and so mar their ease; not all religion, lest conformity to the world be precluded; but just the lukewarm medium, in which the man may enjoy himself, and yet keep conscience sleeping. There is Sardis, high in reputation, flourishing in name; but all this, like the richly-ornamented bier on which the dead body lies in state, with a name to live whilst she was dead, and, unless revived, only remaining to be buried out of sight. "Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee." There is Ephesus, with much to admire, with works, and labour, and patience, but yet in danger; for He who trieth the heart and the reins, perceived that the diminution of gracious affection had commenced. "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love;" and this is a disease of the heart, which, unless arrested, must paralyze the whole body.

There is the same scrutiny now; the same rigid investigation. He walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks; He investigates each church; He knows its state, and which of these ancient churches, in temperament and features, it most resembles. And undoubtedly there are now, as of old, some He can commend; some, as well individuals as churches, who, poor in all other respects, are yet rich in the Lord; some, like Philadelphia, zealous in his service, and anxious to enter in at every open door. But are there none like Ephesus, who, content with the praise of man, neglect to approve themselves to God, and whose works are not perfect, not filled up, like an ear of corn in the time of harvest, when there are found but a few grains in it, and those meagre and without fulness? Are none like Laodicea, rich, self-satisfied, and self-indulgent, and, just in proportion as they are so, distasteful to the Lord? Is there not generally throughout the Lord's churches a consciousness of great deficiency—not merely that feeling of short-coming which a devoted man has who measures his service by his sense of obligation, but that self-condemnation which a man feels who knows he might have done much more, but that the world has so intruded itself on his affections, that the Lord

has not had the heart, and has therefore been defrauded of the service?

Take the most favoured of the old and settled churches of Europe, whose names are most prominent in the great work of evangelization, at home and abroad: have they responded as they might have been expected to do, to all that God has done for them? Some of them, at least, are in the position of the Corinthian church of old—"Ye are full," "ye are rich." They have had peace within their borders, and the Lord has filled them with the finest of the wheat. Has grateful affection kept pace with outward privileges, and the large measure of wealth bestowed upon them yielded a proportionately large revenue for the Lord's work? Have they equalled in their large-heartedness the ancient Hebrews, when "they came both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets and earrings, and rings, and tablets, and all jewels of gold," &c., until they had brought more than enough for the service of the work? Has the present time witnessed the same readiness to part with superfluities, and to take from the store of personal luxuries and comforts, that the Lord's work might have enough? Or has so much been expended on conformity to the world, that even persons professing serious godliness have but little left to give to God? Is there not prevalent throughout the churches of our own land a deep-seated conviction, that in unction and spirituality, in holy tone and consecration, we are below our privileges, below our time, below the means of action at our disposal? that, instead of the going forth of earnest affections, the Lord is often grieved with dull hearts, and met with formal and perfunctory, instead of with prayerful, laborious, and self-denying services? And when God's providences afford new and marvellous opportunities for action, and important junctures occur in the history of kingdoms and nations, in which, by an effort corresponding with the magnitude of the opening, the Gospel might at once be placed in a position of commanding influence for a people's good, is there amongst us the ready appreciation of the emergency, and the prompt reply, "Here am I; send me"? Where are the Brainerds and Martyns of former days? Where is the spirit of Paul, when he said, "None of these things move me, neither do I count my life dear to myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus?" Do not our own great and leading Missions require to be promptly and powerfully reinforced? And yet, so far from enlarging our sphere of action, is it not a fact that we can do little more than supply the casualties which are made by sickness or by death? And our churches raised up from amongst the heathen, have they not filled us with solicitude, lest, instead of opening out in love to the heathen, they should narrow down into a selfish anxiety respecting themselves; lest they should make the European evangelist, instead of Christ, their centre, and lean on the resources of the Missionary body at home, rather than on the Lord's grace and their own honest efforts in dependence on that grace? We need our Christian congregations amongst the heathen to be as leaven in the mass: have we not had betimes reason to fear lest, instead of this, they might become nothing more than a piece of new cloth on an old garment, which never succeeds in bringing the threadbare parts into assimilation with its own newness? In short, at home and abroad, is there not a great deficiency? Is there an honest Christian, that, laying his hand upon his heart, could refrain from acknowledging, "I need to be anointed with fresh oil?" Is it not, then, just the moment when it might be expected that the Lord would visit his churches with gracious outgoings of his favour? The church of the Old Testament had its seasons of need, and did not holy men of old feel themselves emboldened to supplicate God for revival blessings? In olden times the people of God, brought back from captivity, prayed for a further liberation—a liberation from the narrowness and contractedness of a worldly spirit, and wrestled for a blessing when they cried, "Wilt thou not revive us again that thy people may rejoice in thee?" And had not such entreaties a marked and abundant answer, when "the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua, the son of Josedech the priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people;" and they who had been so selfish as to dwell in ceiled houses while the Lord's house lay waste, "came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts." And if in the twilight of the preliminary dispensation holy men felt the need of refreshings from the presence of the Lord, and found themselves emboldened to pray for such, and to say, "O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years," shall the churches which live in the full sunshine of revealed truth be less prayerful and expectant on this subject? When the New Testament church was in the weakness of infancy, and wholly unequal to the fulfilment of the great responsibilities which the Saviour, before his ascension,

devolved on his people—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—the Spirit in his advent endued her with unwonted strength. Nothing could be more arduous than the required duty—"Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth;" and nothing more unequal to the exigencies of the moment than the scanty band of one hundred and twenty names gathered together at Jerusalem in an upper chamber. They from whom most might have been expected, because they had been so long under the instruction and training of the Saviour, had exhibited a more than usual measure of timidity; for although they fervently loved Him, they had all forsaken Him; and yet these men were to be witnesses (μαρτυρες), a word which bears the double meaning of witness and martyr; for so important was this great duty to be regarded, that, rather than prove unfaithful to it, his people were to prefer the surrender of their lives.

Never, in the future history of the church, could there occur a moment of more utter weakness. The duty lay before them, great, and glorious, and comprehensive. It was a giant's task, but they to whom it was entrusted had but an infant's strength. It was the opportune moment for a special interference, and the manifestation of the Spirit's power. They wanted power, and they were endued with it. Out of weakness they were made strong, and waxed valiant in the fight. These timid, shrinking men became bold as Jonathan when he said to his armour-bearer, "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised: it may be that the Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." "And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by signs following."

In that great introductory manifestation, the Lord designed to teach his people what they would be justified in expecting at any subsequent period of their history.

Whenever the church should find itself weak, and without commensurate energy in the presence of great opportunities, then would be the time to seek and expect gracious visitations; and such has been her experience. The great promise, "I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh," when used in faith, has never failed to yield forth new unction. There have been reviving seasons in which the Spirit has come, sometimes like the dew upon the tender herb, sometimes with the fulness and freshness of a summer shower. And now we need a new refreshing, for a like necessity has supervened. The position of the church is in nowise changed since the beginning of its history. There are the same responsibilities; there is the same work to be done. Around us is the world still lying in wickedness; and if there be with us, as with those first Christians before the advent of the Spirit, a want of power, the same great remedy is available, the same promise awaits our use. The promise of the Spirit was not so fulfilled on the day of Pentecost as to be terminated or shut up: it is as full of the oil of gladness now as it was then; and, whensoever pleaded in faith, will not fail to outpour fresh unction on the church.

Well, God's people have felt this, and they have been earnestly pleading that they might be endued with power from on high. There has been, during these many years past, a growing consciousness in the church that this was our great need, and holy men of God have been praying for it. With each new year, Haldane Stewart raised his voice, and summoned faithful Christians to prayer for a renewed outpouring of the Spirit of God. And yet now, when the answer comes, we are incredulous; when the Lord breaks up the stagnation, and men's minds begin to be powerfully moved on those subjects which, although of most importance, have been least regarded, men are astonished, and exclaim, "What new thing is this?" The people of God have mourned over the prevalent deadness, the dulness, the lack of fervent affections, the stinted measure of service, and they have prayed, "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon the garden that the spices may flow forth;" and yet, when the Lord takes up their prayer in the way of answer, and gives the command, "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon *my* garden that the spices may flow out;" and the wind comes, as it often has done before, "a rushing, mighty wind," causing the branches to bend and the leaves to rustle, men are alarmed at the answer to their own prayers: they seem almost as though they would stay the movement, and reduce all things to their previous state of tame insipidity and feeble action. There have been—there are now—revivals. Some, aroused out of a deep sleep, have become suddenly and powerfully troubled about their souls. The isolated instances of conversion, the ones and twos of former days, have been multiplied into hundreds. From all sides the eager, earnest inquiry has been heard, "What shall I do to be saved?" and prayer has been resorted

to: in other words, God has been called upon as alone able to relieve such deep distress; and from crowds of praying people, petitions for mercy have been put up in the name of Jesus. Is there any thing in this contrary to the genius and spirit of the Gospel? Is the wind always blowing? Is there not often a calm, and with it, betimes, a heaviness and unwholesomeness of the atmosphere, in which disease is generated, and life is in an unhealthy state; and then comes the wind? And is it not to the action of this element that the Spirit, in his movements, is compared? Does He not act gently or powerfully as the necessities of the church require? Does He not sometimes breathe softly as the south wind; and does He not sometimes come with irresistible force and majesty? Does He not act by gusts, by an intermitted, yet faithfully repeated and wisely regulated action? And what if now we are in the midst of one of these remarkable manifestations; shall we not awake to the grandeur of the moment, and wisely yet energetically, throw ourselves into the purposes of God, and, instead of doubting and questioning, pray and act; pray that the movement, instead of diminishing in intensity, may deepen and strengthen, reproducing itself in many places; and act, that it may be a blessed season for the salvation of many souls! We want reinforcements. Let the standard of the Gospel be uplifted, and, while the disposition lasts, let men be enlisted under the banner of Christ!

What is there in these movements which justify us in recognising them as the work of God? They have occurred in America, in the north of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; and homogeneous as these countries, in many respects, are, the first of these movements may be regarded as having helped to generate the others; but now we trace a like awakening in a far distant part of the earth, and there, not amongst old and settled Christian churches, but amongst new organizations, which have hitherto existed with a feeble light, and on a limited scale, amidst masses of heathen. It is this which we propose to submit to a special analysis, pointing out the features in which it is identical with the movements which have taken place in our home churches.

And first the areas of revival influence in the old countries have been prepared for such visitations by Gospel teaching: and the populations, to a great extent, were thus rendered conversant with Bible truths. Yet of the knowledge thus acquired much remained barren and unproductive, and over the generality of men sin and the world continued to be the predominating influences. The districts of Tinnevelly, in which similar movements have manifested themselves, has been also under Christian husbandry of a very earnest kind for several years.*

This is so far satisfactory. We cannot understand a harvest springing up in a field which never has been sown; but where this has been done, the springing may be retarded, and the seed delay to germinate. It is awaiting the quickening influence from above, the rain that, as it falls, fertilizes; and when that comes, the change from apparent death to manifest life may be rapid and almost instantaneous, over the whole breadth of the field. Wherever there is faithful Gospel-teaching there should never be discouragement. Hard and unimpressed as the field may seem, the mighty power of God can clothe it with verdure. But the Lord would teach us that there must be "thorns and briers," until "the Spirit be poured upon us from on high:" then "the wilderness shall be a fruitful field." Let ministers "sow the seed withal," and pray, and "then shall He give the rain of thy seed;" and when He does so, we shall have "bread of the increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plenteous."

Again, the thoughts which have occupied men's minds, and which have stirred their souls to the very depths, have been precisely those grand points which are most prominent in the faithful teaching of God's word—sin and salvation, the ruined state of man, and the means of recovery in Christ. In proof that in these important particulars the movement in Tinnevelly is identical with those which have manifested themselves nearer home, we refer our readers to details already published in our Number for August last.†

The deep sense of need thus generated has led to an earnest frequenting of the means of grace. Just as a hungry man craves food, and as one sick applies for medicine, so the consciousness of spiritual wants brings men to the Lord's door, where they know they can only have relief, and keeps them waiting: and there they may be found "watching daily." Examples of this class of results have been already afforded: we add some few more. The Rev. W. Gray, in a letter dated September 10, 1860, writes thus encouragingly—

"Let me now go on with my account

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* *Vide* Vol. 1860, p. 176.

† Ditto p. 177, &c.

of what I have seen in my visit to those places which God in his mercy appears to have especially blessed.

"I had reached Irlavandhur (one mile to the east of Melapatti, where our agent, Moses, is) on Wednesday evening, September 5. I spent the following day quietly in the tent, preaching in the evening to the heathen people in the town, and afterwards to our little congregation there. At about nine P.M., Moses, who had been away during the day at Mr. Vedhanayagam's weekly class, came to the tent, and we made an arrangement that I should meet the Melapatti people the following morning, and address them. Accordingly, at six o'clock A.M., I went over in my bandy, and in Moses' house (the church being altogether too small) I had the great privilege of addressing seventy-eight attentive hearers. Some had come from the neighbouring villages of Vadakapatti and Pillerainattham.

"I was astonished to find so many assembled, and when I compare this with the state of things four or six months ago, the change does really appear wonderful. I am quite sure that, six months ago, not all the wit and elequence of man would have got twenty people together at that hour in the morning, or, indeed, almost at any other hour, in that village. To the Almighty Spirit let us give thanks, and rejoice. After service was over, and the people had gone, I had a long inquiry with Moses into the state of the congregation. I find that almost every member of the congregation in Melapatti (in all twenty-nine souls) has been awakened. Twelve heathen people have joined: thirty Pallars of the little village of Vadakkapatti have also come over, and are now under Christian instruction. All appear to be going on well, and growing in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. In the evening I went with Moses to Vadakkapatti to preach to the people. They all came together, and made up twenty-eight. They are of course very ignorant, having but just joined; but Moses says that several awakenings have taken place amongst them. As I was preaching, we were joined by David Perinbam, one of our permanent itinerating catechists, whom I had directed to meet me at Irlavandhur. After service he went, at Moses' request, to Melapatti, to spend the night with him, instead of coming to the tent with me. I mention this, that I may have occasion to tell you what he found with regard to the people. After Moses and he had supped together, the people came in for evening prayers. They first sang a Tamil hymn, Moses' wife leading. They then proposed to sing another, and then another. So the time went on, and it was very late by the time that poor David, wearied with his long journey from Strivilliputthur that day, was able to get to rest, after prayers were over. At half-past three o'clock in the morning he was roused up again. The people had come for prayers, and he was enabled at that early hour to address them from the words, 'Those that seek me early shall find me.' These poor people are obliged to go out before dawn to their work, and for this reason it is their habit, ever since the blessed change came on, to meet together at that hour in Moses' house, to hear him read the word of God, and to join in prayer. You will remember that I once before mentioned this to you in one of my letters, telling you of an incident that had happened to Vedhanayagam. He had been spending the Sunday with these people, and had preached to them three times during the day. He retired to rest rather wearied, and was awakened at three o'clock the following morning by a rough voice crying out, 'Are you not up yet?' May the Lord, by his quickening Spirit, uphold them always in this forwardness and diligence, even unto the end, for Christ's sake!"

In the immediate vicinity of Melapatti lies a group of villages, Sippiparei, Irlavandhur, Pillirainatthan, and Vadakkapatti. Amongst these villages two valued native agents are labouring, and in each of them a point of Christian vitality is in action. In the case of one of them, Sippiparei, this is the more interesting because of former disappointments.

"Once, in Sippiparei, there had been a congregation of no less than 500 Naicks. A fine large church had been built for them, and an active catechist had been placed amongst them. But they had come from a merely temporal motive, and so it was, that, when Mr. Every most rightly resisted their worldliness, they had all to a man relapsed into their original heathenism. Several years have now passed over, during which we have not had one person in the congregation, and even an attempt to get up a school has proved a failure. Jacob is now there, and I do think that, by the blessing of God, our work has begun on a more solid foundation."

Respecting these villages Mr. Gray continues—

"The light has begun, apparently, to expand in them. Good things, I feel a strong hope, may be, by God's grace, expected from them. It would be interesting to watch how

the work goes on, our prayers going up on their behalf. May God fulfil his servant's hopes, and grant that forth from their villages may yet go a power, which may be mightily effectual to the weakening of the great adversary's kingdom in these parts!"

From the more settled districts like testimony is afforded. The Rev. A. Dibb writes of the Pannikulam district, Sept. 17, 1860—

"The revival work in the Pannikulam district has decidedly progressed since I last wrote to you. It has extended to several more villages, and it has continued and deepened where it had already appeared. The heathen have been roused to attend to it. It has forced Christianity into their notice in a way, I believe, entirely unprecedented. But they do not appear to have been at all extensively the subjects themselves of the benefit. Except in a few marked cases, that benefit seems to have been limited to professing Christians, men with but a name to live in many instances, in the church but of the world, over whom we could do little but mourn, of whom our fears were many, and our hopes few; but still men within the pale of the church, under the sound of the Gospel, and having access to the ordinances of religion: so that I feel the lesson which this circumstance teaches to be a very powerful one. It is to show us that the outward means of grace are invaluable, even, where, for the present, they are not savingly useful. It is to give us a better understanding of Romans iii. 1, 2, &c., 'What advantage hath the nominal Christian; or, what profit is there of the mere means of grace?' Much every way; chiefly because to such are extended the knowledge of God, and the offers of mercy, which, though now ineffectual through the power of human corruption, may soon be effectual through the greater power of Divine grace and thus, finally, it is to show us how forbearing, and hopeful, and longsuffering we ought to be, even with those who for the present seem to be altogeter unpromising."

The Rev. J. T. Tucker finds the same increasing desire for instruction among the people of his district, that of Paneivilei, South Tinnevelly. He writes, Oct. 22—

"Although we have not been favoured with any apparent especial outpouring of the Spirit of God; yet I perceive a great increase of apparent real devotion among the Christians, and a shaking in the minds of the heathen in many directions. If it pleases God to spare us a few years longer to work, as we are now going on in this Mission, I calculate we shall have an immense increase of converts; so that the time must come when the whole neighbourhood will be Christians in profession. Every corner of my large church is now filled with people at the noonday service on the Sabbath. I feel it indeed a great privilege to be allowed to preach to such a number of souls on the all-important subject of eternity. Oh may the Lord pour down his Spirit abundantly on these poor people. Among the new converts there are upwards of a hundred in Perungkullam, the village to the south of the bungalow. Others, who joined us in the beginning of the year, are going on very satisfactorily, and I am just starting on a trip to baptize a good many of them. We have been working upon the heathen for some years, and now the strong hearts of many appear to be cracking at the repeated blows of the Gospel hammer."

The moral effects produced in the character and conduct of those who have come under the influence of these awakenings, are decisive and satisfactory. This is of first importance. Without it the whole movement would be a delusion; and accordingly this is precisely that feature of the work which opponents have most laboured to discredit.

It may be well, on this point, to enlarge our circle of reference so as to embrace the movements at home as well as abroad. On the subject of Irish revivals we give the following clear and satisfactory testimony—

"The work is decidedly prospering: if it is everywhere less spoken of, it is everywhere less spoken against. It is pursuing the even tenor of its course, blessing and being blessed. What it has lost in notoriety, it has gained in solidity and depth of piety. It was predicted by some that the excitement would have been transient, and leave nothing behind but heresies and divisions. Had it been of earth, this would have been the natural result. But the contrary has been the case. None of those who had exhibited genuine marks of having embraced the faith of the Gospel have been removed from it. The people manifestly grow in grace, and their love of the truth and for one another increases. There is no such thing as man-exaltation; there have been no revival preachers; the work has been carried on, sustained less by preaching than by prayer. During the whole of last winter, cottage and school-house prayer-meetings have been held universally, the people crowding to them, and conducting themselves with exemplary devotion. The men whose power of prayer has been most striking have been men who had previously lived most ungodly lives. Men who had formerly been a scandal and disgrace to the country, and had been most

zealous in drawing their neighbours off to haunts of iniquity, are now gathering them to the prayer-meeting, and conducting them to the mercy-seat. A very large amount of influence in favour of true Gospel religion is prevalent. The proportion of those who now serve the Lord, compared with former times, is as ten to one. The drunkard, the profane swearer, the open Sabbath-breaker, are scarcely to be met with. The Lord's-day is no longer a day of idleness and sport, even to the young. Public-houses, on market-days and fairs, are not now so much frequented by buyers and sellers; the business of the day is now commonly conducted in the street. The gathering of young people to dancing-schools and punch dances, which, in former times, was the occasion of much immorality, are entirely discontinued. The occupation of the dancing-master is gone. The greater amount of good appears amongst the labouring classes. The desire for instruction is very great, and their improvement proportionable. Old people are now learning to read; and persons who formerly were perfectly ignorant, and to whom all religions were the same, are now not only constant under the hearing of God's word, but impatient under any teaching where the atonement of Christ and the work of the Spirit are not prominently brought forward. Parents are much more alive to their domestic duties. Mothers are taking more pains with their household affairs, in the exercise of proper discipline in the family, and training their little ones 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' There is far more peace and comfort under the poor man's roof, less quarrelling and disputing, and a much better system of economy. There is plenty now in houses where there was scarcity before, good clothing enabling the inmates to go out to worship, where formerly there was nothing but wretchedness and rags. 'If the good done by this gracious revival could be estimated by money,' said one witness, 'he would say the neighbourhood was richer now by thousands of pounds.' If so much precious seed be now sown broadcast, who can estimate the value of that harvest which, under the divine blessing, shall be gathered in by future generations?"*

In Wales, also, like results are manifested. We quote from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. Venn, of Hereford—

"The effect upon the population generally has been highly beneficial, both in a religious and in a moral point of view.

"'The impression left upon the community at large,' observes the Rev. D. Charles, 'has been very beneficial, in leading the mind to a deep-felt concern for the interests of another world; and this, I am convinced, is not in the large majority of instances a transitory feeling, but will remain a permanent influence for good. I understand that many of the corrupt practices which had still, notwithstanding our high privileges in Wales, too largely continued to prevail among the lower classes, have yielded, in a great degree, to the gracious influences of the Gospel, and the morals of the community have accordingly been considerably improved. Indeed, I might appeal to the circumstance that the principality was complimented, in several of our late assizes, for the very small number of criminals that appeared in the calendar. In more than one county it was *nil.*' Mr. Phillips informs me that nearly 3000 copies of the Scriptures have been issued during the last year from the depository in Carnarvon, being an increase of 900 on the issues of the previous year; and the Rev. D. Roberts, of Carnarvon, states that the Independents in that town have considerably increased their contributions to the Bible Society, and to the London Missionary Society; whilst in the county of Carnarvon there are either preparing for building, or in course of erection, or recently opened, no fewer than eighteen new chapels, with sittings for 5000 people, in connexion with that one body alone.

"There are numerous testimonies to the diminution of intemperance — that monster sin and disgrace of the whole kingdom, which has already thinned the ranks of professing Christians in Wales, and may yet thin them still more—that sin which all Christians and philanthropists will one day, it is to be hoped, unite together to repress, though now all the customs and usages of society seem to combine together to support and encourage it! One of Mr. Phillips's correspondents, quoted by him in his work on the revival, states, that in Aberystwyth eight publicans had taken down their signs and become total abstainers; another states, that at and near Bethesda, in Carnarvonshire, about twelve public-houses had been closed, partly from the falling-off of other customers, and partly from the change in the views of those that kept them. Another says, "The effect the revival has had on the community at large is wonderful. Drunkenness has all but disappeared for some time past. The inhabitants of my district are about 2000; but we have only two public-houses, and they have had

* Hon and Rev. W. Ward, at anniversary meeting in Belfast, June 20, 1860.

scarcely any business done in them during the winter.' Mr. Gee, of Denbigh, writing on the 13th of last February, says, 'Drunkenness is scarcely known in the neighbourhood. So much has it decreased, that the Mayor of Denbigh has not had a case before him since the 9th of November, except one, and he was a "tramp," an entire stranger to the town.' And another correspondent states that in the last winter fair at Carnarvon, the young men of the quarries, 'instead of spending their time in the taverns, drinking and feasting, held meetings to pray for the salvation of sinners, and to thank God for their own salvation.'"

Like facts exist in Tinnevelly. We refer our readers to some marked details which have appeared in previous pages, more especially in Mr. Valpy's account of Ukkerankottei, published in our December Number; and to these we add a few more of these harvest fruits, gathered from subsequent accounts.

The effects of the revival on the conduct of the people in the Northern district is thus stated by the Rev. W. Clark—

"In the month of May the revival movement spread to this district. The first congregation affected by it was, that at Parvadhipuram. An extraordinary excitement was produced. Many became deeply affected by a sense of their sins, and very diligent in their attendance on the means of grace. So earnest were they, that they attended prayers at church three times a day—in the morning at dawn, between five and six o'clock, that they might not be deprived of the opportunity of uniting in prayer by the ordinary occupations of the day, and that those occupations might not be interrupted by prayer. Nor was the change which had taken place confined to mere attendance on the outward means of grace. Their general conduct also underwent almost a complete reformation. Like all of their class, they were in the habit of drinking toddy and arrack, occasionally to excess, but, under the influence of this change, they have altogether abandoned the practice. In other respects, too, their conduct became greatly improved, and afforded much reason to hope that they had really been visited and renewed by the Holy Spirit."

From the Pannikulam district, the Rev. J. Gritton writes to the same effect. His letletters refer to several villages, thus exhibiting more clearly the diffusive character of the work. Of the village of Atchampetti he says—

"We have cause to rejoice heartily in the good which the Holy Spirit has wrought at Atchampetti. I cannot but think the work is God's own powerful energy among the people. My reasons for these statements are as follows—

"1. Church members formerly quarrelsome are now living in peace and love, with changed tempers.

"2. A good many have a deep sense of sin, a feeling of its abomination, and are heartily forsaking it.

"3. There is greatly increased prayerfulness and more study of the word of God, which seems to some at least among them more necessary than food. They appeal to it as the end of every question, and when their views are disproved from it, they submit.

"4. Parents formerly careless about their children bear them on their hearts in prayer, and seek their good.

"5. There is, in some few cases, the birth and growth of a Missionary spirit, leading the Christians to care for and love the perishing heathen.

"6. There are cases of decided conversion from heathenism arising from this movement.

"7. There has been a wonderful increase of regularity of attendance in the house of God."

Four days after, we find him at another place—

"I write this to let you know of my visit last evening to another of the revived churches. It is the Ilauthakulam congregation, ten miles to the west of this (Pannikulam). Our service, to which some twenty heathen came, making a gathering of eighty-five or ninety, was very solemn. I preached on Matt. xxi. 10.—'The whole city was moved, saying, who is this?' . . . . . The results here on the life of the church, and on the social condition of the people seem most blessed. Two things which fell under my own observation greatly pleased me; first, the exceeding Christian beauty of their faces, some of them seeming to me as really beings of a world of purer atmosphere and more loving affections. The second thing was their ability, which I tested after service, to give a reason for the hope that is in them."

And from a third locality he bears the same testimony.

"I reached this place (Kallattikenaru) on Saturday morning, and have held service with the people five times, had intercourse with several different individual members, examined the children, and spent two hours in the village, going to the houses of the Christians.

"As far as I can judge, this place has been

visited by a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Some of this people went in July to the west, and came back awakened. In August, or late in July, Mark (whom I knew a very unsatisfactory reader in Madras 1857, but who is now full of zeal and love), and two or three others from Ukkerankottei, came here preaching and praying. The results of these efforts followed up by the devoted zeal of the catechist here, a young man of great power, appear to me very great.

"There is greatly increased regularity at prayer. Three heads of families, once shameful drunkards, are now sober, and. to all appearance, pious: a man who was full of anger and passion, so that none dared reprove him, and who confessed to me his previous extremely sinful life, is now quiet, loving, and his very nature changed. Another, whose common reply to the catechist when invited to church was, 'Let the Committee pay me well and I will come,' is now the foremost to be in the house of God. These things are cheering. The intelligent interest of the people strikes me. There are more Bibles in the hands of this people when in church than I have seen in other congregations put together. The women are greatly changed, and contrasted with our Pannikulam women, for instance, are intelligent, well-informed Christians. I found this out chiefly on two occasions. First, when I sat down with them yesterday at the midday service, and went over, in a conversational way, my morning sermon on Psalm cx. 7; and, secondly, when this morning I told the catechist to examine them in the article of the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.' One fact struck me as deeply interesting. There is here an old woman who, in former years, suffered much for Christ. She is husbandless and lonely, but in her lonelines enjoys the sense of God's love and blessing. She has won the love of the boys and girls of this village, and her house is the scene of frequent prayer-meetings for these dear little ones. I saw them, and could not but think that not a few of them were really the children of God, so loving, gentle, and intelligent. I noticed with respect to these and some of the adults of this place, that same spiritual beauty of face which attracted me so much at Ilandakulam, and, to a less degree, at Atchampatti. It is not to be described, but it reminds me of ordinary scenery viewed under some peculiar and beautiful glow, by which it is made more than fair—a house, or tree, or lake, under such lights as Turner or Mulready have taught us to love.

"I might mention as a good point the serious prayerfulness of the people in the house of God. Till service begins many of them stay on their knees in prayer, or read attentively from the Bible or Testament. During the sermon you see lips moving in prayer, and eyes raised imploringly, while at the close they remain some time in silent prayer before departing."

The importance of such results is indeed great. If it be the purpose of the Lord to increase the effectiveness of his churches throughout the world, the first great requisite is, that the influence of Gospel truth on the hearts of the people be so deepened and strengthened that it come forth with more decided manifestation into the character and life; that thus the Gospel may be commended to the world around, and its superiority as a principle of action vindicated; for on this subject men are incredulous. They are possessed by the same scepticism which Satan exhibited when he said, "Doth Job fear God for nought;" and when he scoffed at the possibility of the human heart being so raised from its ruins as to entertain a disinterested principle of attachment to God. And when disciples accrue, and men come forward with confession of sin, and desire to lay hold upon the promise of salvation in Christ Jesus, the world sneers, pronounces them hypocrites, watches for their halting, and, unless it be silenced by a superiority of conduct so decided that it cannot be gainsayed, concludes itself justified in rejecting a religion which makes men in nowise better than they were before. Hence the great stumbling-block to the progress of genuine Christianity has been the inconsistencies of its professors. The temple of old was beautifully decorated with carved work and precious stones, and all the artistic skill which the time could command was employed in embellishing the structure. Its singular beauty was designed to attract the attention of the heathen, and lead them to inquire after Him to whose glory it was erected. But the Lord's people and churches now are designed to be clothed with richer and more honourable attractions—with that holy consistency, that blamelessness and fidelity in the discharge of the various relations of life, by which they may best adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. It has been no unusual thing to find churches and individuals conversant with the truth of the Gospel, and yet remaining without any of those decided results in the character and life which might be expected from the communication of such a message of grace and love. The people are well-instructed; they have a clear understanding of the great truths

of Scripture, and, if required, will express themselves suitably on these subjects; they will also readily conform to all which may be requisite to sustain such a measure of order and credibility as may help to confirm them in the persuasion that they have the substance, and not merely the name of Christian profession. But more than this is needed. Churches, in order to be effective, need to be like that of Thessalonica of old. The disciples there were "ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia;" and thus honourably attested and commended, it is not surprising that from them "sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place" their "faith to Godward was spread abroad;" and this testimony the Gospel of Christ must have, if it is to be vindicated from the unjust disparagement to which it has been subjected, and set free to go forward on its mission of love throughout the nations of the earth. How can we expect that Romanists will arrive at the conviction that their's is an adulterated Christianity, and must be cast away in order to make room for that better faith which the Scripture, in its purity, is able to furnish forth, if they perceive that Protestants, who profess to be thus taught, as a body are not superior in moral conduct to themselves, and live in the practice of the same iniquities? How can Christianity spread amongst the heathen, if there be nothing distinctive and superior in the character and conduct of native Christians? If the churches of God were of old charged to be fruitful, and admonished to consistency and a holy consecration to God's service, is it less necessary now? These churches are to be found in diverse lands: far off on the icy shores of Labrador and Greenland, and in the dreary wildernesses of the American continent, as well as amongst the tropical paradises of Polynesian lands. Their nascent lustre is illuminating the darkness of Asia, and cheering Africa with the prospect of her coming regeneration, when Ethiopia shall lift up her hands unto God. Planted in various regions, and consisting of men of various languages, they profess alike those grand truths of the everlasting Gospel, which are essential to the salvation of souls. But the value of each one of these organizations depends on the purity of its doctrines, the spirituality with which they are held, and the holy zeal with which these churches give themselves to the great work of evangelization. Perhaps it may be God's purpose to accelerate the action of his truth. Every thing else in human affairs has been wonderfully expedited, and advances with a rapidity which in previous generations was unknown. Wars, which used to drag on from year to year, are decided in a single campaign, and momentous questions, involving the settlement of nations and the rise and fall of empires, are solved by a few, although sanguinary conflicts. Like the flight of the comet as it approximates to its perihelion, the onward course of human events is marked by an increasing rapidity, as though we were approaching some great crisis. And shall the affairs of Christ's kingdom be excluded from participation in that providential force which is urging forward all things, and continue, as though it were obsolete and out of time, to progress at a tardy pace? One of old said, "I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people." As yet this is far from being the case. We have not yet the Gospel message thus universalized, and going forth, as on angels' wings, to visit the numberless regions of our earth where it is as yet unknown. But it may be the Lord's purpose to give it more accelerated action, and, as with an electric touch, to prepare his churches for a great increase of usefulness. May a revival of this nature be vouchsafed to every congregation in our land, to every church raised up from amongst the heathen!

And we have hopes it will be so. We perceive the first scintillations of the newly-kindled fire; the buddings forth of more gracious affections. There are symptoms of fresh growth in the trees which have been planted in the Lord's garden; the vine begins to flourish, and the tender grape appears, the pomegranates bud forth, and the mandrakes give a smell. There is a stir amongst our churches in heathen lands. As their own hearts are warmed by a moreinvigorating apprehension of Gospel truth, they are being moved with compassion towards their heathen brethren, and new efforts are being initiated. These efforts are of that kind which are most valuable, and which we have long and anxiously looked for. They are not of a formal and official character, suggested by the European Missionary, and carried out by paid agents. They are the spontaneous movement of the people themselves—that natural, unsolicited effort, which is the result of increased vitality. A man oppressed with sickness lies extended on his bed. He lives, but the pulse is feeble; and languid, and disinclined to exertion, his usual avocations are suspended. Let the sickness be removed, and the man

feels himself well again, and he at once starts into action. And so it is with these churches. Many of them have been like the sick man: they have been living, yet with a feeble life. The Saviour stands beside them, as He did beside the couch of Simon's wife's mother when she lay sick of a fever—"But He came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered to them." And now perhaps He is just, in the same way, removing debility and consequent inertness, and infusing new vigour into these churches, that they may arise and minister to Him in the service of the Gospel. How touching the description given of the people of Ukkirankottei, meeting together for prayer after the noon service of the Lord's-day, and then going forth in little companies of twos and threes to seek out their fellow-sinners, and address to them the stirring invitation, "We are journeying unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give it you; come thou with us, and we will do thee good; for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel." At this village a regular Society has been formed, with its Secretary and Sub-Secretaries, for the purpose of appointing and sending forth catechists to labour among the heathen of the district of Tinnevelly. Already two of them, Mark and Satthianadhan, have begun to labour at Putthur. This has been entirely the act of the native Christians themselves, under a strong sense of their obligation to exert themselves for the salvation of their perishing countrymen around. "This," observes the Rev. W. Gray, "appears to me a remarkable and important step in the history of the Mission."

We are of the same convicion. For the sake of our converts themselves, as well as in compassion to the heathen, such aggressive action is indispensable. At home and abroad it is the same. Churches and congregations can preserve their spirituality only in proportion as they are living and active.

The New-Testament standard must be recovered, when all spiritual persons, made it the great business of life in every possible way to give furtherance to the Gospel; so much so, that their lawful occupations were subordinated to this chief object. The pages of the New Testament, if carefully considered, and the varied notices dispersed throughout the Epistles and Acts brought together, will be found to afford the most ample testimony to the energy with which Christian men and women gave themselves to this as to their proper work. They felt they were the Lord's servants; that they had a rare and precious talent committed to their charge; they had the fidelity of the attached, instead of the unwillingness of the unprofitable servant. It was in this spirit that Aquila and Priscilla acted. Now we find them in Asia (Acts xviiii. 1, 2); and then at Rome (Rom. xvi. 4; and, again, in Asia (2 Tim. iv. 19); yet wherever they were they prosecuted, as they had opportunity, the same great work of being fellow-helpers to the truth; and how important the services they rendered may be estimated from Paul's expressions respecting them—"Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus; who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." Similar instances might be multiplied. The whole body of believers was then recognised as constituting one "royal priesthood;" whereas, in later days, from this priesthood the laity were excluded, and it came to be regarded as limited to the clergy. They alone were supposed to be charged with the communication of religious knowledge and instruction, the laity being reduced to the position of mere recipients, each for himself, without bearing in this respect any relation to his brethren around. It was the old Jewish distinction between priests and people revived, the people being incapable of any religious ministrations, except through the agency of the priests. The reality of this figure still exists. The priesthood, in its multitudinous offices, is absorbed into the person of Christ. He is now the priesthood, and through Him alone can acceptable religious service be rendered by any of the children of men. But we all, both clergy and laity, are the church, and through Him each individual has direct access to God, and express authority to go forth and do spiritual service amongst his fellow-men. We do not at all mean to confuse the respective duties of clergy and laymen. The clergy have their own peculiar sphere of action—"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same." But there is for the Christian laity a wide and important sphere of action; and as of old, so now, they may, and ought to be, evangelists, furtherers of the truth, and fellow-helpers in the service of the Gospel.

May such a spirit be vouchsafed, and a divine energy pervade the whole body of Christ's professing people. Well may we take up the language of our liturgy, and pray—

"O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy name's sake.

"O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

"O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine honour."

We have thus brought out those grand distinctive features in this movement by which it may manifestly be recognised as the work of God.

Other points remain to be considered. In India, as in Ireland, there have been physical manifestations, and they require close consideration. We propose to deal with them in a separate paper. Such things are not necessarily connected with revivals; but when a powerful movement of this kind takes place, they are not unlikely to spring up concurrently. They need to be promptly and wisely dealt with; otherwise, if neglected or incautiously treated, they will not improbably develop themselves into such extravagances as to afford to the great enemy the opportunity of commencing a counterwork. They are incidental, not ingenerate. They ought not to be permitted, therefore, to discredit the character of a work which is bearing its own legitimate fruits; and yet do they require, on the part of those who are in charge of congregations at such a time, divine wisdom to detect whatever is inconsistent with, and injurious to, the work of God, and holy resolution to repress and remove it.

It is with thankfulness we are enabled to state, that, at a crisis so important, such desirable qualifications have been graciously afforded to our Tinnevelly Missionaries.

LIGHT IN THE PACIFIC.

THE vast extent of the Pacific Ocean is studded over with insular groups and detached islets, divided, according to their physical aspect, into three classes, low, median, and high. "The low islands are coral formations, very slightly elevated above the surface of the waves, or only left dry at ebb-tide, and are not discernible at a very small distance, unless vegetation has established itself upon them, usually that of the cocoa-nut tree. The median, or hilly islands, are limestone masses, varying in height from 100 to 500 feet, probably of coral origin, crystallized and elevated by volcanic action. The high islands rise from 2000 to 13,000 feet, and generally present a conical form, exhibiting indubitable marks of volcanic eruption, either on the rocks of which they are composed, or in volcanoes at present in a state of activity." Of the latter class many are of surprising beauty, earthly Edens rising out of the deep waters of the ocean. As a specimen of these, Rarotonga might be selected, the largest island of the Hervey group, and nearly 700 miles south-west of Tahiti.

"It has a reef-bound coast, shelving slightly seaward, then sinking perpendicularly thousands of feet towards the foundation of the sea. Against this barrier the mighty waves of the Pacific, of deepest blue, rise in majestic grandeur to a height of more than twenty feet, then, curling over, break in innumerable myriads of silvery-white spray, and dash in subdued yet graceful beauty on the shore. A long, white, sandy beach, varying from ten to a hundred feet wide, forms a natural margin to a comparatively level tract of land, round the whole of the island, and which is richly and constantly covered with fruitful groves of chesnut, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and banana trees. Beyond this, inland, there is, for the most part, a long, low slip of marshy ground, cultivated as 'taro' swamps, at whose base rise hills innumerable; then deep, wild, ragged, fertile valleys intervene between another range of higher hills; then other valleys; and thence, hill on hill, and mountain on mountain, piled on each other in rich variety of size and form and verdure. Some of them present a broad, bold, black basaltic appearance; others, yielding to the effects of time and weather, reveal a decomposed red sandy soil; while others betray their heterogeneous origin, by conglomerated masses of pebble, sand, and fragment rock. For the most part, however, both hills and valleys are covered with deep alluvial earth, yielding an abundance of trees and shrubs, and fruit and fern, which cover the highest mountains, whose lofty summits are seen sixty miles at sea.*"

But the very loveliness of this home served only to bring out in stronger contrast the degradation of the human inhabitants. The strength and beauty of the human form remained, but the moral image was entirely effaced. "Awfully dark was their moral

* Gems from the Coral Islands, vol. ii. p. 2.

character, and, notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their disposition, and the cheerful vivacity of their conversation, no portion of the human race was ever, perhaps, sunk lower in brutal licentiousness and moral degradation than this isolated people." And such they continue to be in those islands which remain under the influence of heathenism.

On these benighted regions the Sun of Righteousness dawned, with healing on his wings, some sixty or seventy years ago; and ever since, his regenerating light has been moving westward, illuminating one group of islands after another, arresting the onward course of vice and of depopulation, and diffusing amongst these widely scattered families new elements of health and life. From group to group, and from isle to isle, the knowledge and influence of Gospel truth has wonderfully extended itself. Each church, as it rose out of the depths of heathenism, identified itself with the glorious work to which it owed its existence, and increased, by its reinforcements, the army of evangelists, which, from various centres, still continue to go forth to subdue the natives to the yoke of Christ; and numberless native agents, devoted and trustworthy, are strengthening the hands of the European Missionaries, and enabling them to extend far more widely, than if left single-handed, the Gospel net in the waters of the Pacific. In March 1797 the first Missionaries reached Tahiti. In 1808 the light began to touch the Georgian islands. In 1821. the first island of the Hervey group, Aitutaki. was visited, and two native teachers located there by the Rev. J. Williams. The evangelization of Mangaia, another island of the same group, was similarly commenced in 1825; and in little more than a twelvemonth after the discovery of Rarotonga in 1823, the whole population of the island had renounced idolatry.

The Society isles had also been reached by native teachers from Tahiti: and the Samoa, or Navigators Islands, became the next point of conquest. In August 1830, the cloud-capped mountains of Savaii, were discovered; and amongst these islands a great and effectual door of usefulness was opened.

The Navigator group, lying in the vicinity of the Friendly Islands, the Fiji group, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and numerous solitary islands, present a central and commanding position for evangelizing and commercial purposes. Savash, the largest of the group, is some 250 miles in circumference. "The mountains of this superb island are very lofty, and visible at a distance of sixty or seventy miles. These gradually increase in height to the centre of the island, and are covered and crowned with noble forests." Upotu, the next largest, is in circumference between 150 and 200 miles. "The mountains on this island are richly clothed with verdure to their summit; and in the north-east parts of the island they present a variety in their form and character, which in some situations renders their appearance romantic and sublime; in others, soft, luxurant, and beautiful." One small island, Aborima, which signifies the hollow of the hand, is of remarkable beauty. The crater of an extinct volcano, it looks from without barren and uninviting; but when, through the one small opening by which it is accessible, the interior is reached, nothing more unique or beautiful can be conceived. "The island is a basin, most regularly scooped out, ascending with a gentle slope from the centre to the circumference;" and there "not a barren spot is to be seen, but one verdant mass of tropical vegetation," the native dwellings appearing half revealed among the trees of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and banana.

The work to which we have so far referred has been that of the London Missionary Society and its agents. There are, however, other and independent centres of Missionary operations in these seas, which may not be passed over. In 1820 the Sandwich Islands were taken up as a field of Missionary labour by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A little more than thirty years after, the same Missionary Board was enabled to report, as the result of its labours, that the Sandwich Islands had become a Christian nation, and might rightfully claim a place among the Protestant nations of the earth. And now the churches in those islands have become reproductive, and are putting forth efforts for the evangelizing of other groups in the Pacific Seas. A Missionary Society has been formed by the Sandwich-Island Christians, and native Missionaries sent forth, the field of labour selected being Micronesia, embracing "a large extent of ocean, reaching from the Mulgrave Islands in the east, to the Ladrone Islands in the west. There are two classes of islands included in this extent of ocean — the high islands, of volcanic origin, and the low or coral islands. The high islands are rise two or three thousand feet above the level of the sea. They are covered with verdure from the summits of the mountains to the shore, and produce a great variety of tropical fruits and vegetables. The number of people on these high islands is not known. "The other islands

which are much the most numerous, are the low or coral islands. All these have the same characteristics. They rise only from five to twenty feet above the surface of the water. They are sometimes called lagoon islands, because they all, or nearly all, encircle a body of water called a lagoon. This is of various dimensions and shapes. Its size varies from ten to eighty or a hundred miles in circumference. This water is nearly as smooth as an inland lake. Around the lagoon is a belt of land, or reef, from one-fourth to a mile in width. Part of this outside belt is under water, and forms a reef upon which the surf breaks. This reef is often dotted by a large number of small islets, distant from each other a mile or more. Sometimes the land is continuous for fifteen or twenty miles. In this belt, or reef of land, there is usually a break, occasionally two or more, forming a channel into the lagoon, often sufficiently deep for ships of the largest size to enter. In other cases there is only a boat channel. The Kingsmill and Marshall Islands belong to this class. But little soil is found on these low islands."

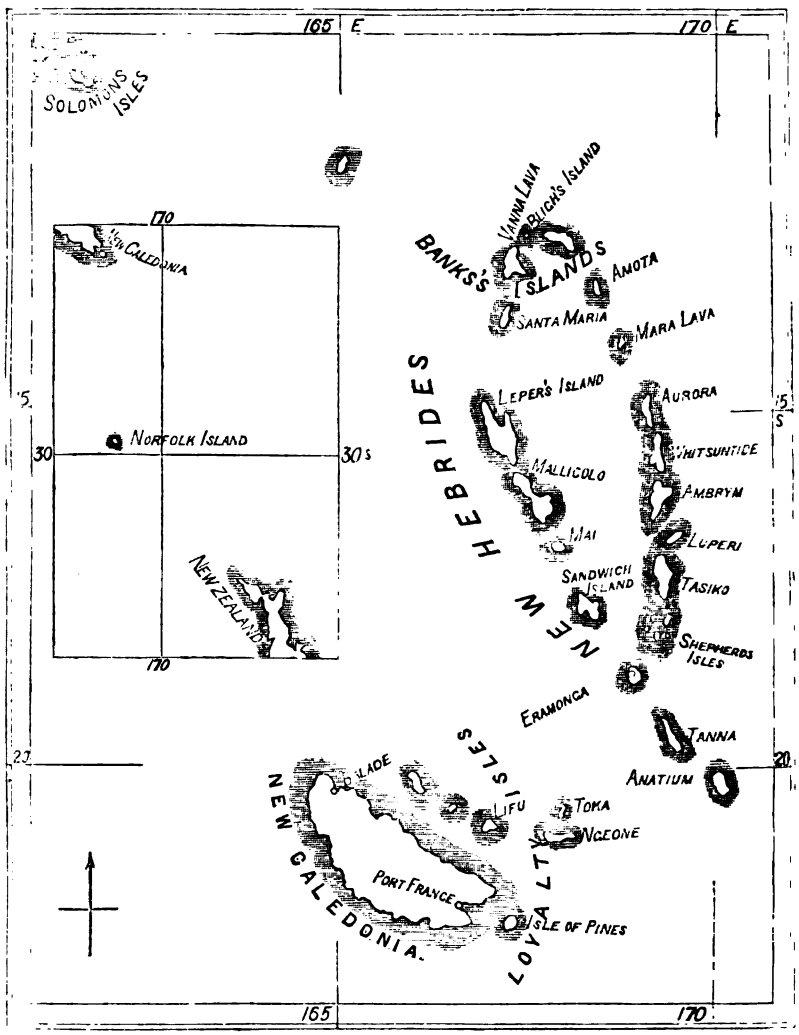
Many of these islands are inhabited by a vigorous, well-formed race of people; the population of the Kingsmill Islands being estimated at above 40,000; that of the Marshall Islands at 15,000.

There are other groups of islands where the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been prosecuting its labours: the Friendly, or Tonga Islands, situated between lat. 18° and 25° S., and long. 173° and 176° W. They consist of three distinct groups, the most southern the Tongataboo Islands, some of which rise to a considerable height; the Kabai Islands, the central group; and the Havau Islands to the north. The work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society commenced in 1822. From the Friendly Islands Missionary effort extended itself to the Fiji group, about 360 miles to the north-west, and comprising some 150 islands, of which 100 are inhabited, the population being estimated at 200,000. In Lakemba, one of these islands, native agents were placed in 1829; being followed by an European Missionary in 1835. "The people were found to be amongst the most degraded of the Pacific islanders, and delighted in deeds of blood and cannibalism: hence the trials of the Missionaries were many, but and now, after a long, and dark, and laborious winter season, the spring-time of success is opening with large and increasing blossoms of hope.

One other centre of occupation in these seas remains to be mentioned, that of New Zealand, through the joint action of the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies changed from a heathen land of hideous cannibalism to a profession of Protestant Christianity. Here, as in the Sandwich, Hervey, Samoan, and Friendly groups, instead of dark heathen, we have a Protestant population, and from this point native-Christian action ought long since to have been pushed forth to the New Hebrides. It would have been for the immense advantage of the Maori people. It would have directed their energies into a wholesome channel, have materially aided in preventing the revival of a warlike spirit, and lessened that intensity on the question of land which has so unhappily involved them in a deadly strife with the colonial population of those islands. What the future of the Maori race may be cannot be predicted; but should they be spared from extermination, and, as a race, preserved, we trust that the Maori churches will imitate the example of those in the Sandwich Islands and other settled Christian communities of these seas, and commence at once the healthful exercise of Gospel communication to other lands. We are led to make these observations the more, because in the narrative which we append of a cruise to the New Hebrides in the Bishop of New-Zealand's Mission ship, a Maori teacher, who accompanied our Missionary, the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, found himself able to converse with the people of Eromanga, and relate to them the triumphs of the Gospel in his own land. Why, then, should not the Maori church of New Zealand have its Missionary Society, and send forth its representatives to help on the work of evangelization throughout the vast Pacific?

There are groups of islands where that work has only just commenced; and there are others still entirely untouched. We shall mention some of them. The Paumotu Islands, a large cluster of reef and lagoon islands to the east and north-east of Tahiti; islands which would long since have been evangelized but for the seizure by the French of Tahiti, and the utter inability of the churches of that and the sister island of Eimeo to act with Christian liberty, and put forth efforts for the extension of Protestant Christianity.

The Marquesas, situated between 7° and 9° of south latitude, and 138° and 142° west longitude, a fine group of islands, of the high, volcanic class, beautiful and fertile, and well-peopled, notwithstanding repeated but not well-sustained efforts from Tahiti and America to introduce the Gospel, remain


165 E
170 E
SOLOMONS ISLES
170
NEW CALEDONIA
NORFOLK ISLAND
30
30 S
NEW ZEALAND
170
VANUA LAVA
BLIGH'S ISLAND
BANKS'S ISLANDS
ANOTA
SANTA MARIA
MARA LAVA
LEPER'S ISLAND
AURORA
WHITSUNTIDE
MALLICOLO
AMBRYM
MAI
LOPERI
SANDWICH ISLAND
TASIKO
SHEPHERDS ISLES
NEW HEBRIDES
ERAMONGA
TANNA
ANATIUM
20
22
BLADE
LIFU
TOKA
NGEONE
NEW CALEDONIA
PORT FRANCE
ISLE OF PINES
LOYALTY ISLES
165
170

shrouded in all the dismal wretchedness of heathenism.

But nearer to New Zealand, and within easy access of its shores, lie the New Hebrides, Loyalty, and Britannic groups. Of these, several islands have been approached, partly from the Samoas, and partly by the Missionary efforts of the Bishop of New Zealand in his Missionary ship.

To these islands we shall refer, so far as our space permits us. New Caledonia is one of the largest of the Western Polynesian Islands, being more than 300 miles long and seventy or eighty broad. Christian teachers were planted here in 1841. But just as the hearts of the people began to open, persecution arose, followed by prolonged and deadly wars. The people of the Isle of Pines maintaining a desperate strife with the inhabitants of the southern portions of New Caledonia slew nearly the whole of the natives who professed Christianity, and the teachers were obliged to be removed. At length the fierce passions of the natives seemed to have exhausted themselves, and a more tranquil condition of the tribes held out the hope of a speedy recommencement of Missionary effort.

"In 1852, the Bishop of New Zealand visited New Caledonia, and he was then much gratified in reporting a more peaceful state of the tribes. One of the principal chiefs of the island urged a lengthened stay, in order to be instructed. The decks of his little Missionary vessel were crowded night and day by natives, who were not only friendly, but anxious to be taught, and they urgently requested that an English Missionary might come and reside with them. Before, however, this could be secured, the French Government had taken possession of the land, and now number it among their possessions in the Pacific. How far this possession will prevent any Protestant Missionary Society in England or the Australian colonies from again making attempts to instruct the natives, has yet to be seen."*

North-east of New Caledonia, and ranging from south-east to north-west, extend the Loyalty Isles, more especially referred to in Mr. Ashwell's journal. The islands are Mare or Ngeone, Toka, Lifu, and Uea. Christian teachers were first planted in Mare in 1841, and the work, amidst many difficulties, was perseveringly prosecuted. In 1849, this island was visited by Bishop Selwyn in his Missionary ship, and by a British vessel of war commanded by Captain Erskine. More than one trading vessel had been cut off by these people, and they very naturally concluded that they were now about to be punished for their misdeeds. The evidences of improvement under the influence of Christian teaching were, however, such, that the British officer condoned the past. "More than half the population of this island have now abandoned heathenism, and are seeking after knowledge." Similar results have exhibited themselves in Lifu, through the instrumentality of native teachers. Toka, "one of those tiny, low, isolated abodes of men, which so numerously bestud the Pacific Ocean, and which raises their lofty, evergreen, graceful cocoa-nut tops far above the coral beach below," has so far received the Gospel, that by far the larger part of the adults and children are under instruction. Uea is a cluster of island reefs to the north-west of Lifu. The island has been visited by Bishop Selwyn, and intercourse held with the natives.

The southern New Hebrides include Anateum, the southernmost island, Tanna, Eromanga, Fate, Niua, and Fotuna. The native teachers, labouring alone at Aneateum for seven years, prepared the way for the location of a European Missionary in 1848. There are now 1500 natives in that island who are receiving daily instruction, one-third of whom can read well. Tanna is the largest of the group. "The highest mountains are covered with the richest vegetation to their very summits." This island, after some violent outbreaks of opposition, presents at the present time a hopeful aspect.

Our space will only permit a brief reference to Eromanga, where the devoted Williams and his companion Harris fell. In order to account for these outbreaks of violence on the part of the natives, the cruelty with which they have been treated by the sandal-wood traders must be remembered. This wood, of a light yellow colours and fragrant odour, is abundant on the Sandwich, Marquesa, Fiji, and New Hebrides groups. "It has been long well known and highly valued by the Chinese, by whom it is variously and beautifully wrought, in the manufacture of fancy tables, boxes, fans, and other articles: they also burn it as incense in their private houses and temples." It is therefore sought after with avidity, bringing, as it does in the Chinese market, a return varying from 15*l.* to 35*l.* per ton. In carrying on this trade, great wrongs have been perpetrated by Europeans on the natives; nor have the latter been slow in avenging themselves on any

* Gems from Coral Islands, vol. i. p. 211.

white man that might fall into their hands. "It is now about five-and-twenty years since Eromanga first began to be visited by sandal-wood traders. During the whole of the period, down to the last two or three years, the most revolting deeds have been perpetrated — foreigners murdering Eromangans, and Eromangans murdering foreigners."

Fifteen years ago Williams and his companion were murdered on this island. A few bones, all that remained of the bodies which had been eaten, were recovered by H.M.S. "Favorite," Captain Croker, and interred in the island Upolu, of the Samoan group. At Rarotonga the grief was great; and the Christians, amidst their tears, resolved, as the most suitable memorial they could erect to their departed friend, to take up the work which had fallen from his hand, and proceed at once to plant the standard of the Gospel on the blood-stained shores of Eromanga.

Eventually two well-tried Samoan Christians were set apart for this dangerous undertaking. Theirs was indeed a perilous landing, accomplished at the risk of life. For twelve months they were protected by a friendly native of another island, a sojourner in Eromanga. But on his departure to his own land, the heathen determined to kill them by starvation. The chief of the district prohibited all intercourse with them. But they were fed. "The same God who in ancient days was with the prophet, who guided him to the brook, and who commanded the ravens to feed him, was the teachers' God. In the day of their distress, a native of the island, quite a stranger to them, had his heart stirred up with compassion for them, and day by day, for the space of five months, this stranger came secretly to their hut, and, lifting up the thatch, gave them necessary supplies of daily food." At length these faithful men were rescued from their perilous position.

It only remained to try and soften down the natives by friendly intercourse, and thus prepare the way for the introduction of Missionaries; and to this result the Bishop of New Zealand greatly contributed. Eromanga was visited by him on several occasions. "On his first visit to the New Hebrides, he called at Tanna, and, after showing much kindness to the teachers there, he took one of them on board his ship to Eromanga. Both he and the teacher landed on its blood-stained shores, and, while remembering Williams and Harris, they knelt together on the sands, and offered up a prayer to God speedily to open up a way for the Gospel to this deluded and degraded race." Some of the natives were taken by him to New Zealand, instructed in the word of God, and sent back with very different views respecting white men, than those which were prevalent in the island when the lamented Williams was murdered. At length, in 1852, two Christian natives of the Hervey Islands were landed in the midst of a great number of natives, who gave them a most cordial welcome. One of the chiefs, who was most forward in encouraging them, proved to be the very man who had murdered Williams. Some foreigners just before had murdered his son, and he had avenged himself on the first white man that came within his reach; and the very club with which the fatal blow was struck was surrendered by him to the Missionaries. The work of regeneration is going on: the natives are quite accessible, and the Missionary can go without fear amongst the most desperate savages of the island.

Of the Aurora group some brief notices will be found in the accompanying journal.

The Northern New Hebrides constitute a long chain of important islands, many of them being larger than any in Eastern Polynesia. Some of these islands have been visited by the Bishop of New Zealand. The first attempt was attended with great danger; afterwards he succeeded in establishing a good understanding with the natives, and brought away with him some of their young men for instruction in New Zealand.

And still further beyond this group to the north-west lies another cluster of very large islands, called the Solomon's group, with others in the vicinity; these leading on to "an almost interminable chain of islands and groups, round the north of Australia, and thence to the still more numerous but imperfectly known clusters which bestride the Indian and China Seas."

The results of Missionary work in the Pacific exhibit in the strongest point of view the value of a native agency as preparing the way for the European Missionary. Native agents can go where in the first instance he could not venture. The Missionaries of the different Societies labouring in the Pacific have confided in the Christian natives, and they have not been disappointed. With few exceptions, they have proved to be faithful and devoted men, and the Lord of Missions has owned and blessed them.

Narrative of a Voyage to Loyalty and Banks's Islands, by the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, New Zealand Missionary.

"In April last I wrote to inform the Society that the Bishop of New Zealand had kindly

consented to my accompanying the Mission vessel to the New Hebrides and Banks' Isles, in the hope that a change would be beneficial to my health, as I was still suffering from a chronic complaint. I trust, upon the whole, the voyage has been beneficial, although I have suffered a perilous shipwreck, the particulars of which I now forward. It will be necessary to have a correct view of the nature of the work among the Melanesian Islands. To classify them—

"First—The dangerous, or where risk is incurred in visiting.

"Secondly—Those where the natives are in a wild savage state, but who are acquainted with the Mission vessel, and some advance towards a friendly communication has been made.

"Thirdly—Those with whom a friendly intercourse has been established; the parents having committed their children to the bishop, to be taken to spend the summer months in New Zealand for instruction. My journal refers more particularly to the two last classes of islands.

"With respect to the first class, the manner of visiting is as follows—The whale-boat is manned with four good rowers. The bishop and the Rev. J. C. Patteson keep a good look out whilst approaching the island, the natives having previously shown their willingness for communication by lighting fires and calling. If, as the boat approaches, a part of them retire into the bush with their bows and arrows, and send their women and children away, it is a bad sign; mischief is intended: but if all remain together, the bishop and Mr. Patteson generally swim through the surf to the beach, leaving the boat at a short distance; the risk being, lest, touching the shore, the natives might detain it for the sake of the iron, which they are anxious to obtain. After the party have landed, they distribute fish-hooks, beads, &c., to the chiefs, exchange names, write them down, &c. After staying a short time, they swim back to the boat. Thus an intercourse is begun. These preliminary visits are sometimes perilous. I know of two instances in which they were shot at—one at Santa Maria, the other at Mallicolo; but a kind Providence has always kept them from harm.

"The second class, some of which I have visited, are to be approached with caution; but very little danger is incurred, although the natives are wild cannibals, and mostly fighting with one another. They know the Mission vessel, and that Pisopi (the bishop) is their friend.

"The third class are those friendly, which can be visited at any time, and are prepared for Missionaries. In the preceding voyage, above sixty islands were visited by the bishop and Mr. Patteson, and about forty Melanesian scholars were brought to the institution at Kohimarama, near Auckland, for the summer months.

"*April* 28, 1860—After the bishop had commended us to the protecting care of our heavenly Father, we went from the chapel to the schooner, the 'Southern Cross,' a vessel of about seventy tons, admirably fitted up for the boys. Our party consisted of the Rev. J. C. Patteson, Messrs. Kerr and Dudley, members of the Mission, myself, a New-Zealand native teacher and a school-boy from my station, with thirty-seven Melanesian scholars—six from Solomon Isles, twenty-one from Banks' Isles, four from Loyalty Islands, and six from New Hebrides.

"*April* 29: *Lord's-day*—After service on board, we lost sight of the shores of New Zealand. At Cape Bull the wind increased to a gale. All the boys were very sick; but each had his hammock and many comforts on board. The gale continued a whole week, and we were obliged to lie-to, with close-reefed sails. It was not till May 7th that the merry laugh of the Melanesian boys was heard, and that they again ventured on deck. During this gale the sea was running very high, and as I observed an expression of fear on the face of the New-Zealand teacher, I said to him, 'Nana te Moana,' *i.e.* 'The sea is his.' These three words were of great comfort during our fearful shipwreck. With regard to the Melanesians, I must say I never met with a more cheerful, good-tempered, happy set of boys. Although from several islands, each of a different language, there was no quarrelling, as among English boys. Their love to their teachers is quite remarkable. I think they would do any thing for Mr. Patteson, who speaks the language of nearly all of them.

"On *May* 11 we fell in with the south-east trades, and in the evening were 22° 13′ south lat., 168° 56′ east long., and on Saturday, *May* 12th, we were off Ngeone (Mare), one of the coral islands of the Loyalty group, where we landed at eight A.M., and proceeded immediately to the Mission station of the Rev. M. Creagh, of the London Missionary Society, where we received a most hearty welcome. They were in great affliction, having just buried their youngest child. The devoted Raratonga native teacher, Mark, and his companion, were the first to carry the Gospel to the degraded cannibals of these isles. They were protected, under God, by a great chief,

who would not give them up to the heathen priests, and, after his death, his son Nysolun (Nasilini) took care of them. In the mean time the leaven of the Gospel was silently working, and ere long a great number received the truth. About this time the Bishop of New Zealand visited the island, and the people desiring a Missionary, he sent the Rev. W. Nihill and his wife, who soon acquired a knowledge of the language, and translated a portion of the New Testament. A large chapel was built, and 'the word of God grew and was multiplied.' A short time after this the London Missionary Society sent out Missionaries, who, on arriving at Ngeone, found that Mr. Nihill had been removed by death, and his widow remained with them till the return of the bishop, who has never re-occupied the station. I was much pleased with the congregation here on the Sunday: between 400 and 500 natives were assembled in the chapel, all clothed, and during the service the greatest attention prevailed. The singing was excellent, and my heart was filled with joy and gratitude to God while hearing these so lately heathen singing the praises of the triune Jehovah. After service we accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Creagh to their hospitable home. Whilst conversing on the nature of the work, I observed that the whole weight of their service seemed to rest on the Missionary, which must be very fatiguing. We enjoyed social prayer and communion with each other in a strange land, and, at the request of my Christian brother, I told 500 natives of Ngeone what God had done for New Zealand (Mr. Creagh interpreting for me). They were exceedingly interested, and on our leaving we found piled up presents of yams, taro, cocoa-nuts, &c. Being Sunday, we did not like to take them, but left them for the native teachers of the island, who took them away on the following morning. Whilst returning to our vessel, more than 500 natives lined the beach, crying, *Aloha, aloha, i.e.* 'Love, love,' which is also the meaning of the New-Zealand *aroha*. The Raratonga teachers had taught the Ngeonese this mode of salutation. The New-Zealand and Raratonga languages are so similar, that the New-Zealand teacher could talk with Mrs. Creagh, who was a Miss Buzacott, from Raratonga. What struck me was the great difference at once discernible in the heathen and Christian natives as they stood together; the former naked, with painted bodies, and weapons in their hands; the latter clothed, and the countenance altogether different. It is most remarkable how the reception of the Gospel changes and softens a fierce and savage expression. This beautiful coral island is considered healthy. Groves of cocoas and other tropical trees render the scenery good, but it is tame when compared to the New Hebrides and Banks' Isles. Temperature about 74 deg. Fahrenheit; length of isle about twenty miles, breadth ten miles; population between 3000 and 4000, two-thirds of whom are Christians. There are eleven whites on the island, besides the Missionaries.

"We said farewell to our kind friends, and sailed for Lifu, an island where Christianity has made great progress. It is to be regretted that the French claim these Loyalty Islands as appendages to New Caledonia, and have sent a Romish priest to Lifu, quite against the consent of the majority of the people. The wind was contrary, and blowing a gale. We could not reach the isle, although three attempts were made; therefore, to the regret of all, we were obliged to continue our course without visiting it. We called, however, at the beautiful isle Toka, twenty miles from Ngeone. Mr. Patteson was anxious to seek a stray sheep, one of the Melanesian scholars, a young man who had not been going on satisfactorily. The lost one was found, and accompanied us to the vessel. Most of the natives of this isle are well disposed to Christianity. The principal chief of Lifu, John Cho, had been to New Zealand with the bishop, who baptized him there, as well as the daughter of the principal chief of Toka, to whom he was married after their baptism. This union strengthened Christianity, both at Lifu and Toka, and John is using his influence to keep the people from Popery. We now made sail for Mae, or the Three Hills, an island dreaded by the sandal-wood traders, but where the Mission vessel is always most warmly welcomed, and where the bishop is anxious to form a station which shall take in many of the neighbouring isles.

"*May* 17—Instead of the trades we had a strong westerly wind. Sighted Eromanga, where the Missionary Williams was murdered. We also passed the south-west coast of Fate, or Sandwich Island, which has a bad name. Nevertheless, two Samoan teachers are living here. This beautiful island is richly wooded to the summit of its lofty hills, which are from 2000 to 3000 feet in height. Fearful atrocities have been committed here by sandal-wood traders, one of which I will mention. After purchasing a cargo of sandal-wood, and getting it conveyed to the vessel, they sailed away without paying the natives. Consequently, when another vessel visited the island, one of their men was murdered by the natives. To re-

venge this, several vessels joined their crews, and, after firing upon the natives, followed them to a cave, where they had taken refuge with their women and children. These white savages piled up brush-wood at the mouth of the cave, fired it, and smothered them all. Can we wonder that they are not willing to receive the white Missionary? The bishop has landed here several times. In the evening we reached Mae, where we had to leave four Melanesian boys. When we landed the cry was, 'The vessel of Pisopi and our children.' We had a most hearty welcome. The excitement was very great, the people running from the villages, assembling to see their children and the white Missionaries, bringing yams, cocoa-nuts, &c. At last the chief, by smacking his lips, enforced silence, and Mr. Patteson, in their own language, pointed to the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Mr. Dudley, who well understands the language of Mae, also addressed them. The greatest silence and attention prevailed; and when we all knelt in prayer with these poor heathen, who, for the first time, bent the knee to the true God, I could say, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour.' It was an earnest that these isles should see the salvation of our God. The natives were anxious that one of us should remain with them; and when we told them that possibly a Mission station might be established among them they were much pleased.

"*May* 19—Sunday services on board with Europeans and Melanesians. Our little schooner ran close to the shore of Tasiko, where, with the glass, we counted more than 400 natives in the short space of about half a mile, who were calling us to visit them; but it being Sunday, the boat was not lowered, as no one could speak their language, and we feared lest any might be tempted to trade on the Sabbath. From Tasiko we crossed to Ambryn—where there is an active volcano—Luperi, Whitsuntide and Aurora islands, from twenty to thirty miles in length; and of the scenery I can only say that the grandeur and beauty of creative goodness here was overpowering. Never did I witness elsewhere such a rich verdure, very much superior to Sierra Leone, although its scenery is grand; and the most beautiful parts of New Zealand are tame when compared with these splendid islands. The rugged, broken character of Whitsuntide and Aurora, with their immense chasms densely wooded, so that no naked rock or spot of earth can be seen; groves of lofty cocoa-nuts; the beautiful bread-fruit tree; the jack-fruit palms; lofty and huge banians, forty yards in circumference; presented so magnificent a sight of rich verdure, that we felt sad to think that 'only man is vile:' but when once the Gospel has won its way, how wonderful the change: grace and nature can rejoice together.

"As our little vessel ran along the eastern shore of the island of Aurora, on a fine moonlight night, we heard the voices of the natives and the beating of their tom-toms, over, perhaps, some cannibal feast, which gave a painful and vivid reality of our proximity to all the darkness of heathenism, and my soul yearned that these our poor benighted brethren might soon rejoice in the beams of the Sun of righteousness.

"*May* 23—In the morning we landed at the north end of Aurora, and left two of the Melanesian boys. Mr. Patteson addressed the natives, all of whom were armed, and looked very wild. They were attentive. At four P.M. we drew near Mara Lava, an island about twelve miles in circumference, with a population of 600: it consists of a large volcanic hill, about 1800 feet above the sea, very beautiful. Here we landed two other of the scholars; and again Mr. Patteson addressed the natives, speaking of the love of Christ, and showing them that war and bloodshed were wrong. This they all acknowledged. Every man and boy was armed with bow and arrow. They were rather noisy and clamorous; but, when Mr. Patteson addressed them, quite quiet. They wanted the vessel to go to Santa Maria in search of a boy whom some sandal-wood traders had carried away, and left there. They feared he was murdered and eaten. The poor father was very earnest in his entreaties.

"*May* 24—At six A.M. we came to the extent of our voyage (Amota), a little paradise, where the first Mission station in Banks' Islands was formed. About eight A.M. we landed. The natives showed great joy at seeing Mr. Patteson; and when we began to land the boards for the Mission house, and they knew that he and Mr. Dudley would remain with them, their joy was increased. They carried the boards from the vessel; and some brought food of all sorts—bread-fruit, cocoas, yams, &c.—for which they would not receive any payment. When the house was landed we sailed over to Vanna Lava, a large and beautiful island, where the bishop discovered, a short time ago, a splendid harbour, which he named Port Patteson. Here we let go our anchor. The scenery was most grand; hills 2000 feet high, sending forth volumes of smoke from hot springs at their summit, the sides richly clothed

with verdure. Two rivers run into the harbour, and a sandy beach nearly surrounds it. We filled our water-casks, these friendly natives standing by, anxious to assist. These and those of Amota were the only unarmed natives which we saw. A way for the Gospel has been prepared, under God, by our Missionary bishop, and a great work commenced.

"The people of Vanna Lava were most anxious that one of us should remain with them, and each was invited. This island is decidedly unhealthy; elephantiasis is very prevalent: miasma prevails during the rains, when the low lands are flooded. Thermometer in the shade 85°.

"On Whit-Sunday, *May* 27, we partook of the Lord's Supper on board the schooner, after which we all accompanied Mr. Patteson to the villages on the beach, where he preached to and catechized the natives, inviting them also to ask questions: all seemed interested, and again entreated for a Missionary. I believe we all prayed most earnestly that a Pentecostal blessing might be given to these islands.

"*May* 28 — Messrs. Patteson and Dudley crossed in a whale-boat to Amota to see the erection of the house. The natives were very anxious for barter, crying, *Talle, talle*, 'Iron, iron.' They brought cocoa-nuts, yams, coral, bows and arrows, &c., for sale. The wind sprung up, but being light and against us, we had to beat, and it was evening before we could near Amota. On Tuesday we landed: the house was nearly finished. The natives had uprooted some of their own houses in order that the Mission house might soon be covered. About a hundred of them were at work. I walked alone to several villages, and everywhere received a welcome, and fruits were offered me.

"This lovely island is equal to Aurora in beauty. From the Mission station you see six islands—Vanna Lava, Bligh's Island, Vanucollo, Santa Maria, and Mara Lava. The site of the station is well chosen. It is surrounded by bread-fruit, cocoa, and tack-trees, and a huge banian, which we measured, was forty-five yards in circumference. A most lovely spot and well shaded. Thus I had the privilege of seeing the first Mission station in Banks' Island commenced. In the evening Mr. Patteson preached to the people, who were very attentive. Oh may the blessings of God descend on the labours of his servants, and the leaven of the Gospel go forth from this place till all the isles of these seas shall rejoice in the name of Jesus.

"After mutual prayer, commending one another to the care of God, we said farewell to our Christian brethren. More than half of the Melanesian boys had been restored to their respective islands; the remainder stayed with Mr. Patteson at Amota, as the vessel will not go to the Solomon Islands till the next voyage. Our party now consisted of Mr. Kerr, my two natives, and myself. Mr. Patteson requested us to call at Eromanga, and see if any of the Scotch Missionaries were in want of any thing, as, if out of health, they were welcome to a passage to New Zealand. The Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Eromanga, told me how much he and his brethren felt the uniform, disinterested kindness of the bishop, whom he looked upon as a father in the Gospel. After several days of light winds, it was not till Tuesday, June 6th, that we came in sight of Eromanga, a beautiful coral isle. We ran along its rugged coast, richly covered with trees; amongst others, the much desired sandal-wood, which has been the source of so much misery to the poor natives. One instance, which occurred a few months ago, was related to me by Mr. Gordon. A man, named Mears, purchased from the natives a quantity of sandal-wood. He crossed to Fate, a neighbouring island, about fifty miles distant, and procured 200 islanders to accompany him to Eromanga to carry his sandal-wood to the beach. He did not provide food for them, but told them they must rob the cultivations of the Eromangans. He accompanied them with his musket. They destroyed four or five native villages, and took their food. After some time, a large party of the Eromangans attacked the Fate natives, and drove them from their isle, with the European. Many lives were lost on both sides. Mr. Gordon assured me that this had hindered the reception of the Gospel. Many accustomed to attend the Sabbath and week-day services had been driven away, as those villages which had been destroyed were near the station. They were now prejudiced against, and were determined to resist, the Gospel. One chief called a feast on the Sabbath in order to desecrate it. Mark the sequel. God removed by death two of his children on that Sabbath. He acknowledged the finger of God, and said he could not fight against Him. We received a most hearty reception from Mr. Gordon: the hours flew away in social chat and mutual prayer. My native teacher told the Eromangans of the progress of the Gospel in New Zealand, which interested them much. Mr. Gordon said that the heathen priests were doing all they could to oppose them, charging them with being the authors of the

epidemic which had prevailed there so fearfully, and also at the neighbouring island of Tanna, where the Rev. Mr. Paton is labouring. He had lost his wife and child about twelve months ago, and as yet he has had no success to cheer him in his lonely labours. The natives threatened to kill him, nothing softened by the sorrow which they saw he suffered by his bereavement. The bishop, in his last trip, begged him to come to New Zealand for a change, but he declined, as he said he was getting on with the Tannese language, and hoped that, ere long, an impression would be made. He has lately been joined by the Rev. H. Hentson and wife. Very different is the account of the work at Aniteum, where the Rev. Messrs. Inglis and Geddie are labouring. This island is a short distance from Tanna, and nearly the whole of the people have received the Gospel.

"It was nearly midnight before we parted. Being moonlight, our Christian brother accompanied us to the scene of the murders of the Missionaries, Williams and Harris. He gave me the following particulars. Mr. Harris attempted to go inland, which the natives opposed, as there was some ceremony about to be performed. He thought them friendly, because they had given them cocoanuts shortly before. He persevered in going, was struck on the head, staggered to the river near the beach, where he fell. Mr. Williams, hearing his cry, went to see, and was met by the murderers, who threatened him: he fled towards the boat, and was murdered on the beach. The natives, seeing the distress of the Europeans in the boat, were quite softened; and if the bodies had been demanded then they would have been given up. This is Mr. Gordon's account.

"The bishop, with a Samoan teacher, was the first to visit this blood-stained isle after the murder. When he arrived at the spot, they knelt down, and prayed that the blood of the martyrs might make a path for the Gospel. We reached the vessel at two A.M.

"*June* 8—A strong westerly wind, with a high sea: wind fair.

"*June* 9, 10 — Gale continued. On this day we saw Norfolk Island, but could not land as we intended, the surf being too heavy. I felt much disappointed, having a great desire to see the state of the Pitcairns, who have had so much done for them. The gale continuing, we passed the island at seven P.M.

"*June* 11—The anniversary of the foundation of the Melanesian Mission. We had special prayer for a blessing upon this great work. We did not forget our friends at Anota.

"*June* 13—Two A.M. off the Three Kings nearly a calm. We thanked God for bringing us again in sight of our adopted land.

"*June* 14 — Very light wind at four P.M. Whilst off Wangaroa the wind changed to N.E. We could not weather Cape Brett. Went out to sea, as we feared being too near the land, as it had now increased to a gale. All felt dispirited, as we had hoped (D.V.) to have been in Auckland the next day. Dark tempestuous night: gale very heavy.

"*June* 15—Gale increasing, caused a high sea: our little vessel was almost under bare poles, rising beautifully to the billows, and shipping but little water. The constant rolling of the vessel gave me much headache. I felt depressed, but was much comforted by David's prayer (Psalm vi. 2), 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak.' I felt weak in body and weak in spirit. Anxiety respecting my family, gloomy forbodings, want of faith, did not render my situation amidst this gale more comfortable. Great prostration of bodily strength, owing to want of sleep for several nights, made me feel really ill. The gale fearfully increased, accompanied by thunder, lightning, rain, and hail. It was a dreadful night. Oh how delightful to feel safe in a Father's hands!

"*June* 16—Rained in torrents at four A.M., which caused the sea to go down, and at twelve we were becalmed. At two P.M. a northerly breeze sprung up, and we hoped to be in Auckland on the Monday.

"*June* 17: *Lord's-day*—I had morning service with the sailors, and a service with my natives. I felt exceedingly oppressed with a sense of impending calamity: my anxiety was respecting my home and district. I reasoned with myself on the sin and folly of meeting things half-way, and dishonouring God by unbelief. I felt great comfort from that beautiful verse—

> 'Renew my will from day to day,
> Blend it with Thine, and take away
> Whatever makes it hard to say,
> 'Thy will be done!'

which remained on my mind the whole of that eventful day. The accounts of the close of this day I copy from the newspaper 'The New Zealander' of June 23, and forward the following extracts—

"'At ten minutes to five P.M. we sighted the Poor Knights, having passed close to leeward of them: hauled up to S.E. in order to pass eastward of the Hen and Chickens. About this time the wind backed to the north-east, and increased to a gale, with very thick weather and rain. At ten P.M. we were sur-

prised by the report of land on the lee-bow. By press of sail we were providentially enabled to weather a small islet, which, from the course we made, w supposed to be the Eastern Chicken. We now stood on south-east by south, intending, when half-way to Cape Rodney, to wear and stand to the northward, having the harbour of Wangarei under our lee, the wind now blowing a violent gale: at one A.M. land was seen on the lee-bow, about Patawa River. We wore to the northward, the wind shifting south-east, blowing with redoubled violence, soon after we were round. In about half an hour we again saw land on the lee-bow, the south-head of Ngunguru Bay. Standing on, we made the islet at the north-head of Ngunguru Bay, the same islet we had seen at ten P.M.: the weather being so thick, the hills were not visible. Finding we could not weather that islet, the helm was put up to leeward, having again lost sight of land. Thinking we had accomplished our purpose, the ship's head was brought up to north. We then took the ground on what appeared happily to be a spot somewhat sheltered from the full violence of the sea, the range of our vision being the end of the breakers. Imagining deep water to be beyond them, and with the rising tide, the ship being gradually brought nearer, we were alarmed lest we should be carried right over, and founder in the deep water beyond; for in less than half an hour the surf had completely filled the ship, and we were all obliged to take to the rigging, the masts, most providentially, not having been cut away, although repeated attempts had been made to do so. The boats were soon washed away, and, with them, our last hopes of getting to the shore; and from two A.M. till daylight we remained at the masts' head, in the most dreadful suspense. As day dawned we discovered we were in a bay, and near the high-water of its low sandy shore which the darkness of the gale prevented our seeing. We were also gladdened by the sight of European houses. By nine o'clock the tide had so far left us, that we were enabled to get a line to the shore, and, through the mercy of God, after seven hours in the rigging, we were all drawn through the surf safely to land. We received a hearty welcome, and every kindness and assistance from Captain Stewart and his guests, and the Europeans at Ngunguru. The gale had now somewhat abated.

"'We would beg to call attention to the following remarkable providences in answer to prayer. Any one link being wanting, all must have perished. Whilst all was being done on deck that man could do to keep us from a lee-shore, I called my native teacher, Taniora, into the cabin, and we engaged in prayer. My prayer was, that as our blessed Saviour had manifested his power in saving his disciples from shipwreck in the Sea of Galilee, and as his hand was not shortened that it could not save, nor his ear deaf that He would not hear; so that it would now please Him to appear in our behalf, and to save the lives of all in the vessel.

"'Now, mark the answer. First: if the wind had not shifted to the south-east we should all have been on the rocky beach to the north of Patawa. Secondly: when the sea was making a clean breach over the deck, had the masts not been standing to fly to, nothing could have saved us. The reason why the masts were not cut away was, that the captain having, for some cause, laid down the axe, it was not again to be found. Further, when the captain and mate, with knives in their hands, were about to cut the lanyards, some unaccountable feeling prevented them, which no doubt was the finger of God in answer to prayer. Thirdly: if we had grounded a quarter of a mile further northward, we should have been on the rocks of the Ngunguru River.'

"I have only to mention a few additional particulars. When the vessel struck, all the seamen cried, 'We are lost; farewell, Sir.' Mr. Kerr came into the cuddy, and said we must trust in God: nothing more could be done. In a quarter of an hour after striking, the cuddy filled: we were up to our waists in water. We now went to the main cabin, which we were soon obliged to leave, for a sea broke over us, extinguishing all the lights, and filled the cabin. We feared being swept off the deck, but went forward, and got a little shelter under the lee of the anchor. We were, however, soon obliged to take to the rigging. My own mind was calm: much strength and comfort was imparted from the hymn—

'Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me;
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come.

Just as I am, and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot;
To Thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot,
O Lamb of God, I come."

This I begged all to use as a prayer, and repeated it aloud, reminding each one that our time, in all probability, was short. I was so cold, that it was with difficulty I held on the rigging. Mr. Kerr helped me greatly. We both felt the privilege of Christian commu-

nion, particularly under such circumstances. After again speaking to the seamen, a silence of three hours ensued, when I spoke a few encouraging words to my poor natives. Oh how welcome was morning light! Taniora, my native teacher, was the first to try to get a rope on shore, but the drawback from the ebb tide was so strong that he was glad to swim back to the wreck. After waiting another hour, the tide had gone out so far, that he, with one of the sailors, again tried, and succeeded. Thus, through the mercy of God, we were all saved. We all knelt down on the beach, and thanked God for our wonderful deliverance. After remaining two days at Ngunguru, we went overland to Wangarei, when we were kindly received and welcomed by the resident magistrate. The next day, June 22d, we sailed in the 'Janet' for Auckland, where we arrived at eleven P.M. Nothing could be kinder than the manner in which we were received by our bishop, who was thankful that all our lives were saved. I arrived at my beloved home, the Mission station, June 29th, and found, thank God, all well.

"The object of this journal is to make known the progress of the Gospel in these seas, and to declare to all the goodness and mercy of our God, in our wonderful deliverance from shipwreck."

LIFE OF THE REV. T. G. RAGLAND.

The College of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, witnessed, on the 12th of December last, a remarkable celebration. That day has been for more than 500 years set apart for the annual commemoration of benefactors, and probably since the old Benedictine community—the germ of the present—first met in the fourteenth century to recall the remembrance of those to whom they were indebted, few occasions more significant have occurred. Our revered and honoured Missionary, the late Rev. T. G. Ragland, was a Fellow of Corpus; and some of his friends, desirous to perpetuate his memory, having procured a portrait of him in oil-painting, and presented it to the College, the Master and Fellows determined to place it in the College Hall. The inauguration of the picture took place on the commemoration-day just mentioned. It is an honour that has been sparingly bestowed. Two Archbishops and two Bishops look down from their frames on the fugitive college generations that assemble year by year within those walls, one of them the famous Archbishop Parker, who enriched the library with those MSS., in which it is still unrivalled. These appeared alone till Ragland was thought no unworthy associate; and now each successive race of students will look up to that benign and tranquil face, beaming with the peace and love which was the very atmosphere he breathed, and they will learn that he is to be "had in everlasting remembrance," not because he was a high wrangler or a devoted parish priest, but because he was a Missionary—a "messenger of the Churches, and the glory of Christ." His biographer, the Rev. T. T. Perowne,* was appointed to preach the annual sermon, usual on such occasions; and he sums up, in a few emphatic sentences, the impression made on himself, and which he would fain make on others, by the beautiful character which he has so successfully portrayed. "When we see him," says he, in that sermon, "quitting home, and comforts, and position, and friends, and fatherland, to bear the name of Christ before the heathen; when we hear of his presenting the whole of his small patrimony, ten years before he died, as a jubilee offering to the Missionary cause; when we learn that for years he laboured entirely at his own charges, supported by the bounty of the founders and benefactors of his college; when we follow him in his noble work of self-denying love, and find him, late at night, weary with his journey, sitting in a small shop in the bazaar of a heathen town, and by the dimly-burning lamp reading to a few men whom curiosity had brought round him the story of the Philippian jailer, and bidding them to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved;—or on another occasion, though naturally unfitted for the encounter, braving the taunts and jibes of hostile Brahmins in their own village, into which he had ventured, and pressing on them, in spite of themselves, the message of the Gospel;—

* *A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Gajetan Ragland, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Itinerating Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in North Tinnevelly, South India. By the Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.* Seeley, 1861.

oh, surely we recognise a man with whom his Master's commands and his Master's promises, with whom life and death, sin and salvation, heaven and hell, were present realities! His whole life was a sermon on the text, 'We believe, and therefore speak.'" "By constant study of the word of God, and by a habit of unceasing prayer, which was one of the most striking features of his character, he enjoyed abiding intercourse with the Source and Author of life. His Missionary companions, who lodged with him for weeks in the same bungalow or the same tent, bear strong witness not only to the frequency but to the *ease* with which he had recourse to prayer. It seemed to require no effort with him to pass from his ordinary avocations and his customary train of thought to a direct approach to the Majesty of heaven. The secret place of the Most High, the presence-chamber of the King, was his constant dwelling-place. From the vantage-ground of heaven he took his survey of the things of earth. What wonder, that one who in heart and mind thither ascended and with Christ continually dwelt, should catch the spirit and derive the strength and do the work of Him who came to seek and to save the lost? What wonder, that from that high communion his very features should often be radiant with that heavenly expression, which has been so happily transferred to the canvas, and we should see 'his face as it had been the face of an angel?' What wonder, that when the last enemy burst upon him with his sudden assault, the presence and the help of the Conqueror of death should have been yet swifter than the sudden foe? What wonder, that, with the smile of welcome on his face and the name of Jesus on his lips, he cheerfully obeyed the summons, and that to him to whom to live had been Christ, to die was gain?"

Such was Ragland. We will not attempt to add any details to this faithful portraiture, nor to cull any illustrations from the admirable Memoir just published, in the preparation of which, doubtless, Mr. Perowne formed the estimate we have just quoted. We wish rather to commend the volume to our readers in its integrity, with the sincere conviction that extracts would only mar the effect of the whole. The finished picture fully justifies the sketch which appeared in our pages soon after the first tidings of his removal.* It will rank side by side with the Lives of Henry Martyn and Henry Fox, as one of the precious jewels of the Church's heritage. We cannot doubt that it will prove to many a rich means of grace. To gaze affectionately on so Christ-like a character must be sanctifying. His deep humility; the riches of his free-handed liberality; his condescension to men of low estate; his love for the guilelessness of childhood; his equable and uniform temper—the victory over natural impatience; his strong yearnings after complete conformity to his Lord; the atmosphere of prayer which surrounded him; his earnest love of human souls, for Christ's sake; above all, his perfect assurance, not gained without struggle, of his acceptance through the blood of the Lamb—such characteristics marked him out as an eminent Missionary, and as such his Memoir claims attention. It is no little honour to the Church Missionary Society that a secret affinity drew such a man into her ranks, and that he felt assured of meeting among her agents abroad men of like spirit, who could sympathize on the best subjects with him. As their eyes glance over these pages, some of them may, perhaps, own that they have not yet fully reached that pattern, which was after all but a reflex of the Perfect Man. But they can enter into his feelings;—they have been renewed by the same Spirit; they rest on the same Saviour. More faith and more prayer will "perform" the good work already begun. It is a high standard; but who would wish it lower? An indirect reproach has been thrown out against the Church Missionary Society, as though she were not satisfied to accept agents of the ordinary standard of the piety of members of the Church of England. But which of the qualifications at present required shall we leave out? We rest our claim to prayers and aid on our care in the choice of men—our care, as far as one fallible human being can read another's heart. We ask for men like Ragland, and Fox, and Weitbrecht, and W. Johnson, and many living names that we could readily mention. This will satisfy us, and our constituents throughout the country will surely neither give us nor would they require of us less. One of Ragland's favourite thoughts deserves our special notice. "Of all plans for *ensuring success*, the most certain is Christ's own—becoming a corn of wheat, falling into the ground and dying." John xii. 24. Shall his words be accomplished? Who follows in his train?

* "C. M. Intelligencer," vol. x., pp. 25—39.

MISSION CHURCH, GALLE FACE, COLOMBO. (*From a sketch by the Rev. W. Knight.*)

COLOMBO, AND THE LATE REV. HENRY WHITLEY.

We direct attention to a part of one of our smaller Mission-fields, in the hope not only of drawing out more prayerful interest in its behalf, but also of enlisting a fresh labourer for a work at present specially bereaved. We speak of the Colombo station of our Ceylon Mission, and we wish to speak also of the devoted though brief career of our late Missionary brother there, the Rev. Henry Whitley, as an illustration of the principles, spirit, and temper of our Missionary body.

The Singhalese Mission is more than forty years old. Much has been expended on it — men, money, prayer, effort; and we believe that no sphere which we occupy is in a more forward state of preparation, in many important respects. The seed of the word of God has been largely sown there: were the beams of the Son of righteousness and the dews of the gracious Spirit granted in full measure to quicken it, the field would at once rejoice and blossom. Reviving influences are nowhere more needed, nowhere more longed for, than in Ceylon. The woodman's saw almost seems in many places to have cut through the gigantic trunk of the ancient superstition. In various urban and suburban districts Buddhism is dead. But it stands in its place by its mere superincumbent weight. The forester cannot move it. Let only the breath of heaven stir among the upper branches, and it will sway over and fall with a crash to the ground. And this heavenly breath will come. God never puts into the hearts of His faithful people an earnest desire for any great spiritual gift, without purposing to grant it. The wish is the pledge of its fulfilment. "Prayer is intended to convey the blessings God designs to give;" and we therefore wait with assured confidence for the results of the world-wide intercessions that signalized our opening year.

The little Mission church at Colombo, which forms our frontispiece this month, is the centre of operations of much interest. It stands only a few hundred yards from the sea, at one corner of the esplanade, called Galle Face—an open piece of ground, lying to the south side of the fort, the side towards Galle—often used for military parades, and the common resort of English residents of an evening. The dull roar of the surf, as it dashes in one snow-white line on the yellow sands, is constantly audible from it, and the fresh evening breeze blows in through the western door, unbroken by the feathery fringe of cocoa-nut palms, which everywhere belts the coast. The whole scene is one of the brightest tropical beauty. The chancel overlooks a large lagoon, running for a considerable distance parallel to the sea, but bending round so as to enclose a tongue of land, called Slave Island, the district especially assigned to the Mission church. Slave Island contains almost an epitome of the manifold races of Ceylon. There are there, as might be expected, the low-country Singhalese, by religion Buddhists. There is an ever-increasing Tamil population, flowing over from the coast of the adjoining continent for purposes of trade, or to hire out their well-strung thews and sinews, as coolies on the coffee estates. It would be difficult exactly to say what is their prominent religion. They have one or two Brahminical temples, mean and contemptible indeed when compared with the ponderous pagodas of Madura or Tanjore; and one cannot help feeling how much the hold over them of Hinduism must be shaken by their migration, for, like all false religions, Hinduism depends for its ascendancy upon material and external magnificence, and is local, not universal. The faith, however, that appears to have the most influence over the Tamilians, as indeed practically over the Singhalese as well, is the worship of malignant spirits, found among the aborigines of the whole of India, though supplanted almost universally in the northern half of the great peninsula by the more recent Brahminical system. This vague faith, if it deserve the name, without code, literature, fixed ceremonial, or hereditary priesthood, cannot long resist the positive doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. Another numerous class are the Moormen—the hawkers and pedlars of the East, and often also engaged in handicrafts. They are in religion Mohammedan; in language, Tamil; and are probably the posterity of Arab adventurers, who conquered several Indian seaports in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and intermarried with the women of their adopted country. To them again we must add the soldiers of the Ceylon Rifles, fierce and bigoted Malays, also Mussulmans by faith, imported into the island by the Dutch as mercenaries, still adhering to the profession of their forefathers, and almost entirely isolated from the surrounding population. Add once more the numerous class of descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch, the former generally Roman Catholics, and often much degraded, the latter frequently wealthy and respectable. A few bungalows of English mer-

chants are also to be found on Slave Island, but the most favourite residence of our countrymen is the beautiful suburb of Colpetty, lying immediately south of the Mission church, along the sandy embankment which separates the Lake of Colombo from the sea.

It is the duty of the Missionary minister of that church to seek the best welfare of these various races. The objects proposed by it were thus described in our Annual Report for 1853-54—"The church will have both English and native services, and Missionary operations will be connected with it. It will thus afford a point of union between European and native Christians, and tend, under God, to the kindling among all classes a more lively sympathy and co-operation in the great work of evangelizing the island." "On Thursday, October 13, 1853, the church was opened with a dedicatory service. The bishop presided on the occasion. The Governor, and many of the chief officers of Government, attended, and a large number of European descendants and natives, both Singhalese and Tamil. Thus the very day of opening afforded a happy illustration of one of the main objects of its erection—the union of races in the church of Christ."

Thus to provide services for English as well as native worshippers, is a deviation from the ordinary mode of operations in the Society's Missions; and it might appear to a superficial observer a departure from our fundamental object. But our object is, the salvation of heathen souls, by bringing them home to the flock of Christ, and the peculiar circumstances of Ceylon suggested this measure as one of the most hopeful that could be adopted, and the seven years' experiment has amply justified the expectation. The Singhalese people are very different from the people of India. While the latter remain but slightly influenced by the presence of Europeans amongst them, as far as it is mere presence and mere contact, retaining in their integrity their ancestral habits and customs, and separated from foreigners by the rigid barrier of caste; the former are remarkably affected in their habits and character by the presence of their European conquerors. They have always been ready to follow the manners, and even to adopt the faith, of their rulers. To the present day, many families of pure Singhalese blood bear Portuguese names—De Alwis, De Silva, De Saram. The Dutch succeeded in enforcing, for their own purposes of aggrandisement, an universal profession of Christianity in the maritime provinces; and now the facile Singhalese are just as ready to Anglicise. How important that they should have constantly brought before their notice a body of English Christians, not banded together for selfish ends or political domination, but who are united by a common sympathy in the spread of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst them, who take an unquestionable interest in their best and highest welfare, and who are ready in every way to promote it by their sympathy as well as by their purse. It is not easy to over-estimate the growing influences of such a community as this among the natives of Ceylon. Even if we look at the mere amount of funds raised through the interest kindled and sustained by our Mission church at Colombo, the results are neither small nor insignificant. In the year before its opening, the contributions raised on behalf of the Society in Colombo were only 71*l.* Since that time there has been a progressive annual increase. Last year's receipts were more than six-fold the sum just named—445*l.* Altogether, more than 1600*l.* have thus been contributed in the last six years, besides 1000*l.* towards the erection of the church and Mission premises adjoining. There have been few instances of more ready liberality in any of our Mission fields; and the work of the Colombo station, in all its various branches, soon promises to be entirely supported by our friends on the spot, who have learnt our Saviour's maxim, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

The direct work of evangelization is carried on by services both in Singhalese and Tamil, by schools, by tract distribution, and by preaching and conversation in the streets. The detailed narrative of this most important department would indeed be full of interest, but our space forbids us to attempt it. It does not, however, differ in any important particulars from the operations with which the readers of our publications are familiar in other districts of the Missionary field; and we wish at present to fix attention on the success of the specific branch which we have just now indicated. On the return to England of the Rev. G. Pettitt, who was in charge of the Mission church for the first year after its erection, he was succeeded by the Rev. H. Whitley, extracts from whose reports, beginning with that for the year ending September 30, 1856, we present to our readers, as the best means of bringing under their view this division of the work as well as the workman himself—

"The English congregations morning and evening, at eleven and a quarter-past five, have been ministered to by myself. The average attendance has been, in the morning eighty-four, and in the evening nearly

seventy-three, omitting fractions, showing a slight increase over the numbers of last year, which were respectively eighty and seventy-one. In taking the average, it should be borne in mind that every Sunday is included, though sometimes a heavy rain decreases the congregation to a dozen, and the hot season drives many from Colombo. On twenty-one occasions the congregation ranged from ninety to a hundred and eleven. The number of communicants on the list is forty-one, and the average attendance during the year, twenty-four. In referring to the English congregation, the question naturally occurs, how far have its members aided in any way the direct work of evangelizing the heathen, and so fulfilled the expectations which were not unreasonably formed at the erection of the church, and the commencement of an English service. To this, as appears to me, a satisfactory answer may be returned, bearing in mind that by satisfactory is to be understood, not all that the congregations ought to do or could do, but all that we are warranted in expecting. We cannot be disappointed if extraordinary efforts are not put forth, but should be thankful if a congregation manifests even the usual amount of interest in Missionary labours. Taking then, as a test, that to which most persons look first, the liberality of the congregation, we have the following statistics—Within the walls of the church have been collected, during the year, 117*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, of which merely 3*l.* or 4*l.* were contributed by the natives. Out of this,

"1. The entire expenses of the church, including repairs, have been defrayed; and since services are held for the natives, so far this is direct assistance to the Society, in enabling it to keep in repair the fabric of a church used for its purposes.

"2. About 27*l.* were for purely Missionary objects, viz. nearly a third for the Turkish Missions of the Church Missionary Society, and the remainder for the Colombo Association.

"3. Nearly 33*l.* have been collected for the temporal relief of the poor; 7*l.* being a special collection for the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society; the remainder, the amount of sacramental offerings, being for the poor in the district, or in the native congregations.

"This refers only to what has been done within the church, but much more has been received from the members of the congregation. Thus, for the debt on the church, now happily extinguished, 50*l.* was contributed; and for the Colombo Association of the Church Missionary Society we have just received upwards of 60*l.* in the way of annual subscriptions and donations. Adding these two items to the collections within the church, we have a total of about 220*l.* contributed in one year to various direct and indirect Missionary purposes, exclusively from members of the Mission church congregation. If it be true, then, that they might have done more, let us be thankful that they have not done less.

"But cannot we point to other than pecuniary assistance? The congregation supplies us at least with some gentlemen who are willing to aid us with their counsel as members of the Committee of the Church Missionary Association, and with some ladies who manifest a personal interest in our female schools. By the exertions of the Ladies' Committee, funds are raised which go a considerable way towards the support of the girls' schools in Slave Island and at St. Sebastian. While, then, there are many other friends of the Society who are not members of the congregation of the Mission church, it is from the latter we derive the greatest assistance: we are thankful for these tokens for good. May the Spirit be poured out upon us from on high, that soon more energy may be put forth, and more influence exerted on behalf of heathen souls.

"Before quitting this part of the report, I may add, that when Mr. Knight was in Colombo he kindly met several members of the congregation at my house, and gave varied and interesting information respecting his tour in South India. This was the beginning, or rather revival, of a Missionary meeting of a few who are interested in the cause. Though our numbers have seldom exceeded a dozen, yet we have kept up the meetings regularly. An address has been delivered, with statistical and other information, for about an hour, when we close with reading the Scriptures and prayer. Mr. Fenn has conducted it alternately with myself from May to September."

The following year Mr. Whitley thus reports respecting the English services—

"The amount collected within the church for all purposes has been 134*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* Out of this we have provided for the repairs, expenses of public worship, &c. 28*l.* were collected for the Church Missionary Association; about 31*l.* were received at the offertory at the Lord's Supper, and distributed amongst the poor; and 7*l.* for the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society. From this it will be seen that about 67*l.* were collected for the expenses of public worship, repairs, &c.

"In connexion with this part of the Report it may be stated, that a gentleman, a member of the congregation, voluntarily

undertook to collect an amount sufficient for the purpose of purchasing a piece of land adjoining the church, in the hope that the Home Committee would then erect a house for the Missionary minister. I am thankful to say that he has succeeded, and the land has lately been made over to me, in trust for the Church Missionary Society, at a cost altogether of about 250*l*. The Committee at home have not yet been applied to for a grant towards the erection of a Mission house; but we earnestly hope that they will be able to accede to the request when made.

"In connexion with ministerial labours amongst the Europeans, it may be mentioned, that the receipts of the Colombo Association of the Church Missionary Society have this year amounted to more than 226*l*., raised in the neighbourhood, solely for the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives in the Colombo and Cotta districts. I need scarcely add that this is a great assistance, not to myself only, but to my brethren at Cotta. If to the above we add the 250*l*. collected for the land, and 67*l*. collected in the church from week to week, for the expenses of public worship, repairs, &c., we have a sum of 583*l*. dedicated to the Society's Mission in Colombo during the past year. A reference to the accounts of this station will show that this sum considerably exceeds the Society's remittances from home, including the salary of the Missionary. Taking, then, all these facts into consideration—the additional number of communicants, the proofs of liberality, the active labours of some, and the general interest manifested by others—I am encouraged to hope that the blessing of the Lord is with us. May He further pour out his Spirit upon all the Europeans, that many may give themselves to God, and hold forth the word of life to the surrounding thousands sunk in idolatry, superstition, and lifeless Christianity."

Again, the succeeding Report testifies to the value of these services—

"While another year's labour in ministering to an English congregation has not led me to love less the work of evangelizing the heathen, and the care of the native Christians, it has shown me more than ever the importance of this branch of my duty. Whatever tends to the spiritual welfare of one's own countrymen, whatever builds them up in the maintenance of the doctrines of the Bible, whatever sets before them the redeeming love of Christ, urges that as a constraining motive for their constant prayerful efforts for the salvation of souls, this must be real Missionary work—work which a Missionary not only may, but, in some circumstances, must engage in, if he heartily desires the conversion of the degraded heathen. True, some, but by no means the greater portion of his time, must then be occupied in English duties; yet so far is this from being a hindrance to labours amongst the heathen, that it materially assists him. If his own sphere of direct Missionary effort be hereby limited, it must not be forgotten that the influence of Europeans spreads far and wide. The Missionary labouring exclusively amongst the natives, some five, or ten, or twenty miles from the nearest European residence, will feel the benefit, in his jungle district, of whatever helps the promotion of true piety amongst his countrymen. Leaving out of account the opportunities of soliciting pecuniary assistance which the minister of an English congregation has, the above considerations incline me to the conviction, daily gathering strength, that he who seeks the conversion of the indifferent and the edification of Christ's people amongst those of his own country or language, is adopting a course which, under God, is likely to result in the enlightenment of the heathen, and the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives."

We add one more extract from the last annual statement Mr. Whitley was permitted to prepare—

"The English services have been held morning and afternoon at eleven and five. The average attendance at both these services shows an improvement over that of former periods. In the morning the average has been 110, in the evening 83. For 1857-58 the corresponding numbers were 100 and 77. There has not, however, been quite a proportionable increase in the average attendance at the Lord's Supper, being only 28 to 27 last year. It should be borne in mind, both with respect to the number of attendants at the services and at the Lord's Supper, that during the period from January to May some families are always absent at Nuwera Ellia.

"The sums collected in the church during service, or remitted in the shape of fees, &c., have been as follows—

(1) For church expenses .	67	8	1¼
(2) Sacramental alms and for the poor	37	15	10¼
(3) For the Colombo Association Church Missionary Society. . . .	14	13	4¼
(4) For the Friend-in-Need Society.	12	0	5
making a total of. . . .	£131	17	9¼

"Of these the first and third items, amount-

ing to 82*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, directly benefit the Church Missionary Society.

"Though not immediately connected with the English congregation of the Mission church, I may mention, while speaking of money, that the receipts of the Colombo Association Church Missionary Society for 1858-59 were 181*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.*

"The Parent Committee having promised a sum not exceeding 600*l.* towards the erection of a Mission house, the two churchwardens kindly sent out a subscription-paper in July last, for the purpose of collecting sufficient to purchase an additional piece of land. Since the date at which this report closes the whole sum required, 150*l.*, has been raised, and the land secured. Such, however, is the price of labour and materials, that we have not been able as yet to submit a plan which could be carried out within the estimate; but we hope to succeed ere long, and to commence building. The Home Committee have expressed their great satisfaction at the kind and willing manner in which the members of the congregation, and other friends, have come forward and rendered their aid in this work.

"While I would be truly thankful for improved attendance at both the Sabbath services, it would betray in me a miserably low view of the Christian minister's great office and objects were this alone to satisfy me. We wish not merely to see our churches filling, but heaven also. We want to see Jesus in the hearts of our hearers; and never ought we to rest while other objects are more lovely in the eyes of our flocks than Christ whom we preach."

"Looking," he concludes, "at the various classes among whom it is my privilege to labour, whether as Missionary or Minister, and any thing in this Report to the contrary notwithstanding, a view of the past year affords encouragement. If not great encouragement, we have a little; and let this suffice to lift up our hearts in praise to God. Let us join also with our fellow-Christians of whom we rejoice to hear in America, in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and last, not least, in England, and even in Ceylon, in praying for the speedy outpouring of the Holy Spirit. We are stirred up to prayer, and we have begun to unite more in this blessed exercise."

Such was his own modest estimate of his labours — labours not merely, be it remembered, in the English, but also in the Singhalese and Tamil languages, which he had not failed to acquire. But this career of happy usefulness was just about to close. Our readers will probably have observed the brief record of Mr. Whitley's sudden and violent death in a recent issue; but we cannot allow such a name to be erased from our muster-roll without a longer notice. His removal called out deep and universal sympathy in the island, and it is well to ask what was the character of him who was so much beloved.

Henry Whitley was the third son of the Rev. Edward Whitley, M.A., chaplain to the Ironmongers' Company, and minister of Sir R. Jeffrey's Chapel, Kingsland, London. He was the child of many prayers, and manifested at an early age a very deep reverence for God and fear of sin. He would often reprove older boys when he saw them doing wrong. His early impressions were matured into a final decision for God, when being prepared for Confirmation by the late Principal of the Society's College at Islington, who had also at that time a pastoral charge there. With a view to the ministry, he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, in October 1846, taking his B.A. degree as Junior Optime in January 1850. He was subsequently ordained to the curacy of Sapcote, Leicestershire, under its late rector, the Rev. John Bickersteth. This period of his life may be best described in the following communication from one who was then his fellow curate—

"After it was settled that he should be ordained to the curacy of the parish, he came to Sapcote, and for some months laid himself out for usefulness in every possible way. As a lay-visitor and as a Sunday-school teacher he did all in his power to compensate the beloved rector for the absence of an ordained helper. And even then the leading features of his character—humility, unobtrusiveness, diligence, and, above all and the root of all, piety—caused him to be highly esteemed by all who knew him, not simply the parishioners, but the neighbouring clergy. After his ordination he pursued the same quiet and useful course; and, in common with other curates, resided in the rectory. There seemed to me to be a mutual regard between the rector and curate, exceeding that which ordinarily exists in such relationship. The loving spirit of the former could not but be drawn out by (and in turn draw out) the constant, deferential, and affectionate devotedness of the curate to every wish and every plan of the rector; so that the Apostle's description of himself and Timothy found in them a most appropriate application — 'Ye know the proof of him, that as a son

with the father, he hath served me in the Gospel.'

"The simplicity, earnestness, and unction of his preaching rendered our late friend's ministrations useful. He was, as may be well supposed, unfailing and unweary in his Sunday-school work: and, indeed, he would fain stir up the minds of others engaged in the same work. He published a small tract, entitled, 'Piety, Perseverance, and Prayer; or the Principles of Sunday-school Teaching.'

"Besides that which came upon him daily—his own parochial work—he spared not himself to be of use to others. He was the principal originator of the 'Hinckley Young Men's Christian Association,' and, in the prosecution of that good work, had many a weary walk. It remains a memorial of him.

"But perhaps you cannot have a more correct idea of Mr. Whitley than is given in the annual 'Pastor's Address,' issued by Mr. Bickersteth, January 1, 1855—

"'Dearly beloved, I cannot part with you on this occasion, and forget the loss we are about to sustain by the removal of my dear friend, and fellow-helper, and brother, or, I might almost say, son in the ministry; but I will not by saying, what would be easy to say, further distress him, myself, or you. Together let us praise the Lord, who gave him to us, and has been pleased to make Sapcote so long the favoured scene of his diligent, faithful, and persevering service. Together let us invoke the Lord's blessing upon his progress and prospects in life spiritual and temporal. May He bless his family and home friends who have reason to be glad of him—conduct him in peace and safety to another scene of ministerial work—make him what he has been to *me*, (and I think there are none who will not respond "and to *me* also,") a blessing.'"

"I ought not to omit," our correspondent continues, "as helping to give a notion of the estimation in which he was held, that when he had resolved to leave father and mother, and sister and brother, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, to go forth, and encounter the difficulties and the dangers of a Missionary's life, several of his clerical brethren and some other friends contributed to the purchase of a gold watch, which would remind him, in the far country, of those who highly esteemed him in love, for his own and for his work's sake.

"Sapcote also did not allow him to go and not carry with him some token of affectionate regard. A purse of money, a Bible, and an address were presented to him by the parishioners and Sunday-school teachers.

"It is scarcely necessary to add, that all letters from him had a sincere welcome, and were read with much interest, and that the intelligence of his death was very sorrowful news to many in this neighbourhood. But what shall we say? 'He had laboured and not fainted.'"

The long-cherished wish of his heart for Missionary work was granted to him in the year 1854. He was appointed to the work at Colombo, part of which we have endeavoured to describe in previous pages. The Bishop of Ripon, son of his rector, took part in the valedictory service with which he was sped to his station, which he reached on February 25, 1855.

The sudden summons that called him to his rest is narrated in the following letter from the Rev. C. C. Fenn—

"The Committee will hear from other sources, by the same mail that takes this, the news of the terrible and agonizing stroke with which it has pleased our heavenly Father (in mercy, I doubt not) to visit this Mission. The very one whom we perhaps should have been inclined to think could least be spared has been removed, cut down, literally in a moment, in the midst of his work. On Saturday evening, the 10th of November, Mrs. Fenn and myself were conversing with Mrs. Whitley in the new Mission house, dear Whitley himself having left us only a minute or two before, when we heard loud screams in the compound. We went out, and saw five or six natives calling out in Singhalese, 'The master! the master!' and pulling with their utmost strength at a heap of rubbish, the ruins of the wall of an old schoolroom that had just fallen down. The terrible truth then flashed on our mind that our beloved friend Whitley himself was beneath the mass of stones, beams, and earth that lay confusedly on the ground. In about two minutes his body was extricated: he gasped twice or three times. A little brandy was poured down his throat, and then, I believe, the spirit fled. I ran off immediately for a doctor. On coming, he told us all was over. He said afterwards, and the other doctors agreed, that had the extrication been immediate, and the most skilful medical attendance been on the spot at the time, nothing could have been done to save his life. His death was caused by a beam falling on the ribs, and forcing them into the lungs, and bringing on internal hæmorrhage. The bishop happened to be passing by at the time, and at once came in. This was before the doctor had pronounced the case hopeless, and the bishop left under the impression that our friend was likely to recover. But before leaving, he said he would

come and be responsible for the morning service at the Mission church. The bishop came in again when he had heard of our brother's departure, renewing his offer to preach, and expressing a wish to officiate at the funeral. Both offers were of course accepted, and he must have sat up part of the night writing the funeral sermon, since he left the Mission house after ten at night, and was at the church again (a distance of three miles from his own house) at half-past ten the next morning, where he preached an earnest, affectionate, and very suitable sermon. The funeral was at five on Sunday evening, and though, in consequence of its being Sunday, very inadequate notice had been given, a very large number of Europeans and others were present. If I once begin to tell you all the tokens of grief and esteem for our departed friend, and sympathy for his widow, I shall not know where to stop.

"If ever there was a man to whom a sudden death would have been (if I may say so) not sudden, our brother Whitley was the one. He seemed never off his guard; always in the same frame; always living in the presence of a reconciled Father; always serenely and gravely cheerful; always ready to show kindness, and ceaselessly laborious. A man of higher-toned piety and more consistent life I have not yet seen, and do not expect to see. My esteem and high opinion of him had always been increasing, but especially very much of late. How often it seems, that just when God has perfected an instrument He removes him, to show, as I suppose, that He does not depend on instruments. Our dear friend, as far as I can gather, had no sort of presentiment that his end was near. He did not need it: he was living in the spiritual world even while upon earth: he was gathered because he was ripe.

"I hope the Committee will send out a man to take his place as soon as possible. It should be a clergyman with pastoral experience, especially in preaching.

"The very strong sympathy and good feeling manifested by the Galle Face congregation shows how much dear Whitley had effected, and proves most strongly the desirableness of keeping the post well supplied."

The Bishop of Colombo also bears his testimony to Mr. Whitley's worth, and concludes by expressing "the sincere and deep sorrow felt by all, in common with himself, for the most sudden and calamitous event, which has deprived the church of his services." "The last sad offices," continues his lordship, "were solemnized by myself on the following evening (which is always the case in this climate), amid more universal sorrow than I have witnessed on any previous occasion; and he deserves all that has been said and felt at such a loss to our colonial church. The pall was borne by persons of the highest position in the colony, and the sympathy expressed towards his bereaved widow by all is of that character which best marks the regard in which he himself was held." We add the address of sympathy to which the bishop alludes—

"Painful as it is to intrude upon the sacredness of your sorrow, our own grief and our sympathy for you will not permit us any longer to delay in offering to you our deep condolence in your most sudden and sad bereavement, and in expressing, however inadequately, some of the feelings that we entertain for the memory of your late excellent and much-lamented husband.

"Your loss is indeed irreparable. Partner with him in his joys and sorrows, his trials and blessings, his prayers and labours, you could more perfectly appreciate his worth; for while towards you he ever evinced the affection of a fond husband, you were subject to the more immediate influence of his edifying counsel and example. Still, dear madam, deeply sensible of the great calamity that has fallen upon us, individually and as a congregation, we feel that in his death we have lost a friend, whose kindness of heart endeared him to every one who knew him, and whose valuable advice and assistance were freely afforded whenever they were required.

"A pastor, whose teaching of the Gospel was so faithful, so simple, and so clear, whose calls to holiness of life were so earnest and loving, and whose consistent example shone so brightly, failed not powerfully to invite all with whom he was associated to follow in the path which he so worthily trod, earnestly serving his Lord and Master; and we have, in the great regard in which he was held by all denominations of Christians, the most perfect testimony that his efforts were especially blessed.

"Highly as we esteemed and loved him whilst he was amongst us, we seem only now fully to realize his true value when we can see his face no more. And, dear madam, it is needless to assure you that time can never efface the remembrance of those ceaseless and self-denying labours in his holy calling, that unaffected and unvarying kindness of manner, that constant serenity of temper, that thoughtful consideration for the feelings,

and quick sympathy for the sorrows of others, that consistent course of unworldliness, which were so many convincing proofs of piety towards God and benevolence towards men. And we would express the fervent hope that the solemn event which has just occurred may, by God's grace, firmly establish in our hearts those principles of Christian truth which we so often heard from his lips, and that the fruits of his labours and prayers while in this world may be more abundant in us now that he is gone from his work into the presence of his Saviour. For him, we know, there is no cause for grief, for to him 'to die was gain.' He is now with Christ, 'which is far better.' It is left to us, the sorrowing survivors, to comfort each other; and while we submissively and trustfully bow to the will of God, we are not unmindful that our utmost sympathies are due, as they are most sincerely and affectionately offered, to one whom we all know as the worthy and loved companion, the zealous and highly-valued helpmate of our dear departed friend; and we would beg you to accept the assurance of our continued and most affectionate solicitude for your future happiness and comfort."

We wish that we had room for extracts from the newspaper press of the island, but our space only allows us to add these few lines from one of the leading members of the congregation—

"By the Church Missionary Society the loss of such a man must be severely felt, for he was one of those beautiful characters whose devotedness, deep piety, and habitually prayerful and consistent life did more to win souls than the brightest talents and most brilliant eloquence could have done. Nothing could more effectually commend Christianity to the heathen or to the unawakened nominal Christian, than his living example of its purity, loveliness, and power. He is gone to his blessed Master, to happiness and eternal glory, for which he was fully ripe. Thankful indeed may the Church Missionary Society be to a gracious and merciful God for raising up to His service such a man. So long as the Society is represented by such, it cannot fail to command a blessing on its labours."

We feel deeply the truth of these concluding words. We bless and praise the Giver of all good for such labourers as Henry Whitley. We called attention last month to another of our honoured and devoted Missionaries, Thomas Ragland. The two men were very different in University distinctions, perhaps in mental calibre, and certainly in their special departments of Missionary work. But there was one great point of union. They were one in faith, in principles, and in spirit; and in Henry Whitley, sanctified common sense, and that valuable but indescribable gift, called influence, made him qualified to fill his sphere with a success which we hardly learnt, but, as we so often do, by his loss.

We said that we had a special reason for bringing this whole topic before our readers. We are much straitened for men. We ask for a successor to our late brother. He is needed without delay. Full orders and some ministerial experience are requisites for the post. Is there no country parish, like Sapcote, that can spare its pastor to so promising a sphere of labour, to so warmhearted and loving a flock, as that whose centre is the Mission church at Colombo?

THE EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, THE PERPETUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POLICY.

THE mutiny in India cast upwards on its agitated surface a variety of questions connected with the character and results of our governmental policy in that country. A calamity so unexpected and severe, the stroke of which was felt so widely throughout the land, aroused to thought every man who was capable of thinking; and the more the subject was sifted and examined, the more the conviction gained ground that we had not been faithful to our obligations as a Christian people. In the hope of conciliating the heathen, we had withheld from Christianity that recognition which it had a right to claim, and had been guilty of a disloyalty which could not have been otherwise than displeasing to God; and all right-thinking men entertained the hope, that on the restoration of tranquillity, whatever had been unchristian and impolitic in our conduct, would be repudiated, and a policy be inaugurated, more consistent with the Christian profession of

England, better calculated to bring down a blessing from God, and more likely to obtain the confidence of the natives, because more straightforward, and therefore more intelligible to them.

It was at such a time that the Church Missionary Society put forth a memorial to the Queen, which with unflinching fidelity pointed out the great defect in our policy, and prayed for its removal—

"The Government of India has professed to occupy a position of neutrality between the Christian and false religions. Such profession, as your Memorialists believe, dishonours the truth of God, practically discourages the progress of Christianity, and is inimical to the social welfare of the natives. Especially they conceive it to be inconsistent with a right discharge of the duties of Government in endeavouring to repress those anti-social evils which are mainly attributable to caste-distinctions, public indecency in idolatrous rites, and generally to a false standard of morality—evils which have been fearfully exhibited amidst the revolting cruelties of the present rebellion, and which can only be effectually counteracted by recognising the Christian religion as the basis of law and social order.

"Your Memorialists also humbly submit that neutrality has not been, and cannot be, practically maintained by a Christian Government in the midst of Hindu and Mohammedan institutions. The Government, for example, has been compelled to suppress by law certain so-called religious practices, which violated the laws of humanity; and, while professing to respect false religions, has unavoidably undermined their foundations by educational and social improvements. Thus your Majesty's Government has presented to the people of India a disingenuous aspect, and has exposed itself to the charge, falsely alleged against it by the mutineers, of designing to make them Christians by fraud or coercion.

"Your Memorialists would therefore beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the Public Authorities in the East Indies—

"That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation."

The so-called policy of "neutrality," referred to in this Memorial, had been indeed our great national delinquency in India, a perseverance in which had involved us in many violations of Christian duty, and had at length entailed upon us great calamities.

The true religion of God and the false religions of India had met face to face, and between light and darkness, thus confronted, a conflict for supremacy had commenced, which can never cease until the strongholds of Satan be levelled in the dust. In the presence of so momentous a struggle, England, in the exercise of her sovereign power, had resolved upon neutrality. She decided to act as though it were to her a matter of indifference whether India remained under the yoke of the Shasters and the Korán, or, by the liberating power of the Gospel, became regenerated and ennobled. This indifferentism, we are disposed to think, was more pretended than real. It is difficult to conceive the possibility of an Englishman holding office in India, and thus feeling in a greater or less measure the weight of responsibility, and yet be indifferent to the emancipation of that great country from abominable idolatries, which enfeeble the population and impoverish the empire. Such men there may have been; perhaps some such are even now to be found. If so, it is because they love darkness rather than light, and do not like the element which is congenial to them to be interfered with; and yet even thus, in the hearts of such persons there must exist a repressed, yet by no means inaudible conviction, that it would be better for men, whether European or Asiatic, if they were under, rather than without, the yoke of Christ; better for themselves, better for India, better for all mankind, if it were so.

However this be, we will take the most favourable view of the case, that our policy was clothed with this aspect of indifferentism, because it was deemed expedient it should be so regarded by the natives. It was, in fact, an excess of political prudery, unintelligible to the native, who is never ashamed to profess his faith, but fearlessly proclaims and glories in it, and wraps his religious profession as closely around him as the girdle around his loins. But it was done lest we should be suspected of desiring to interfere with his religion; and to such an extent has this been carried, that our faith, the religion of our convictions, to which, as a people, we are so immeasurably indebted, has been but too often slightingly dealt with in the presence of the heathen. To the Christianity of the Bible, England owes all her greatness. Here

lies the secret source of her free institutions, and of her own ability to use them, without permitting liberty to degenerate into licence. The energy to improve the opportunities of intercourse with other nations, and thus increase her riches and prosperity, springs from the same source. Christianity is the solid substratum which gives such stability to our institutions, so that the strokes of the political earthquakes, which, on the continent of Europe, have so often overthrown kingdoms and dynasties, have been felt only as slight tremors on our shores. England owes much, every thing, to her Christianity, and the obligations which consequently devolve upon her ought to be cheerfully and heartily fulfilled. Assuredly the least which can be required of her is, that she be not ashamed of her faith, but that she avow it honestly and fearlessly before the world. Other nations are not ashamed of their false creeds; why then should England be ashamed of that which is the truth of God? France is not ashamed of her Romanism: she identifies it with her national acts, and, in her political procedures and treaties with other nations, never loses an opportunity of promoting its interests. We do not admire her proceedings, nor propose her example as a model for imitation. We have no wish that any coercive influence should be exercised on men's consciences. But we have erred in the other extreme. It is one thing to force our religion on men, when they are indisposed to it, and compel them to listen to its teaching; it is another thing to ignore our religion in the presence of the heathen stranger, and deal with it in such a manner as to induce him to think that we but slightly value it, and are wholly indifferent to his reception or rejection of it. It has not been enough for England to tolerate the false religion of Hindustan, and allow the native races free scope for their profession, but she has gone further than this; for while she has conceded to the native races all freedom for the exercise of their religion, she has acted as if she was not free to avow her own. In her anxiety to conciliate the heathen, she has too frequently patronized their superstitions, while she has ignored and discouraged her own pure faith. That frank and honest avowal of her Christianity, which she was bound to render, has been withheld, and an evasive timidity and undue reserve on the subject have characterized throughout her Government of India. Our course of public action has been such, that if, from this alone, the native was left to form his opinion of our religious character, as a nation, he must mentally have come to the conclusion that we had no religion at all, and that to his rulers it was a matter of supreme indifference what gods he believed in, or where he worshipped—in the pagoda, the mosque, or the Christian church; nay, indeed, some of our governmental acts have been of such a nature, as to lead the native to apprehend, that to become a Christian would not only be to expose himself to the hatred of his heathen relatives and friends, but to the displeasure of the authorities.

Thus the balance has been held, not with an impartial, but with an unequal and unsteady hand, and the recognition, which, on pretences of expediency, has been denied to Christianity, has often been extended to those false systems of religion, under whose debasing influence the nations of India have been so long and grievously suffering. This pseudo-liberality we have been pleased to call neutrality, and it has been, unhappily for us, the guiding star of our State-craft in India. Even still, notwithstanding the severity of that ordeal, through which British power had to pass in 1857-58, this word of ill-omen continues to find a place in Government minutes and despatches. So late as 1859, in the Education Despatch of that year, the introduction of the old word avows a perseverance in the old policy, "Her Majesty's Government are unable to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality." We are not surprised that, in his Primary Charge, the Bishop of Calcutta felt himself constrained to say—

"I cannot but express a wish that the word *neutrality* could be dropped in describing the relation of the British Government to religion. It may be said that the word is not of much consequence, and no doubt some word is necessary to express the fact that the State stands aloof from Missionary enterprises, and that in the language of the Queen's Proclamation, 'None shall be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but all shall alike enjoy the regard and impartial protection of the law.' But the word *neutrality*, which is avoided in the Proclamation, is liable to perpetual misconstruction, and has received it from certain Madras petitioners. Nor can I ever hear of it without thinking of our Lord's warning, *He that is not with me is against me*. It is impossible for any thoughtful man to be really indifferent to the contest between two such principles as Christianity and heathenism."

And yet that indifferentism to the contest between Christianity and heathenism, which is impossible to any thoughtful man, we have

professed as our principle of governmental action, and have attempted to do that as a nation, which confessedly we are not free to do as individuals.

It was indeed time that such a policy should be abandoned. It had been persevered in, amidst many misgivings on our part, against the often-expressed convictions of all godly and clear-sighted men amongst us, and it had decidedly failed of its object, for it had not conciliated the heathen.

If in any quarter such a result might have been expected, it would surely have been amongst the Sepoys of the British army. They, at least, had been fenced around by a strict neutrality. The Brahmin and Rajpoot soldier had every facility afforded them for the preservation of their caste; the Mussulman was free to turn his face towards Mecca, if it did not interfere with the facings of his drill. Yet they rebelled against us. They so distrusted the British Government, notwithstanding all the cajolery which had been practised, that a greased cartridge ignited the train, and exploded the mine, where ignitable materials had long been accumulating. The Northern Presidency was rent in sunder by the stroke, and the scream of unutterable terror and anguish which broke from the lips of many a hapless Englishwoman was heard distinctly, appallingly, on our own shores. The national feeling was aroused; petitions poured in upon the tables of Parliament; and a change in the policy of our Indian Government was demanded with a voice which could not be mistaken. The lion roared, and it was needful he should be pacified. It was a deeply-interesting crisis. Dangers there were to be guarded against; one more especially, lest the alterations about to be effected should have reference rather to the form of administration than to the principles which inspire it, and prompt its action, and lest the national mind, tranquillized by mere nominal changes, should be reconciled to old evils under a new name, and permit affairs to subside into their old and objectionable state. We adventured at the time a caution on this point. In our Number for April 1858, the following paragraph occurs—

"Grave alterations may be effected in the functional organization, and yet, while the form be changed, the old principle of evasive policy, which has wrought all the mischief, be conserved. So far as the religious interests of India are concerned, we might find ourselves not in an improved, but in a still more embarrassed condition. Only let the principle of action be amended, and existing arrangements, with comparatively slight modification, may be preferable to new ones, which may look well in theory, but, when attempted to be reduced to practice, may not work effectively."*

Well, undoubtedly, so far as the form of Government is concerned, great changes have been made. The once princely East-India Company is reduced to a spectral apparition, whose doleful voice is heard betimes amidst the relics of its departed greatness; and the old East-India House, to which many a powerful and, we will add, often munificent director, bent his steps, to fulfil the weighty responsibilities of Indian Government, dismantled of its archives, is left cold and dull in the smoke of London, a memorial of departed greatness. We have now an Indian Council, of whose proceedings we know nothing. Important questions no doubt are discussed there, but they are carried on within closed doors. No gentleman of the public press attends, keeping pace, in the rapidity of short-hand, with the fluency of the speaker, enabling the men of England to observe the working of the new machinery, the character of the deliberations, the mode in which, when differences of opinion occur, such questions are decided, and thus to discriminate the master-minds in whom confidence might be placed, and to whom power ought to be entrusted.

But although the debates on Indian questions are no longer placed before the public as they were wont to be in the time of the Company's *regime*, and our Indian Council is as reserved and secret as the *Conseil d'Etat* of some despotic ruler; yet the fruits of these deliberations must of necessity come forth into the arena of public life, and their results be manifested in the acts of our Indian administration. These are before the country for consideration. There is the opportunity of comparing the present with the past, and thus deciding whether with the form the principle of administration has been changed, and whether the aspirations of the British public for the adoption of a frank and open, instead of an evasive policy, and that more especially in regard to Christianity and its claims upon us as a professedly Christian nation, have been fulfilled. Has the image of jealousy, which provoked the Lord to anger, been removed? Do we no longer hesitate to do what is right towards God and just to man, because in our opinion it would be impolitic? Is our Christianity candidly

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," vol. ix. p. 73.

avowed in the sight of the nations of India as that one chief thing by which we are benefitted, and which they need? or is there the same undue consideration of what may be advantageous to ourselves, although it may be disadvantageous to the heathen, and dishonouring to God? After all, this is the great question, and upon the answer the character of the future must depend. Unless God be honoured, there can be no prosperity. If, under a new form, the old principles of action are retained, they are generating as before the elements of mischief, and are preparing for us some new explosion. This we feel to be the great question which, so far as India is concerned, demands the attention of the British public. The feeling aroused by the mutiny was powerful; men's minds were strongly moved; petitions to the Houses of Parliament were never more numerous. That excitement has subsided. Have we gained our object? Has a Christian policy been inaugurated in India? We shall narrow down the inquiry to one practical point.

In the Memorial of the Church Missionary Society to which we have referred, two features of our Indian policy were specified, in which amendment was desired: "the cessation of any still subsisting connexion between the Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Mohammedan, Hindu, or other false religions;" and "the introduction of the Bible into the system of education in all Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those principles on which Her Majesty's Government is to be conducted."

The system of Government education which prevails in India was framed in compliance with the neutral policy, and therefore excluded Christianity and the Bible. To such an extent was this in the first instance carried, that the Bible was not permitted a place on the library shelves, and teachers were forbidden, even if solicited, to afford "any religious information to the students."* The despatch of 1854, however, modified this extreme tension of the system in the following paragraph—

"Considerable apprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. These institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object, it was and is indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are free to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from their masters on the subject, provided that such information be given out of school-hours."

Thus, to use the forcible words of Dr. Kaye, the Government "abandoned the practice of tolerating all religions but their own." The intolerance which excluded the Bible, even from a place on the library shelf, and sealed the mouths of the teachers, even out of school hours, on the one grand subject, the salvation of Christ, "could not be grafted upon any continuing system without discredit to the State," and it was at length relinquished. But beyond this there has been no advance. The proposition that the system should be still further relaxed by permitting the formation of voluntary Bible classes in the schools, was expressly negatived by the despatch of 1859, in the following paragraph — "Her Majesty's Government are therefore unable to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government schools, and it accordingly remains that the holy Scriptures, being kept in the library, and being open to all the pupils who may wish to study them, and the teachers being at liberty to afford instruction and explanations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it, the course of study in all the Government institutions be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects."

Thus the Government education remains to this day, unhappily, purely secular. It will be observed, also, that the proposed alteration is rejected, because it is regarded as incompatible with the "rule of strict religious neutrality." For this reason Dr. Kaye objects to it: "it would not be in accordance with any system of religious neutrality: it would be to set out from a new starting-point, and to ignore the neutrality principle altogether." Let it be remembered, that both these assertions of the old principle, that in the Government despatch, and that in Dr. Kaye's book, date subsequently to the great rebellion; neutrality there continues to be the great governing principle of India. It is the avowed principle, in conformity with which, State institutions and proceedings, even on so important a matter as that of education, must be moulded. Until, then, the system of educa-

* Kaye's "Christianity in India," p. 471.

tion be remodelled, and a department for Christian instruction be instituted as a recognised portion of it, to which the native, if he pleases, but not otherwise, may have free access, neutrality remains as it was before, the guiding principle of our Indian administration. It has survived the shock of the mutiny, and the changes in the form of Government. Denounced by the people of England, it hid itself for a while, until the storm had expended itself; but it lives as fresh and vigorous as ever. The exclusion of the Bible from Government schools is the manifesto of neutrality, to tell us it still reigns. This is the Gaeta in which it has entrenched itself. To yield this point, then, is to surrender the whole question. If men permit this ill-omened principle, which has already wrought so much mischief, to remain unassailed in its stronghold, after a time, when recent events have been forgotten—and it is astonishing how rapidly the lessons and experiences of such a period as 1857-58 fade away from the memory—it will come forth from its seclusion, and, more arrogant than ever from the victory it has gained, claim supreme jurisdiction over all Indian affairs.

But let us calmly and dispassionately consider whether state education in India, as at present administered, really consists with this so oft-professed neutrality, the imaginary palladium of our security in India.

Let it be remembered that this system of education has not worked as it was expected that it would. It has yielded unexpected results. It was thought that the Hindu or Mohammedan youth, having passed through the appointed course of instruction—inasmuch as Christianity had not been permitted to approach him, or cast its light on his gloomy superstition—would remain, as he had been originally, a Hindu or Mohammedan. This is not the case. So vain, so puerile are these false systems, that they cannot bear exposure even to the touch of secular knowledge. Like decayed bodies, which hold together so long as they are shut up in the stillness of the vault, but which crumble into dust when disinterred and placed in the open air, the foolish legends of the Shasters and Puranas, when exposed to the free and searching influence of European science, dissolve in rottenness. The bitter idolater comes forth from the Government colleges transmuted into a free-thinker. He has left his old religion behind him, and is now without any. That this has been the case in numberless instances is so patent, that to introduce evidence seems almost superfluous. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, late Inspector of Schools in South Bengal, in his "Articles and Letters on Indian Questions," has one on the "Educated Natives of Calcutta, their religious tendencies and moral characteristics." He describes them as a body of, "perhaps, 5000 young men, speaking and writing English in perfection, whose minds have been trained to reason and reflect:" while keeping on good terms with their families and priests, by observing the outward forms of Hinduism, they have adopted the system established by Ram Mohun Roy, or reject all religious belief whatever. If the former, they call themselves "Brahmas;" if the latter, "free-thinkers." The state of their minds, as regards Christianity, is thus described—"They would rather not believe Christianity. They seek eagerly for infidel works; have reprinted cheap editions of Tom Paine; ask for Parker's Sermons, because they hear that he writes against Christianity; and will not read works on the Christian Evidences, or visit Christian Missionaries. In fact, these men speak even more contemptuously and bitterly of the converts than the Hindus of the old school." These are the results of Government education. We cannot be surprised, therefore, at the following strong declaration by the late Professor Henderson on this subject—

"The Government does not know what it is doing. No doubt it is breaking down those superstitions, and dispersing those mists, which, by creating weakness and disunion, facilitated the conquest of the country; but, instead of substituting any useful truth, or salutary principles, for the ignorance and false principles which they remove, they are only facilitating the dissemination of the most pernicious errors, and the most demoralizing and revolutionary principles. I have been appalled by discovering the extent to which atheistical and deistical writings, together with disaffection to the British Government and hatred to the British name, have spread, and are spreading, among those who have been educated in Government schools, or are now in the service of Government. The direction of the Government system of education is rapidly falling into the hands of astute Brahmins, who know how to take advantage of such a state of things, and at the same time to strengthen themselves by an alliance with Parsee and Mussulman prejudices; while the European gentlemen who still remain nominally at the head of the system, know nothing of the under-currents which pervade the whole, or

consider themselves as bound, either by principle or policy, not to make any exertions in favour of Christian truth; while the professed object of the Government is to give secular instruction only."

Now, we shall not enter into the question whether the Hindu is in a better position, with respect to Christianity, than he was when he entered the college, or as he is when he leaves it: probably it is only a change as to the kind of difficulties with which the Gospel has to contend in obtaining an entrance into his mind. Nor shall we pause to inquire whether, as a subject of a Christian Government, he is most likely to be controllable as a heathen or as a free-thinker. Some are of opinion that the Government is benefited by such a change. Other and more practical men, who do not theorize, but judge of a tree by the fruit it bears, are of a different opinion. "Too frequently the Hindu scholar leaves the Government school an infidel. Too frequently he repays the liberal instruction of Government with disloyalty and disaffection. I have seen it stated that the native scholars of our Government seminaries have, during these mutinies, proved their attachment to our rule. Such, however, has not been the account which has reached me . . . . Young Bengal, by which name this class of native youth is designated in India, is remarkable generally for conceit, disloyalty, and irreligion.*

But be this as it may, whether the native youth be more or less disposed to Christianity, more or less loyal to the Government, as a free-thinker, than as an idolater, this at least is incontrovertible, that in very many instances he is infidelized by the education process of the Government; and that education without Christianity, that is, the education which Government gives, when acting on the mind of a Hindu, does produce, with wonderful ease and frequency, this result.

Now we may inquire, *en passant*, is this becoming in a Christian Government? Hinduism is evil: granted; but infidelity is evil, too. It may be well to get rid of one evil; but is it well to generate another? Hindus cease to believe the demoralizing legends of their creed: that is well. But they become infidels: this is not well. We are justified in helping the native youth to break away from the trammels of idolatry; but we are not justified in leaving him, without a guiding principle, to lose himself in the pathless wilds of infidelity. One Missionary, who delivered an address at the South-Indian Missionary Conference of 1858, is of opinion that the system is good as far as it goes. We regret to differ with him. It would be better if it went further; but as it is, it begins with good and ends with evil.

But how does this accord with our professed neutrality? Are we, indeed, neutral in religious matters? The word, if it has any significance, implies that the native, so far as our action is concerned, undergoes no change in his convictions, either to the prejudice of Hinduism, or in favour of Christianity. On the latter point we are rigidly on our guard. There is nothing in our educational course to dispose the native to Christianity; but is there nothing to prejudice him against Hinduism? This, we conceive, is the very opposite of being neutral. It is to be very active, both as regards Hinduism and Christianity. We are destructive as regards the one; we are exclusive as regards the other. We deprive the one of its ancient prestige; the other of its lawful opportunity. We are not dealing now with the moral aspect of the proceeding. It may, no doubt, be as well to dispel the illusions of heathenism, as it is ill to extrude Christianity from our course of education. But to reconcile the consequences of our educational proceedings with the principles we profess, how can this be done?

We profess neutrality in religious matters. In what respect, then, are we neutral? Not in relation to Hinduism, for we disprove it; not towards Christianity, for we refuse it admission within the system; not towards infidelity, for we facilitate its progress. We are informed that the educational rules cannot be modified, because it would infringe on this sacred principle of Indo-European statecraft. Nay, on the contrary, if we are to be *bonâ fide* neutral, there ought to be, unhesitatingly and at once, a modification of the system, for as it works now, it is utterly inconsistent with neutrality. According to that principle, the education ought to be such as in no degree to interfere with religion, whereas it does invade it, and interfere with it in the most important particulars, and causes the most momentous changes in the religious convictions of the students.

And now, we ask, with all solemnity, shall Protestant England continue to adhere to this educational system? Our Governmental schools and colleges throughout India are generating an element, dangerous alike to the soul and to society. Shall they be retained without modification? We speak not to sceptics, but to believers with our-

* Gubbins's Mutiny in Oude, p. 84

selves; to those who are persuaded that there is a God who judgeth the earth, who is cognizant of human affairs, and marks alike the course of nations as of individuals; of whom it is declared, in his own inspired word, "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Is this process of infidelizing heathen men, part of the service which Protestant England owes to God? Let it be remembered, that whatever is done, is now, more than ever, a national act; for India has passed under the direct rule of the British sceptre. There is no longer an East-India Company to serve the purpose of a scape-goat, on which the national delinquencies may be laid. Under the new *régime*, whatever is done in India, England is responsible for. If children be born to infidelity in the Government seminaries of India, those seminaries are maintained by English authority; and as the seed, such must be the harvest. We are persuaded that the great majority of earnest men in England, aye, and in India too, think with us on this question. They feel a change to be imperative. It is impossible that the men who are zealous for the truth of God, and the honour of their country, can be contented to settle down into a dull indifferentism with existing arrangements. The position is too incongruous; the question at issue too vital and important. We may not succeed; but we must bear our testimony: and yet we entertain the hope, that if only we be faithful and persevering, our testimony will not be fruitless. This infidelizing system of education is the stronghold of an evil policy, which, if permitted still to brood over the destinies of India, will not fail to generate new calamities.

It will not do that the national mind should be suffered to go to sleep upon this subject. While the educational system remains as it is, the Government of India may be remodelled, but it is not reformed. Until, therefore, on this point a decided alteration be conceded, we cannot consider that the policy of our Government has been changed. So far as Christianity is concerned, it remains unaltered. The system of education carried on in these schools requires to be supplemented by some wholesome and vigorous element, which shall prevent the educated youth from lapsing into infidelity. Christianity claims to be that which is required, and the friends of Christianity demand its introduction. They do so, not only for the sake of the inquiring Hindus, thus left to go astray and interdicted, so far as they are Government students, from that opportunity of instruction in Christianity, of which, were it conceded to them, many would be found willing to avail themselves, but for the sake of the Government itself, placed in so incongruous a position, professedly Christian, yet, by the education it gives, promoting not Christianity but infidelity, and thus, by a voidance of its high responsibilities, incurring new accumulations of guilt, which must be accounted for.

This is the only change which will be satistory—the removal of that regulation which forbids the introduction of Christianity as a recognised part of the governmental education, so that, in all these institutions, there be afforded to the native youth, under the authority and sanction of the British Government, the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the religion which is of God. It is this which the Church Missionary Society urged in her Memorial, and to the conviction of the necessity of this she still adheres.

"Your Memoralists would therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies, that, since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge, according to the principles laid down in the Educational Despatch of July 19, 1854, the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted."

We repeat, this is the only alteration which can suffice. Indeed, what other course can be adopted? Either the system must be broken up, or it must be modified. Some think the former course might be with propriety adopted, and that the grants-in-aid system exonerates the Government from having any educational institutions of its own.

"The despatch of 1854 distinctly recognises the hope that the present system may be one of transition only, and that by the extension of grants-in-aid on the one hand, and increased efforts on the part of individuals and Societies on the other, the Government may in time be able merely to assist private enterprise, and so put an end to the present unnatural divorce between secular and religious education."*

* Bishop of Calcutta's Primary Charge, p. 19

Such a measure would, indeed, get rid of the difficulties, but it would be by the voidance of a duty. The grants-in-aid system presupposes amongst the natives a desire for education which they have not the means of gratifying, and it comes forward to supplement that desire in the way of pecuniary help, so as to enable it to act. But if the natives of India are to take the initiative in the matter, and their doing so depends upon their consciousness of educational necessity, the expansion of the grants-in-aid system will be slow indeed. Missionary Societies cannot act in this direction beyond a very narrow limit.

But the educational wants of India are vast and urgent; to attempt, therefore, to cast them on the grants-in-aid system will be to leave them unprovided. We entirely concur in the conviction expressed by the Bishop of Calcutta, "that the divorce between secular and religious education," especially in the case of heathen youth, "is unnatural," and we are thankful that this should be enunciated by one in so influential a position, but we cannot approve of its being terminated by so great an abandonment, on the part of Government, of its educational responsibilities.

It remains, then, that the system be modified. That some change is necessary appears to be generally admitted. Even the brother in the South-India Conference, who declared that he regarded the Government system, not as an evil, but of "good tendency, so far as it goes," and "as helpful to the general progress and enlightenment of the people," admits that "the avowed exclusion of the Bible from the schools is liable to very serious objection, and is likely to be regarded by many of the natives as an indication of a temporizing and timid policy, that consents, partially at least, to disavow religious conviction."*

We have, also, native testimony on this point. A remarkable paper,† drawn up by a native gentleman of the highest character, who has long been distinguished by well-directed zeal for the public welfare, was published in 1858, at the request of a distinguished officer in the North-west Provinces. It is introduced by a brief preface, signed by the well-known initials M. W., Calcutta. Mr. Wylie introduces the writer as "a man of loyalty, benevolence, and ability, representing a class who are entitled to be heard at a time when their country is attracting so much attention, and when so many other classes, both in India and England, are submitting their views to the consideration of Parliament." Let us, then, attend to this witness, thus satisfactorily accredited. On the subject of education, he says, "As for education, I beg to inform you that it is my determined decision, that if any thing is to benefit this country—people as well as the Government—it is education. I mean education carried on upon religious principles." Again, in referring to various emendatory measures, he specifies, "Attaching the greatest possible importance to the education of the mass of the people, and appointing an Educational Secretary to the Government of India, the education must be carried on on sounder principle, and religion must be fostered. *Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism.*" Such is the opinion of this intelligent native. Surely something must be done to modify a system which is generating the very evil thus earnestly deprecated, and producing men of a stamp thus described by Mr. Wylie—"The educated native is one whose confidence in his religion is destroyed. He no longer believes, he cannot believe, either its false science or its mythology, but he will not advance onwards to a positive and influential belief in the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. If he learns any truth, he holds that truth in unrighteousness. He will not submit to its power. He will persist in maintaining caste, supporting Brahmans, and maintaining licentious or foolish festivals of idolatrous worship. In morals he exhibits no higher standard than many of the more stedfast Hindus." Such are the fearful consequences of imparting a course of instruction which disproves, indeed, religious error, but excludes religious truth. The subject of it comes forth, not only despising his old creed, but averse to the truths of revelation; and if he learns them intellectually, holding them in unrighteousness. Had opportunities been afforded him of becoming acquainted with Christianity, while the mists of false religions were being dispelled, and before scepticism had become the habit of his mind, the result might have been very different. At present these infidel Hindus are melancholy results of our governmental education. There they are, dead to all religion, like trees struck by lightning: and the system which produced them must be modified, or else we must prepare ourselves for renewed expressions of the divine displeasure. They witness not for us, but against us.

* Compare Report of the South India Conference, p. 206, with the Bishop of Calcutta's Primary Charge, p. 21.

† "The Thoughts of a Native of Northern India on the Rebellion," &c. London: Dalton.

What change can be effected? We have already referred to the Memorial of the Church Missionary Society, and we shall now append to this an extract from the celebrated Minute of Sir John Lawrence, for the purpose of explaining more specifically, and in detail, what it is we mean—"In respect to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges, I am to state, that, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, such teaching ought to be offered to all who may be willing to receive it. The Bible ought not only to be placed among the college libraries and the school-books, for those who might choose to consult it, but also it should be taught in class, wherever we have teachers fit to teach it, and pupils willing to hear it."

The above brief extract concisely, yet lucidly, defines what it is we ask. We do not mean that the Bible should be entrusted to the teaching of infidels or heathen masters; we do not wish that any coercion should be exerted on the natives to obtain their attendance; we do not propose that their doing so should promote, or their refusal to do so, hinder, their attainment of honours and rewards. Let the student be entirely free and unconstrained, but let him have the opportunity. It will be said, of such pupils there will be a scanty attendance. But that is not the question for us: our duty, that requires our attention, and let that be done whether the results be many or the reverse. It will be said that fitting teachers will be very few. If it be so, let us commence with a few. Nay, if there be none as yet attainable, still let that ban and interdict on Christianity, which shuts it out from our Government course of education, be removed. Let the principle be conceded, that where it can be done, under the conditions to which we have referred, it may be done, and the means of action will soon be forthcoming. If, as we are informed, fitting teachers are so few, the reason is obvious—Christian men have abstained from committing themselves to a system, in which Christianity has been ignored; nay, they have not liked to compromise themselves with a procedure which, as its fruit, produced infidels. It is urged that "the practical difficulties make it for the present impossible that the introduction of the Bible into Government schools should be a measure of much real importance."* Nay, we believe it to be of such pressing importance, that not an instant should be lost in sanctioning it. We are sacrificing at the shrine of our expediency immortal souls. We read of Juggernaut's victims, and the immolations perpetrated at the various heathen shrines of India. Our neutrality principle also has its victims. In our temples of education, immortal souls are being offered up to the Moloch of infidelity. The stain of these spiritual murders is upon our hands: the guilt stands to our national account. A voice seems to say, "In thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor innocents: I have not found it by secret search, but upon all these." It is time to correct this great evil, before it breaks forth into judgment.

Another class of objections is thus urged—"How can we, in accordance with any system of religious neutrality, apply the revenues of India to the instruction of the people in the tenets of Christianity, without, at the same time, instructing them in their own national religions? If Christianity is to be taught in the schools, supported by the public purse—or, in other words, by the labour of the people—Hinduism and Mohammedanism must also be taught, or there can be no such thing as neutrality." Let the men of England mark this passage, and learn what neutrality requires from them, in order to its maintenance. They must conserve these colleges and seminaries as feeding places for infidelity; or else, if they attempt to introduce the only element which has power to counteract this infidelizing tendency, the Government teachers must become Gooroos and Molwees. Our Christian Government must not recognise Christianity, unless it recognises Hindùism and Mohammedanism as equally fit creeds for propagation. Does our neutrality really reduce us to the alternative, that we must either recognise all or exclude all?

Sir John Lawrence, in answer to the late Mr. Arnold, effectually meets the above objection.*

"Mr. M'Leod has most justly observed that many of Mr. Arnold's arguments are based on the assumption that the British Government stands in the same relation towards the people of India as a representative Government stands towards its people. But, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, the two cases widely differ from each other. Placed, as we British are in India, we are differently situated from the Constitutional Governments of England or America. Our Government is, as all Governments are, or ought to be, established for the good of the people. But while, with

* Bishop of Calcutta's Charge, p. 25.

* Extract from Sir J. Lawrence's Minute pp. 21—23.

other Governments, the popular will is generally the criterion of public good, such is not always the case with us in India. If, by being 'trustees for the people,' we are supposed to be bound invariably by the will of the people, then we are not, the Chief Commissioner thinks, trustees in that sense. We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India.

"In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience, and not by theirs. Believing that the study of the Bible is fraught with the highest blessings, we, of course, do desire to communicate those blessings to them if we can. We desire this, not only as individuals, but as a Government; for Christianity does truly go hand-in-hand with all those objects for which British rule exists in India. But this can only be effected by moral influences voluntarily received. Any thing like 'proselytism,' or 'quiet persecution' of any kind, or the application of secular motives, direct or indirect, are, in the first instance, absolutely forbidden by the very religion we profess; and, in the second place, would be worse than useless for the object in view. Therefore we have nothing to do with such means. Neither do we, as a Government, undertake to found or maintain Christian Missions; because the thing can be done better by private effort, and because our doing so might tend to introduce those secular means for the propagation of Christianity which we wish to avoid. But as we have schools, there arises a fair opportunity of offering the Bible to those who may choose to receive it; and, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, it is just, politic, and right that we should avail ourselves of that opportunity. Such, briefly stated, is the real argument for the formation of Bible classes in Government schools."

But to the demonstrativeness of this able extract we may add a further consideration, and it is this—to combine Christianity with the secular instruction given in our schools and colleges is practicable: to combine with it Hinduism and Mohammedanism is impossible. With secular knowledge Christianity harmonizes. Christianity can with safety be subjected to such a test; the other systems cannot. The more light is thrown upon Christianity, the more its divine origin becomes apparent; but the false creeds already named cannot bear exposure to the light. Geography and astronomy, or chemistry, "attack the pretended relations of the Vedas and Puranas." Modern history "seals the fate of Mohammedanism." Are we then to introduce into our colleges the Puranas and the Koran? For what purposes are these institutions intended? To promote secular knowledge. How then can we introduce into them creeds which contradict the secular knowledge we are affording, to the great embarrassment of the pupils, who in one department would be instructed in the tenets of Hinduism and Mohammedanism as true, and, in another, in the various branches of European science as true; and who, in comparing them, the one with the other, find they cannot both be true. If Hinduism and Mohammedanism are to be introduced, how can the communication of European knowledge be continued? There is then no force whatever in the argument, that if we introduce Christianity into our schools, we shall be necessitated to introduce Hinduism and Mohammedanism; and simply for this reason, that the one course is practicable, the other not.

But some, whose co-operation we had hoped for in this movement, admonish us that we are asking too much. We ought, it appears, content ourselves with the limit assigned in Lord Stanley's despatch of 1859, which permits "the Holy Scriptures being kept in the library, and being open to all the pupils who may wish to study them," the teachers also "being at liberty to afford instructions and explanations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it."

Such is the opinion of the Bishop of Calcutta. "The study of the Bible is actually permitted, provided that it be quite voluntary, read out of school hours, and not made part of the regular course of instruction." We candidly avow that this is precisely the arrangement with which we cannot content ourselves, and with which we think no Englishman ought to be contented. We shall proceed to explain on what grounds this conviction has been formed.

The despatch of 1859 declared that teachers in Government schools were at liberty, out of school hours, to instruct in Christianity such of the students as, of their own accord, might desire it at their hands. More recently a special case has occurred, and a decision come to by the authorities in India, which assures educational officials that they are quite at liberty so to act. Mr. Martin, Principal of Berhampore College, found himself in a position to form a voluntary Bible class. The idea that such classes might be held, although out of school hours, yet within the school buildings, appears to have been suggested by the following sentence in the Bishop of Calcutta's Pri-

mary Charge—"The students of Dacca College have applied to one of their teachers for the introduction of the Bible as a branch of their college studies; and he has undertaken to instruct them in the New Testament every Sunday morning. Most heartily do I wish to see a similar voluntary Bible class formed in *every one of our Government schools*, where it is possible, especially in the most distinguished of all, the Presidency College in Calcutta, in which I am certain that there are pupils desirous of spiritual enlightenment, and teachers capable, under God's blessing, of imparting it." Mr. Martin therefore addressed the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal on the subject, by whom his application was forwarded to the Government of India, without remark, and, as might be expected, remitted to him for an expression of opinion. A Minute has been accordingly drawn up by Mr. Grant on the subject, accompanied by a letter from Dr. Kaye. We have not yet seen these documents. When they reach us we shall probably subject them to a process of ventilation; but the conclusion arrived at, although by different reasonings, is the same in both. Mr. Grant decides—"The wise and just answer to Mr. Martin's application is, that he is at perfect liberty to hold such a class as he wishes to hold in his own house, or elsewhere, out of college; but as Government schools and colleges are not intended for any but secular education, and do not undertake, and could not regulate, theological instruction, his class of theology must *not* be held in the Berhampore College." Dr. Kaye is of opinion that "both the consistency of the Government, and the satisfaction of the teacher himself, would be better consulted if the classes met elsewhere." Government teachers, then, are at liberty to instruct in Christianity such of the students as voluntarily come to them for this purpose; but this instruction must be given neither within the school hours nor within the school walls.

Now we do not at all mean to slight this decision, or pronounce it valueless. We can well conceive what a relief it will afford to many officials in India charged with the duty of education, who, observing the youth under their care drifting away to infidelity, felt anxious to save them from so sad an issue, by imparting to them Christian instruction, but who were apprehensive lest, in doing so, they might expose themselves to the displeasure of the authorities. It is a rule, moreover, which must apply to all officials throughout India. For if the educational official, in his private hours, and in his private dwelling, or elsewhere, provided it be not within the walls of a Government college, is free to teach Christian truths to Hindus or Mohammedans entrusted to his care for education, and standing to him in a relation so clearly defined as that of pupils to their master; then, *à fortiori*, is it permissible for other officials—outside official time and places—to speak freely on the subject of Christianity to heathen servants and *employés*, or to others who stand to them in no particular relation. Then is the seal taken from the lips of the Christian officer, and he is at liberty to answer the questions which a heathen or Mussulman soldier of his regiment, under the pressure of a disquieted conscience, comes to ask him.

This, undoubtedly, affords enlargement of position to every earnest Christian man, who found his official obligations interfering with his Christian obligations. It establishes a great principle, one which we have long desired to see unequivocally expressed, that every Englishman in India, official or otherwise, is free to persuade the heathen to Christianity, provided he be careful to abstain from all undue influence, so as neither to bribe nor to coerce them. We congratulate Christian men throughout India on this important decision, which assures them that, in doing service to the King of Heaven, they will not be exposing themselves to the displeasure of the authorities on earth.

Yet, what must have been the position of the Government in India when such a declaration, at this late hour, has been found necessary, and the important question, for the first time, "definitively settled," that the Government teacher "need not cease to be a Christian?"* What more extreme tyranny could possibly be exercised than that which interfered with a man in the discharge of one of the most imperative and pressing of Christian duties, and condemned him to silence on the most momentous of all subjects, not only in school, but out of school; and that, although his pupils were willing to hear, and he himself felt that he ought to teach them. What a Government was that, which by its neutrality-regulations, so dealt with the Christian men in its service, "that they were tormented," as the "Friend of India" assures us has been the case, "between what they felt to be their duty to God, and that which they supposed their official superiors required of them."†

But this is not enough. Even at the risk of being catalogued as of "the extreme party represented by the Committee of the Church

* "Friend of India," December 6th.

† Ibid.

Missionary Society," we do not hesitate to avow that far more than this must be conceded. We shall proceed to state why, and we trust our Indian contemporary will vouchsafe to weigh our arguments, although it be true that they are put forth in the "somewhat unattractive pages of a Missionary periodical."

Government, by the system of education which it has pursued in India, has been promoting infidelity amongst the native youth. It will be said, that when its educational procedure was commenced, such an issue never was expected. It may be so; we do not dispute that point: still the effect, as we have stated it, has been, and continues to be, produced. It is of necessity, therefore, that by some decisive act, the Government should make it plain that it does not willingly participate in this issue; that it laments it, and would gladly see it otherwise. Hitherto Christianity, the antidote to infidelity, has been excluded from its schools. Here lies the cause of all the mischief. The native youth have been infidelized, not because secular education has been given, but because Christianity has been withheld. That restriction must be removed. The Government must afford to the youth under its charge the opportunity of access to Christian knowledge and instruction, and that, by an act expressly its own, and bearing on it the imprimatur of authority; and the system of education be so far modified as, during school hours, and within the walls of the colleges, to permit the formation of voluntary Bible classes. Otherwise, what will be the position of the Government? With its eyes open, and with a clear perception of what effect must be produced, it perseveres in a system of education which is raising up in India a generation of infidels. But for the recent decision induced by Mr. Martin's application, the Government, at this moment would be under a double culpability—that of abstaining itself from all reference to Christianity in its course of education, and also of imposing on its officials the same abstention, even out of school hours. It has relieved itself of the latter; the former remains. Had Christian instruction been permitted, although out of school hours, yet within the college walls, the proceeding might have been considered as, in some degree, sanctioned by the Government; but this has been refused. Whatever is done in the way of Christian instruction must be, in every sense, outside. Government, in short, promotes infidelity, but, with affording opportunities of Christian instruction to the native youth it will have nothing to do; from all participation in such a movement it carefully isolates itself.

We demand that the Government, by its own act, should vindicate itself from the unseemly position which it occupies, and the justly heavy accusations which India some day or other will bring against us, when, awakening out of her long sleep, she finds the difficulties of her position aggravated to an immense extent by the infidels which we have educated into life and action. This Christian instruction, out of school hours and school buildings, is not that which we require. It is not the act of Government; it will be the act of individuals in their private capacity; an act, indeed, which Government does not interdict, but which she does not sanction or recognise. It is, moreover, a measure, which, depending entirely on individual choice and determination, in connexion with many seminaries may never be carried out at all. For let it be observed, that while Government permits, it does not enjoin on its officials the duty of forming voluntary Bible classes when practicable; it does not even recommend that this should be done. There is no provision at all of such a nature as to assure us that the native students shall have that opportunity which is so imperatively required, and which we feel they ought to have.

To exonerate itself from the grave imputation of promoting infidelity, the Government must go beyond the narrow limits of Mr. Grant's Minute. It should take care that, wherever fitting teachers are to be found, like Mr. Martin, of Berhampore, Mr. Cowell, of the Calcutta College, and other gentlemen which might be named, certain and reliable opportunities of obtaining Christian instruction be afforded to the natives, so that the one only thing which shall exclude them from such instruction shall be their own indisposition to it; and where no such indisposition exists, that there shall be no obstruction at all, but that access to Christian knowledge shall be plain and open. The state of things which prevails at present, and with which friends in Calcutta are so well contented, makes no such provision. Thus the position of Government remains unaltered. It has not vindicated its own motives and intentions. It has done nothing to rectify the evils which are caused by its educational system. Those evils have been clearly indicated; their existence cannot be denied; yet rather than modify its system, Government adopts those evils, and is now doing that wilfully, which, at first, it had done in ignorance. Every new despatch, every new minute, shows the determination of Govern-

ment, *quoi quil en coute*, to adhere to the old principle of neutrality, and to that which may be regarded as the manifesto of this policy, the exclusion of Christianity in toto from its course of education. If liberty has been expressly and authoritatively conceded to Governmental teachers, out of school hours and place, to do as they please in the matter of Christian instruction, it has been done because such permission does not interfere with the principle of neutrality. This will be evident on a reference to the despatch of Lord Stanley. The sixty-first paragraph commences by a declaration of the inability of Government to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality. "But it concedes this liberty, because the course of study in all the Government institutions will be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects." The principle of neutrality rules the exclusion of the Bible. Until then, by the formation of voluntary Bible classes in school hours and within school buildings, the prohibition be withdrawn, neutrality on religious matters continues to be the avowed principle of our policy in India. Some there are who dislike the word neutrality, yet object to the introduction of the Bible into the schools. But in objecting to the proposed modification, they are most strenuously maintaining the old principle; and if the principle remain unaltered, it is preferable it should retain the old name, rather than be disguised under some new designation. Certainly it is impossible, with any appearance of consistency, to maintain the exclusion of the Bible, and yet disavow neutrality.

Voluntary Bible classes, then, out of school hours, and wholly isolated from the authorized and regular course of instruction, do not meet the emergency. We cannot, therefore, as the "Friend of India" admonishes us to do, accept of this compromise. That paper judges us accurately when it expresses its conviction that "it will be impossible to persuade the religious public of England that they are wrong in agitating" this question. We thank our Indian contemporary for the justice he has done us. We believe him to be correct in this sentiment, as much so as he is incorrect in other opinions he has expressed. For instance, he informs us that in entering upon this question, he does so "knowing that almost all Missionaries in India, whether Voluntaries or Churchmen, agree that it cannot be done, and that if it could, it ought not be attempted." Side by side with this assertion we place the resolution arrived at by the South-India Missionary Conference of 1858, on the "Government system of education," reminding our readers that the conference consisted of Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, American Board of Missions, Free Church of Scotland, Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of America, London Missionary Society, German Evangelical Mission, and Wesleyan Missionary Society. The resolution to which this mixed body of Churchmen and Voluntaries came is as follows—

"They desire to give expression to their most solemn and deliberate conviction, that it is the duty of the Christian Government of this heathen and Mohammedan country, not only to impart to all, who will receive it, true knowledge on all secular subjects, but also to abstain from all teaching of Hindu and Mohammedan errors in their schools; while, in order to afford the fullest opportunity to all the pupils of learning the true nature of the Christian religion from the Bible itself, they should introduce it into all their schools, in order to be read each day during the first hour of teaching, and that the attendance of the pupils during that hour should be voluntary. Moreover, they consider that it should be publicly declared by the Government, that all teachers in Government schools are at full liberty to teach the word of God to those of their pupils who may be desirous to study it, and that in the working of the schools, suitable arrangements should be made for that purpose."

One point more, and only one, claims our attention. The "Friend of India" writes as though impressed with the conviction that our proposal is fraught with danger, and that to admit the Bible into the schools, is "to risk the empire." We do not share his apprehensions. Fidelity in the discharge of obvious duties will never endanger, it will consolidate the empire. The empire has already been risked, imperilled to an extreme degree. The danger arose from those to whom the Gospel had no access, and British supremacy was jeopardized by withholding, not by communicating, the truth of God. From the same cause new dangers must ensue. There is no risk in affording to the *élèves* in our Government schools the opportunity of being instructed in the Bible, should they desire it; but there is great peril in refusing such an opportunity, and permitting the infidelizing process to go on. Then will our next danger be, not from the ignorant and brutal, but from the educated, yet, unhappily, infidel mind of India, and that will be a worse danger than the preceding one.

The native gentleman, to whose paper we have already referred, agrees with us in this matter, not with the "Friend of India." We shall, for the information of our cotemporary, again quote from him—"Few nations on earth are so indifferent to religion as the Hindus are. Their religion has undergone mightier and more numerous changes than that of Europe. It is absurd to think that the English are hated by the Hindus on account of their religion . . . . It is not religion, but the want of religion, which has brought so much evil on this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one, let it act openly, as a true Christian; the people will never feel themselves disappointed; they will admire it. . . . . You may have a thousand Missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor General,—the people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer; but take care you do not interfere with their caste, you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails, or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans."

Let us not be deceived; to remain in our present position, this indeed will be to risk the empire.

The "Friend of India" itself, in a previous number (Nov. 22), bears testimony to the change of opinion which is going forward amongst the Pundits of Bengal. Adverting to a new edition of the Sabda Kalpa Druma, an Encyclopedia of Sanscrit, it speaks of its author, Rajah Radhakanta Deva Bahadur as the last of the old Pundits. Such men are said to be fast dying out. Their rivals, "the fruit of our English colleges, rush from the Rajah's extreme of credulity, to the opposite point of scepticism, and in search at least of a nominal faith, profess Vedantism, the easiest of all. For Vedantism is as accommodating as the German form of rationalism; it tickles the intellect and ignores the passions; it feeds speculation and does not interfere with the practical life; it satisfies the love of abstraction, while it silences the conscience and deadens the will. But, like all scepticism, it must be temporary; it is unfitted for the mass."

"Like all scepticism, it must be temporary; it is unfitted for the mass." It may be so, but it will not die out without having wrought its measure of mischief, probably in relation to the political interests of England; certainly in relation to the spiritual interests of man, as destroying, in the glare of its meteoric transit, many immortal souls. "Yet this is the fruit of our English colleges, where Christianity is prohibited." Is it not time, then, that the prohibition be withdrawn? and can Christian men denounce such a proposition as an extreme opinion? "Is the Bible a charm?" No, but the Bible is for use. Some appear to think it too holy for use; others think it too dangerous for use. We leave the two absurdities to deal with one another, like the lion and the bear, from between whose threatening jaws the endangered traveller dexterously withdrew himself, and left them, rather disconcerted, in the presence of each other. We do not want the Bible to be used "as a mere outward symbol of the English raj," but to rescue the English raj from the stigma which has hitherto attached to it, namely, that by an express prohibition it excludes the Bible and the religion which it teaches, from that educational course which, at the cost and on the responsibility of the British nation, is afforded to the youth of India, so that even those from amongst them who would be glad to read it under suitable guidance, and esteem the permission so to do as a grateful concession from the Government, are debarred from all such opportunity. We do not propose it to be used "as the priest his holy water, or the Mussulman and the Pharisee their circumcision," but as that book, in the willing perusal of which the Hindu youth may find a better faith than the superstitions he has learned to despise. We agree with the "Friend of India"—"It is the boast of Christianity that it is a belief, that it is of the heart, that it does not consist in the washing of pots and cups, and of brazen vessels, and of tables;" and, therefore, we desire that the Hindu youth under our instruction should have free and unrestricted access, in school and out of school, to that revelation of God, which designed for the use of men, ought never, by human prohibition, be withheld from any, and which will be his best preservative from the opposite but equally frigid extremes of superstition and scepticism.

We shall not disguise our conviction that Government would have yielded on this point, as they have done on the questions of Missionaries visiting sepoys in the lines, and the intercourse of officers with native converts, had good men been unanimous on the subject; nay, however Voluntaries might have differed from us, if even Churchmen had been united on the subject. The numbers of such as oppose us this point are not many; but in a delicate state of the balance a little weight suffices to

decide it. The responsibility rests not with "the extreme party, which is represented by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society." But just in proportion as their position is a responsible one, are Calcutta friends under an obligation seriously to reconsider the conclusion to which they have come, and the grounds on which it has been formed. With all due respect to the "Friend of India," its reasonings are to us unsatisfactory. Its article—"Is the Bible a charm"—is declamatory, but not conclusive. We, "unattractive Missionary periodicals," are quite ready to admit that we are the small fry, the minnows of the great ocean of literature. Compared with us, no doubt, our worthy cotemporary is a leviathan. Yet even great whales sometimes get into an awkward position, when they become entangled in the shallows. There they flounder, and beat the water into a foam. This is precisely what the "Friend of India" appears to do in the article just named. It is not because our cotemporary has not power, but because he is in the shallows. He has unhappily got on the wrong side of the question, and can find no depth. Let him avoid for the future these narrow places; they do not become him; and prefer those grand and comprehensive views of truthful subjects in which there will be room for him to swim.

THE AFFAIRS OF CHINA.

It is said that "Lord Elgin's credentials, as Plenipotentiary to China, are literally stained with opium. They went down with the 'Ava' when she foundered at Ceylon; and, when recovered by the divers, it was found that they were damaged by the drug which formed part of the cargo." This, if true, is indeed a significant fact. England's diplomacy in China is stained with opium, and, moreover, He who, in his providence, rules the nations, is aware of it. Opium, and the incidents connected with it, originated those complications on the coast of China which have necessitated wars, carried on at vast expense, and with little of satisfactory result. We send forth expeditions, with immense cost, to China, and our armies are irresistible so long as they remain on the coast. Under the severe pressure of Armstrong guns the Chinese are ready to concede every thing. Treaties are entered into, and signed amidst all due formality; and so long as we are enabled to stand over this intractable school-boy, with the rod in our hand, he sulkily does what we compel him to; but his feelings have undergone no change towards us, except that, with each new correction, he dislikes us the more, and he is secretly resolved, in his own mind, to play the truant again so soon as our vigilance relaxes. Such has been our past experience. Such we fear it will still prove to be. We go forth and beat into tremendous excitement and agitation some limited portion of the vast ocean of Chinese life. Canton is bombarded; Pekin lies at our mercy: but, after performing great acts, we are forced to retire, from the necessities of the case; and the waters, rapidly subsiding, relapse into their former state of sluggish impassibility. Meanwhile our withdrawal, on such occasions, appears to have something awkward about it. The Chinese present us with a state document, which we have agreed to accept, and then, with all Chinese ceremonial, bow us out; while we retire with the uncomfortable feeling that our claims are met with a bill, accepted indeed, but which we have sad misgivings will never be paid.

This has been the fate of former treaties. Upon the one which has just been concluded it is premature to express an opinion. Experience of the past is not favourable. It is true our artillery guns were never before planted on the walls of Pekin, nor proclamations posted about the city, making the inquisitive population acquainted with the provisions of the new treaty, and convincing the Pekinese, at least, of this, that England is not, as they had been taught to think, the vassal of China, and that our combined force of Europeans and Asiatics did not come for the purpose of bearing tribute to the Celestial Emperor. We destroyed also the summer palace, of the restoration of which, in the present exhausted state of the Chinese treasury, there is little prospect; and its ruins remain to tell we have been there, and that we did it, as the least objectionable way, amidst a choice of difficulties, of expressing our just indignation at the treacherous murder of British officers and their companions, under a flag of truce. We have also our Plenipotentiary residing at Pekin; but then we have a brigade of troops wintering at Tientsin, and it is impossible to say how our representative will fare at the hands of the Chinese, and whether he will find his post tenable when these troops are withdrawn.

Meanwhile the prospects of the future are any thing but serene. Already little

gaucheries have occurred, which show that the national mind of China is not mollified towards us. Two Englishmen have been seized by the Chinese authorities at Wang-Chow, a fort near Foo-chow. Their arms were pinioned, they were tied to a pillar, to be hooted at by the crowd, and finally thrust into the common receptacle of Chinese felons, their necks being made fast by chains to the prison bars. After a detention of six days they were forwarded on an overland journey to Ningpo, occupying three weeks instead of seven days, the delay being caused by their being promenaded through various towns and villages.

The recent treaty secured free access into the interior, under passport regulations. This privilege, however, when attempted to be acted upon, does not appear to be practicable. Two Missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Lambuth and Allen, proceeded on a visit to Hang-chow, now in the possession of the Imperialists. The Government officers, however, would not permit their entrance, and when to some of them, who came on board their boat, the Missionaries offered Christian books, they were rejected, on the names Jehovah, Jesus, being found in them, these being, as the Imperialists declared, rebel terms.

Meanwhile our opium traffic and the Tae-ping rebellion are pursuing their usual course of devastation.

On the first of these subjects our views remain unaltered. It is a fruitful source of poverty, demoralization, debility, and death. We have heard evidence of a conflicting character, but the testimony of the evils, both physical and moral, attendant upon its use, is preponderating to an immense extent. The very fact of the anxiety of the Chinese to be cured of the propensity, proves how deep-seated is *their* consciousness on this point.

Again, as a matter of commercial policy, we believe it to be "intensely mischievous to every branch of trade." "Our commerce with China has been the most disappointing chapter in the history of free-trade." Our imports from China have amazingly increased. Take the averages of the two periods from 1843 to 1846, and from 1854 to 1858, and the average of the latter period is double that of the former. The average increase of tea imported from China is to the value of 1,557,761*l.*, and of silk to the value of 2,915,379*l.*: but our exports to China of British produce and manufactures have *decreased*, on a comparison of the same periods, by 22,774*l.* The discrepancy is great. Were the trade in a healthy state our exports to China ought to increase in a fair proportion with our imports from it. But this is prevented by the interference of the Indian trade. The average value of imports from China, during the years 1854-58, amounted to 8,967,055*l.*; the average exports from India to China, during the years 1853-54 to 1857-58, amounted to 7,335,728*l.* But of this latter sum not less than 6,365,319*l.* is for opium; cotton and sundries stand at a reduced figure of 970,409*l.* The opium traffic interferes with the expansion of trade in those articles which are beneficial to the consumer, while their sale feeds the various branches of healthful industry at home. The revenue from opium is raised at the expense of other and superior branches of commerce.

Moreover the raising of this article is most expensive. The sums realized at the annual sales are not all clear gain to the authorities. Large deductions have to be made, so much so that the gross revenue of 5,800,000*l.* might be reduced to 4,000,000*l.* The breadth of acreage taken up for opium within the last twenty years has been greatly increased; but there has been a proportionable increase of expense, while the greater the quantity brought into the market, the less its rateable profit.

Without the opium trade, the nation would have been immeasurably richer, although, it is true, the same facility would not have existed for the accumulation of private wealth. There are in Calcutta large English and native houses. Their princely wealth, and, as regards many of them, their princely munificence, alike testify how lucrative the trade is to them.

We cannot pursue the subject further at this time. Such of our readers as wish for more information can consult with advantage the pamphlet from which we have just quoted.*

The Tae-pings appear to be making progress. One of the chiefs of a local insurrection Honan is reported to have given in his adherence to the Tae-ping-wang; and the leader of the insurrection in Shense is said to have done likewise. The Missionaries Lambuth and Allen, in their return from Hang-chow, fell in with an enormous force belonging to the Tae-pings. The canal was crowded for twenty miles with their boats. The leaders received them kindly. "We distributed Christian books to the soldiers, and answered all their inquiries about religion." Certainly the contrast between the Imperialists and Tae-pings is marked—the hostility of the one, the friendliness of the other, to Missionaries.

* "An Inquiry into the Results of the Opium Trade with China." By David M'Laren, Edinburgh. Elliott, Prince's Street.

Terah. Timothy. Solomon. Trilcke. Samuel. Thakoor. Nehemiah.

THE KAREN MISSION.

The first war with Burmah, concluded by the treaty of Yendaboo in 1826, ceded to the British crown the provinces of Arracan, Moulmein, and Mergui, together with a part of Martaban. Previously to this, the great work of Christian Missions existed only by sufferance within the territories of Burmah, and was exposed to continual interferences from the capricious action of the Burmese authorities. Now, however, under the protection of the British Government, the encouraging prospect of more settled labours presented itself, and Moulmein, at the mouth of the Salwen, and Tavoy, further down the coast, became the head-quarters of the Mission.

It was not until this time, 1828, that the Karens attracted the attention of the Missionaries. They are a people widely dispersed throughout the territories of the Burmans, but entirely distinct from that people, by whom they were regarded as inferiors and slaves; and wherever their wild fastnesses had been penetrated, and they had been brought under the yoke, they were in an exceedingly degraded condition, and compelled to perform every kind of servile labour. The first Karen who felt the subduing power of the cross, was a man of this class. A Burman convert, finding him in slavery because of a debt, paid the small sum that was due, and took him into his own family; but his rude and passionate conduct rendering him a most unpleasant inmate, he was transferred on trial to the Mission compound, where, under daily instruction, the light of Christian truth commenced to break in upon the darkness of his heart, and to exercise a softening influence upon his character. Immediately after his baptism he proceeded to Tavoy with the Missionary, Boardman, and his family. Among the Karens in the neighbourhood of Tavoy, Ko-thah-byu—for that was the name of this first-fruit of the Karen nation—laboured diligently. He sought them out and brought them to the Missionary. The tidings of the arrival of a white teacher spread far and near, and soon the Karens came forth in considerable numbers from their jungles. They were found to be anxious to learn, and quick to receive impressions. Their traditions had taught them to regard themselves as a nation suffering under the displeasure of God, and deprived of advantages they had once possessed. "The Karens," so their forefathers had taught them, "once had God's book written on leather (parchment), and they carelessly allowed it to be destroyed. Since then, as a punishment, we have been without books and without a written language." But they had also been led to look forward with eager expectance to the coming amongst them of white men, who should give them all the instruction which they needed. "Our prophets say the white foreigners have the book, and will, in future time, return it to us." Impressions of this kind no doubt led to the deification of a book left in their villages twelve years before by a travelling Mussulman. The person to whose hands it had been entrusted had wrapped it up in muslin, and enclosed it in a basket, until the time should come when, by the advent of a white teacher, its mysteries should be explained. It proved to be the Book of Common Prayer and the Psalms, an edition printed at Oxford. The keeper of the book, who had been specially venerated by the people, cast away his sorcerer's dress, and, with a Karen chieftain as his companion, took his place among the inquirers; and so soon as they had tasted the Lord's grace and love, these two converts hasted forth among their countrymen, and from village to village, and from house to house, exhorted them to faith in Jesus. Kothah-byu, the Karen apostle, entered into his rest in 1840. "In 1828 he was the first Karen Christian. In 1840, when he died, there were officially reported as members of the Christian congregations in Pegu, above 1270 individuals of that oppressed and despised race.

Fron Moulmein, also, as a centre, Missionary efforts on behalf of the Karens were led forth in a very remarkable manner. About the time, when, in consequence of the breaking out of the first Burmese war, the Missionaries Judson and Wade had retired to that place, a Burman of the name of Myat Kyan arrived there also. He was a person of some rank and influence among his countrymen, his brother being the governor of Shwaygyeen, under the Burman *régime*, and he himself having been collector of taxes among the Karens in that district. Thus brought into intercourse with that people, he had become acquainted with their traditions of an eternal God, and his faith in the cold negations of Buddhism became shaken. Long and vainly had he sought for truth, until at length he took up his abode at Moulmein, not far from the zayat where Dr. Judson was wont to preach. He soon became an interested listener. "Day after day, he was at the zayat from morning till night. One prejudice after another melted away, cloud after

cloud dispersed, until the Sun of righteousness arose with healing on his wings, and he stood forth a new creature in Christ Jesus." Domestic trials ensued, but they did not turn him aside from the faith of Jesus, or chill his earnest zeal to be a Missionary of good news to his countrymen. He became an earnest evangelist amongst Burmans, Talaings, and Karens. To the latter people he specially directed the attention of the Missionaries. Often would he say, "The Karens are not like the Buddhists: they have no idols, no priests, and if the teachers would go and preach to them, great numbers would listen and believe the Gospel."

Thus all along the jungle, as far as Mergui to the south, and above Moulmein to the north, the Karens were moved to inquire after God.

But beyond the British boundaries in Burmah proper, the Karens were to be found in great numbers; and in the hope of reaching these, attempts were made to occupy Rangoon as a station; but the work was troubled by the continued interference of the Burmese authorities. Two new positions were therefore taken up at Akyab and Sandoway, in the British province of Arracan. Information was soon conveyed "to the people on the other side of the mountain-ridge, which separates the two countries, and though the passes were constantly guarded by jealous Burmese officers, the eager Karens found their way in great numbers across the mountains, some asking for baptism, others seeking books for their countrymen at home, and others still desiring to remain and study with the Missionary. They came from the districts of Maubee and Pantaceau, and even from the districts of Rangoon, telling h'm of the progress of the Gospel among their countrymen. Through a wide extent of country, village after village received the Gospel, and within the first year of his residence, Abbott baptized nearly two hundred of those simplehearted and interesting people. He made occasional visits to the Burmese frontier, and entered the territory of the king, always finding scores of converts awaiting his coming, and desiring to be baptized. In one of those excursions, in which he was absent thirty-one days, he visited all the churches along the frontier, received reports from all the native pastors and preachers, and administered the ordinance of baptism to two hundred and ninety-nine persons, who professed their faith in Christ. During the year 1844 the number of persons baptized through the regions here referred to was upwards of two thousand, and the whole number thus baptized within five years was considerably more than three thousand—a number larger than had at that time been baptized in all the other Missions of the American Baptist Board taken together. But these numbers but imperfectly indicate the extent to which the Gospel began to exert its influence on the Karens of that district: multitudes more were instructed in its doctrines, and became obedient to its precepts, though they never presented themselves to the Missionary for baptism. An entire change came over the population: they assumed an aspect of higher civilization; they became honest and industrious; the vice common to their race disappeared, and they were eager for knowledge, and every kind of personal and social improvement."

Such a season of special encouragement was followed, as is usual in Missionary work, by an outbreak of bitter persecution—

"In 1843 the Christian Karens were subjected to cruel and vengeful sufferings, inflicted on them by their Burmese oppressors. Large numbers of them were seized and chained together, and marched away in companies to distant prisons, from which they were liberated only by the payment of a ransom, which exhausted their entire wealth. They bore those persecutions with heroic Christian fortitude. They refused to abandon the faith which they had embraced, and maintained it with a firmness which commanded a respect even from their persecutors, and commended the Gospel still more widely to the people around them. So frequent and violent were these persecutions, that the Karens in large companies abandoned their homes and their country, and fled across the mountains to Arracan. In the course of a single season Mr. Abbott received upwards of 200 families at Sandoway. Many others went to other regions, and many perished by the way from the ravages of the cholera; but the emigration of these humble martys for conscience sake still went on, till the districts to which they belonged were well nigh depopulated. They awakened the sympathy, not only of the Missionaries, but of the resident English, who made contributions for their comfort and support. The pages of Missionary history do not record a more signal display of divine grace than was seen among these simple dwellers among the mountains of Arracan. With but little instruction from human lips, they seem to have been largely taught of the Holy Ghost. With no outward aids or encouragements, they clung to their faith with a tenacity that nothing could subdue, and in the day of frightful

persecution they literally gave up all for Christ."*

After a time the storm exhausted itself; the infant work, although sifted, was not overthrown. Of the Karen Christians, as of the ancient Hebrews, it might with truth be said, that "the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew." It is remarkable that the portion of the work which was the most severely tried was the most zealous and self-denying in pecuniary contributions, and in efforts made for the maintenance and consolidation of Christian ordinances. The Sandoway Mission was especially designed for the persecuted Karens who dwelt in the neighbouring districts of Burmah proper; and although each one of the Missions had been exercised from the commencement in the great duty of religious contribution, yet in this, the Sandoway Mission was more specially forward. "The efforts and sacrifices of these humble Christians to secure the blessings of the Gospel, and to maintain its institutions in their villages, afforded the noblest proof of the sincerity of their faith and the fervour of their piety. Several churches erected chapels at their own expense, others supported their native pastors, while all contributed in some way or other to the pecuniary maintenance of the Mission."

This rapidly-increasing work required reinforcements from the Parent Society, and several new Missionaries reached the British provinces in 1849 and 1850. It was decided that a new effort should be made permanently to occupy Rangoon, and from thence, as soon as the rainy season was over, to ascend the Irrawaddy as far as Ava. But they found themselves again embarrassed by the uncertain and capricious action of the Government. At one time they were forbidden to distribute books, or associate with the people, while those who visited them were punished with fines, scourging, and imprisonments. Then again, an unexpected message from the king set them free from these restrictions, and, profiting by this season of opportunity, multitudes of Burmans and Karens, many of them from a great distance in the interior, both converts and inquirers, flocked to the Missionaries.

But the time was come when heathen Burmah, which thus arrogantly tyrannized over the consciences of men, and interfered with the Gospel in its mission of mercy, was again to be humbled, and the sceptre of her power broken. British ships of war appeared in the Rangoon river. It was full time, for hundreds of British subjects had been most cruelly treated. Many had been thrown into prison, some had been tortured, and two had died under torture. The "Battle of the Stockades," on January 10, 1852, introduced the last Burmese war. Martaban was taken on April 5th. Rangoon was attacked on the 11th, and, after a most desperate resistance of nearly four days, fell before the British arms. On the 20th of December the ancient kingdom of Pegu, which, precisely a century before, had been conquered from the Talaings by the renowned Alomfra, was declared to be annexed to the empire of British India. The territory thus designated includes the entire of that section of Burmah lying between the Salwen river on the east, the Yoma mountains on the west, and the Bay of Bengal on the south, and extending north to the nineteenth parallel of north latitude, about fifty miles above the city of Prome. Thus the British possessions in the peninsula of India were united in one continuous sea-board, commanding the entire outlets and deltas of the Irrawaddy, the Sitang, and the Salwen.

In the presence of these enlarged openings, the Parent Committee in America invited the Missionaries to assemble in convention at Moulmein in the spring of 1853, appointing their senior Corresponding Secretary, accompanied by another minister, to proceed as a deputation to Burmah on this important occasion. Various matters were discussed, and decisions arrived at. The entire field of labour was divided into distinct Missions: Moulmein, Tavoy, Arracan, Bassein, Rangoon, Prome, Shwaygyeen, Toungoo, and Henthada. Of these, Shwaygyeen is a large town at the junction of the Shwaygyeen and Sitang rivers, about 100 miles northward from Rangoon; Toungoo is a large walled city on the Sitang river, about 100 miles above Shwaygyeen; Henthada is situated on the Irrawaddy, at the point where the stream branches into the Bassein and Rangoon rivers.

In September 1853 the Missionary, Mason, proceeded to occupy Toungoo as a station. "Stepping into a large canoe, with a Karen Bible and hymn-book, they turned its head towards Toungoo. From Martaban, to Ava and the Himalaya, a range of granite mountains runs nearly north and south, between the waters of the Salwen on the east, and of the Sitang and Irrawaddy on the west. For fifteen miles they had to stem the torrent of the Salwen, which, at this season, pours down an immense volume of water. At noon

* "Encyclopædia of Missions," p. 205, &c.

they rested for refreshment under the shade of a large spreading acacia tree, of which upwards of ten species are known in Burmah, some with globular heads of flowers, some white and some yellow; some are immense creepers; while others are noble timber-trees, rivalled by none except the teak. . . . .

"At last Shwaygyeen was reached, which is so beautifully situated that it affords one of the most picturesque views that can be found even in the East. It lies in the forks of the Toungoo and Shwaygyeen rivers, with the mountains close behind, and is one of the most convenient stations for a Karen Missionary of all towns in Burmah. The Karen settlements commence half an hour's distance from the city, and continue, at short intervals, in untold numbers, north, south, and east. At this station Mr. and Mrs. Harris, from the time of the annexation, carried on their earnest self-denying labours. They and their four children had gone up to the place in a country-boat, rowed by Karen disciples. It was on a Saturday night they anchored, and the next morning, finding an empty shed, they assembled to worship God, and there, for the first time, the glorious Gospel was proclaimed at Shwaygyeen. At that time no Christian hearts beat there, but now, scattered up and down the hills, are hundreds of baptized believers. . . . .

"After nineteen days of travelling, Dr. and Mrs. Mason came in sight of the walls of Toungoo, looming up from a forest of palm-trees. The city is a rectangle, a mile from north to south, and a mile and a half from east to west. It stands on a plain, a quarter of a mile west of the Sitang river, which is there about four hundred yards wide, and deep enough for the navigation of large boats at all seasons. The walls of the city were built twenty-five feet high, with towers and battlements: these, however, have been destroyed, but the walls themselves are still in good preservation, and the earth has been heaped up on the inside so as to form a beautiful promenade all round the city. Here the chain of mountains on the east, which approaches within a few miles of the river, is seen in all its glorious sublimity, pile upon pile, until they rise to a height of eight or ten thousand feet. The far western horizon is bounded by the Prome mountains and valley of the Irrawaddy.

"The position of Toungoo as a Missionary centre appears to be one of considerable importance. Burmans, Shans, Kyens, and Toungoos gather within its walls, and around are various tribes of Karens, two or three of which were before unknown. This station appears to be likely to rise in importance, and, from it, the hope is cherished that many will go forth to be lights in the surrounding darkness, and perhaps to be the heralds of salvation even into China and Siam."*

Sau Quala, the Karen minister, joined Dr. Mason in December 1853. The first baptism took place the following January, in the presence of more than fifty Burmans. Before the end of that year the number of converts was 741, who were associated in nine churches. "In May 1856 they had increased to thirty churches, with an aggregate of 2124 members, all of whom had been baptized within two years, and more than 2000 of them by one man." Thus girded with faith, this native Christian went forward to his labours. "Having no salary, one and another of the disciples gives him a garment when he needs, and, having no house, he gets his food where he labours." On Mason's returning to America for a short season, Sau Quala was left with three native assistants, amongst Sgans, Bghaés, and Pakeés. By degrees, other native helpers were given him, and the wide field diligently cultivated.

This brief sketch of the early history of the Mission will prepare our readers to peruse with interest the following

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PHAYRE, THE COMMISSIONER OF PEGU,

on the subject of a recent tour accomplished by him among the Karen mountain tribes, in which will be found ample references to the efforts which are being made for their evangelization—

"Having lately returned to the station of Toungoo, from a short tour among the Karen mountain tribes dwelling to the east of the Sitang or Paung Loung river, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, a brief report of what I have observed among that interesting race of people.

"The mountainous country of the Toungoo district, east of the Paung Loung river, in which the Karen tribes reside, extends over an area of about 2000 square miles. It is bounded by the line of the British frontier, with Burmah on the north, along the parallel of 19° 29′ north latitude; on the south by the river Youkthie, which divides it from the Martaban province; on the east by the country of the independent Red Karens; and on the west by the lowlands skirting the Paung

* "The Gospel in Burmah," pp. 308, &c.

Loung river. Within the above tract of country dwell the several tribes distinguished by the Burmese under the general name of Karen. These tribes, though acknowledging a relationship to each other in race, yet bear separate distinctive names for themselves. Their dialects, in some instances, differ from each other, so as to render communication between the tribes nearly as difficult as if the languages were altogether distinct. The following are the names of the several tribes or clans within the above tract of country—

"1. Pakée; 2. Manne Paghá; 3. Bghaé, divided into two sections; 4. We Wan; 5. Sgan, and one or two more not yet satisfactorily ascertained.

"It is impossible to give an accurate return of the numbers of these people, but it may be stated generally to be about 50,000, of whom over 20,000 souls are either professed Christians, or under Christian instruction and influence. They are scattered over mountains which rise to 5000 feet above the sea: their villages seldom contain more than thirty to forty houses. Their cultivation, like that of all the Indo-Chinese mountaineers, is carried on, not by terracing the hills, but by cutting down the forest on the mountain sides, burning the whole mass of timber and grass, and then sowing the seed in the ground among the ashes. As the next rain washes away the fertile vegetable soil, a crop cannot again be raised on the same spot for some ten or fifteen years. Each village, therefore, requires a wide extent of mountain land, in order to have a rotation of cultivable spots. This method of cultivation acts as a bar to the progress of the people, since they are engaged in a constant struggle against the forest; but there appears no prospect of any immediate improvement being effected in this respect.

"Up to the year 1853, the several tribes—and it may even be said the different villages of the tribe—lived in a state of enmity and actual warfare with each other. By open force, or by stealthy manœuvre, they would capture women and children, and sell them as slaves to other tribes, while they generally put to death all grown-up men who fell into their power. These predatory habits still exist more or less among those tribes who have not accepted Christianity.

"In my annual Administration Reports I have narrated how, by the unwearied labours of the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Mason, of Sau Quala, and other Christian Karen teachers, from the Tenasserim provinces, Christianity has been introduced among these tribes; how their languages have been mastered and reduced to writing; and how religion and education have simultaneously wrought a vast change in the habits, the feelings, and the hearts of these wild mountaineers.

"The Government have been pleased in past years to make grants of money to Dr. and Mrs. Mason, for the translation of books, and for the building of the school for Karen females at Toungoo. Having now been present at the meeting, in a central mountain village, of a considerable number of people from all the tribes—an annual gathering held to recount their past proceedings, to compare their progress, and to animate each other to future efforts—having witnessed this deeply interesting meeting, I deem it my duty to report, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, the result so far of the work which has been going on among these people.

"Their educational institutions are closely connected with their village or clan system. Each village community constitutes a church or congregation in itself. Among the Sgan, Manne Paghá, Pakée, and We Wan tribes, there are fifty-eight stations or churches. At each village there is a teacher and a school. The teachers are generally young men of the tribe, who have been selected and instructed under the care of Dr. Mason. The village teacher is not in all cases an ordained minister; but he it is who conducts the public worship, and is also the schoolmaster. In each village a church is erected, and the school is held in the same building. At those villages which I have visited, these mountain places of worship were neat wooden buildings, with a house adjoining for the minister or teacher. *All are built at the expense of the people, and the teacher is entirely supported by the same means.* I need hardly add that it is a completely voluntary system. A bamboo fence, put round the church and the teacher's or minister's dwelling, separates them from the rest of the village.

"Among the other tribes, namely, the Bghae and Mopgha, there are sixty-two stations, or parishes, as they may be termed, which I am informed are provided for in every respect as above described.

"In January 1859 the Pakée Association of all the churches belonging to that and some adjoining tribes held a meeting, at which I was present. It was at a village named Bangalee, situated on a fine commanding position, at some 3000 feet elevation, with forest clad mountains all round. There were about 700 or 800 people present, men, women, and children. The Rev. Dr. Mason, with several Karen ministers and teachers, occupied a central platform of bamboo, slightly raised above the ground. Around this platform, under the shade of a temporary shed of

bamboo, were the Karens, seated according to their tribes and families, clad in their picturesque national dress, and with intelligence and deep interest in the objects for which they had met beaming in their faces.

"The business of the meeting commenced with a hymn and with prayer, both in the Karen language. The Karens have naturally a taste for melody, and the soft sounds of their language are well adapted to vocal music. Several of the young Karen ministers and teachers successively addressed the assembly in earnest language, exhorting the people to make increased exertions to educate their children, to support religion, to procure Bibles, and to be careful of them when they had them. One read a paper containing a brief account of the illness and death of a brother pastor who had lately died. Several of the chiefs also briefly addressed the meeting, exhorting the people. Finally, it was announced that the associated churches had subscribed over 500 rupees towards the support of the central schools at the town of Toungoo, where both boys and girls are educated more highly than can be done in the village schools. They are there trained as teachers for the village schools.

"It was a wonderful sight thus to behold, in the midst of an assembly of tribes so lately savage, and with no written language, the evidence of a people appreciating the benefits of religion and of education, supporting pastors and schools, listening to speeches on social improvement and religious duties, delivered by men of their own race, in their own tongue; abandoning their evil habits and their cruel wars, and living as quiet, industrious mountaineers, anxious for improvement. I was surprised at the youth of some of the teachers, and more also at the respect and attention shown them by many of the chiefs. This is the more remarkable, as we might almost have looked for jealousy from the latter at their own influence being impaired. It is not so, however: Dr. Mason has found, as was to be expected, that young people were more readily impressed with new ideas than those advanced in life, and has employed young men as teachers, while their education ensures them respect and influence among both chiefs and people.

"Though the people support their village teachers and schools, and will, and do, also support those youths who go to study at the normal schools in towns, yet it is beyond their means to defray all the expenses of the latter institutions. I was present at an examination of the girls of the Female Institute at Toungoo by Mr. Mason: fifty were present. They appeared to acquit themselves creditably in geography, arithmetic, and other branches of knowledge. To show what a change education has wrought in the opinions of these people generally, I may mention, that in the absence of regular teachers, in the more remote villages, some of the chiefs have applied for young women from the Institute to instruct the children of their tribe. This fact, showing a disregard for all previous prejudices—for they heretofore considered women only as useful drudges to the lords of our creation—evinces the wonderful change effected in their habits of thought.

"I have entered into these details of the progress made among these tribes in order to lay clearly before the Hon. the President in Council my reasons for making application for further grants towards supporting and extending education among them. On this subject I beg to annex copies of two letters to my address, one from Mrs. Mason, dated the 13th of Jan. 1859, and one from the Rev. Dr. Mason, dated the 21st idem, both asking for assistance for the normal school for Karen young men, established at the town of Toungoo.

"Hitherto the Government has contributed as follows towards education among the mountain Karen tribes—2000 rupees for the translation and printing of useful works in the Bghaé and Manne Paghá dialects, and 1400 rupees for books, apparatus, &c., for the Karen Female Institute: a grant of land at Toungoo has also been made for erecting the building.

"With reference to the present application by Dr. and Mrs. Mason, I beg earnestly to recommend that the Hon. the President in Council will be pleased to sanction a grant towards the young men's normal school,—a school which is to fulfil the important object of furnishing instructors to the various tribes scattered over the mountains. The great importance of aiding the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Mason in affording these young men a liberal education, through whose agency these tribes may be raised from the depths of ignorance and barbarism, to have hereafter, it is hoped, a prominent place amongst Asiatic races,—the great importance of aiding in this noble object requires not a word from me to recommend it. I shall content myself, therefore, with stating that many tribes still remain to be rescued from barbarism, and recommending as follows—

"First, That the sum of 3000 rupees be granted towards the building at Toungoo of a schoolhouse for the Karen young men. The school is proposed to be of brick, and 100 pupils are to be educated therein.

"Second, That I be authorised to indent for, or otherwise procure for, the said school the following instruments — 1. A telescope on

stand, of sufficient power to observe the eclipse of Jupiter's satellites; 2. a sextant and artificial horizon; 3. a pair of globes, one foot in diameter; 4. a prismatic compass and chain complete; 5. a set of school maps.

"I have not the means of making an estimate of the expense that will be incurred in procuring these instruments, but I believe that 1200 rupees will be the outside."

There are several topics referred to in this report, on which we would desire to offer some observations, and first, on the important subject of

THE NATIVE PASTORATE.

"At each village there is a teacher and a school. The village-teacher is not in all cases an ordained minister, but it is he who conducts the public worship, and is also the schoolmaster."

We greatly regret that we have not before us the last annual report of the American Baptist Missionary Union: unhappily it has never reached us; thus we are obliged to fall back upon an old report of 1858, in order to bring out with some accuracy the precise status of the Missionary work in Burmah. At that time the natives in orders were between thirty and forty, the licentiates and native preachers 264. The increase in these branches, since the above period, has no doubt been considerable. This we can ascertain from fragmentary documents. In the Henthada Mission there were, in June 1860, twelve more native preachers than in the previous year 1859, which no doubt presented a similar increase when compared with the maximum of 1858.

The importance of the native pastorate is now universally admitted. Under providential discipline, the comparative paucity of European Missionaries, the loss by death of many, the difficulty of obtaining new and able men: the conviction of necessity has deepened and strengthened in the hearts of the various Missionary Societies.

In this periodical the desirableness of a native pastorate has been often dwelt upon. It may suffice, on the present occasion, to introduce from a former article one sentence:— "The Holy Ghost, in his administration of the church, dispenses to collective bodies of God's people various gifts and administrations, promotive of mutual growth, and usefulness as to those who are without. But, in order to the exercise of these gifts, the native-Christian element must be permitted to rise to conscious self-responsibility, and the European agent must be careful not to place himself in such a position as to interfere with this. He must be prepared to have the truths of the Gospel committed to faithful men from amongst the converts, who shall be able to teach others also; and he must be willing and anxious to afford them full scope for the exercise of whatever gifts may have been bestowed on them, standing himself out of the way, when it be necessary, that they may have room to do so."* And to this we will add one paragraph on this subject from an address delivered by the Rev. R. S. Hardy, of Ceylon, at the Liverpool Missionary Conference — "The truth must be naturalized; it must cease to be regarded as an exotic before it can thoroughly permeate and permanently regenerate any given nation. Its power can only be universally diffused by that which is alike native in its fount and in its flowing: look, tone, word, imagery, idiom, all must be native. Every people, even the most degraded, has a nationality, and each tribe an idiosyncracy; sacred circles, that the stranger can never completely penetrate." We entirely agree, therefore, with a Missionary cotemporary, that "it is a mistake to suppose that the value of native agency has only of late years been perceived by Missionaries and Missionary Societies." It is quite true that "attention has for many years been directed to this matter, and that the native agents of every Society have undergone continued additions." In our own Missions it has been so.

Thus, for instance, in our South-India Missions, comprehensive of the work in Madras, Tinnevelly, and Travancore, there has been, in our native agency, a very decided increase, so much so as to enable them to compare not unfavourably with the result of the Karen Mission. In 1850 we had, in those Missions, only seven native clergymen: there are now twenty-three; while the catechists and readers have increased from 231 to 254, and the schoolmasters from 278 to 393.

In the Asiatic Missions of the American Board there has also been an increase, but not to the same extent. The ordained natives, from the report published October 2, 1860, do not appear to be more than seven, while the American Missionaries number sixty-six. The native preachers are seventy-seven, and the native teachers and helpers 172; a total of 249.

We cannot go farther into these statistics: they would occupy too much space and time. It is evident, that in the working of the various Societies the great desideratum of a

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," August 1858.

native pastorate has not been forgotten. The attention of the Missionaries in Burmah was specially directed to this point by the Moulmein Conference, and the paper drawn up on that occasion is so valuable, that we think it worthy of being recalled from oblivion and placed before our readers—

"We have reached a period in the history of our Missions when this subject demands the most profound and prayerful attention. This will appear most evident to the convention, when it considers that at this present moment there are 117 churches connected with the Burmese and Karen Missions, with a membership of some 10,000 converts, with only eleven ordained pastors. New churches are rising, and, under the blessing of God, will continue to rise, until the whole land is filled. The question at once suggests itself, To whom must these numerous churches look for faithful pastors to go in and out before them?

"It must be admitted that, in the early stage of their profession, the immaturity of the converts, the presence of evil habits acquired in a state of heathenism or idolatry, the ignorance and imperfect apprehension of the Gospel, must and do require the judicious treatment of Missionaries. They demand from them incessant instruction, great watchfulness and pastoral supervision. But a long-continued supervision your Committee believe would be attended with many serious evil results. It would engender feebleness in the native churches, and incapacitate them for that state of independence and self-sustentation designed by the great Head of the church. It would accustom the native converts to a style of ministry which can in vain be looked for from a native pastorate when circumstances shall compel its employment. It would have a reflex influence disastrous to Missionaries themselves. Their exertions would become limited and confined to small bands of converts, while myriads are perishing around them; and, so far as influence goes, they would set a most injurious example to the churches and to native assistants. It would teach them to be satisfied with what had already been gained, instead of impressing upon them, by personal example, that they should never rest satisfied while the world around them remained in darkness of heathenism.

"It will appear evident, that if the reasons adduced are valid against a long-continued pastorship of Missionaries, 'they are valid arguments for the employment of native pastors alone to superintend the converts gathered into the Christian fold. In no other way can the wants of the native converts be supplied, and the Gospel they have received be perpetuated.'

"Your Committee have been led to inquire, has the Lord Jesus Christ made no provision for these churches purchased by his own blood, in raising up a native ministry? We rejoice to say that He has done, as He has been wont to do in every stage of the church's history down to the present time. There are now eleven ordained men, who, by their fidelity in the discharge of the high duties entrusted to them, demonstrate that the Missionaries do not err in the laying on of hands, and setting them apart to the work unto which they were called by the Holy Ghost, though they may have done it with fear and trembling. In addition, there are more than 120 native preachers connected with these churches, many of whom, until recently, have been inaccessible to the Missionary in Burmah. These men (or most of them) have been raised up by God himself, and endowed with gifts and qualifications for the ministry of the word. They have sat side by side with your Missionaries in the zayat, they have stood with them in the field of active service, they have been entrusted with the Gospel, and have wended their weary way to the distant jungle and preached the crucified Saviour in the vales and on the mountain-tops: relying alone upon Him who had called them, they have made the jungle vocal with the praises of God, so that the Missionary following in their footsteps has found the wilderness budding and blossoming as the rose. These are tried men: they have met persecution and have not quailed; they have been reviled from day to day and have not fainted; they have been subjected to stripes and imprisonment; the naked sword has been suspended over them; but all in vain. These men preach with power and acceptance, and have been the pioneers in your Missions, harbingers of the Gospel of peace. Many of them, even now, are in charge of churches (which may have been raised up through their instrumentality), feeding them, and guiding them onward in the path of life, while others are raising up new ones, the converts around them waiting for the Missionary to come and set in order the things that remain. Can we for a moment doubt that God is raising up a pastorate for the native churches? or shall we hesitate and permit a system not sanctioned by Scripture to become established and entailed, with its accumulating evils, upon the rising churches of Burmah?

"Your Committee would recommend the most serious attention of this convention, and of every Missionary, to this subject, and that

pastors be ordained for every church just so soon as suitable men, qualified as the Scriptures demand for this important office, are raised up, not forgetting the injunction, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man;' for we know of no question connected with the case of native converts which calls more loudly for the exercise of sound judgment and judicious action than the ordination of native pastors. And we recommend, therefore, that the native churches be directed to look upon God, by prayer and earnest supplications, to raise up faithful men, not only pastors, but deacons, to take charge of them in the fear of God, and that the churches be instructed sacredly to sustain them by their prayers, and support them with a generous liberality. This recommendation has the high sanction of apostolical example. The attention of the apostles was at once directed to this subject by the Divine Spirit; a subject so important that it was entered upon in the most solemn manner, with fasting and prayer; thus recognising the ministry not only as of divine appointment, but that God had, in raising up churches, endowed them with suitable gifts, which were to be sought out and publicly set apart to the work, and then commended to God.

"Your Committee, in making this recommendation, would by no means convey the idea that they would have the Missionary cease to instruct and watch over the pastors and infant churches raised up under his ministry. No: in addition to all the trials and labours of the faithful Missionary, he will have 'the care of the churches' still.

"When we have thus complied with the injunction, 'And the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also,' may we hope to see 'the native churches walking in the fear of God, and edified by their own brethren under the teaching of the Spirit of God, and the Missionary unfurling the banner of salvation in the regions beyond.' Then may we see these sheep-folds so regulated, that, were every Missionary withdrawn, they would possess within themselves both the men and the ability to continue as the witnesses of Christ, until 'the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'"

For various reasons the action of the native pastorate is most requisite; and first, to simplify the position of the European Missionary, and set him free for that which is his proper vocation—the preaching of the Gospel in "the regions beyond." The European Missionary, when acting as the pastor of a native church, is not, we conceive, in his right position. It is one which necessity alone can justify, and from which he ought to be relieved as soon as possible. In connexion with native churches, his position, until the time comes when they can be left to their own independent action, should be exclusively that of superintendence.

We consider the Missionary district under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Thomas to present the *beau ideal* of the organization which had best prevail when a Mission work has reached that degree of progress which prevails in Tinnevelly, where the native church is gradually rising to its true position as a Christian church, supplied, as was the custom in the apostolic times, with its own native pastorate. Here we have merged into one, three districts formerly worked by three European Missionaries. Now there is but one European Missionary, who is charged with the supervision of the whole; but under him there are three native clergymen engaged in pastoral duties. The language which Mr. Thomas uses with respect to this arrangement is remarkable—"I cannot help thinking that we have been led to this course of action by God's overruling providence, for the employment of native pastors seems to have been gradually forced upon us by the removal from the field of European Missionaries; and now that the experiment has been made, and, I think, with success, the difficulties which appeared at first have been removed, and the system may, with advantage, be enlarged." We are fully persuaded of this, that into the arrangement which prevails in Mr. Thomas's district we were providentially guided, and that we have now before us a specimen of the system which ought to be promptly carried out in all native churches. Let only the native pastorate be satisfactorily increased, and such only of the European Missionaries be detained in the more settled districts as may suffice for that supervision work of guidance and encouragement which the native pastorate, in its present early state, requires, and a considerable number of such men will be at once set free for their proper work—aggressive action on the perishing myriads around. Why may not our Kishnagurh districts be thus dealt with? Instead of a limited district, continuing under the pastorate of a European Missionary, why should it not have a *native* pastor; and then several of these be placed under the superintendence of one European Missionary, a selected man, duly fitted for his peculiar

work? Surely we want, at the present day, a grand onward movement like that which is being pushed forward in Karenee-dom; and yet our European Missionaries are few, and reinforcements come in slowly. We can, then, the less spare them for pastoral work of a limited character.

Nor would this be the only advantage; but we are persuaded that the native congregations would profit immeasurably by such a change. Between a pastor and people of the same race there is that assimilation which secures sympathy and promotes growth. An interesting proof now lies before us of the effective working of the native pastorate. A native flock, formerly at Secundra, near Agra, which had been severely tried during the late mutiny, has been transferred to a position entirely new at Allahabad, and there placed under the care of a native pastor. We cannot avoid wishing we could, on occasions like these, present the information, and yet withhold the names, for even gracious human nature is a weak and feeble thing, and is liable to be injured by commendation or notoriety. But this often is not possible; and the facts must either be withheld, to the detriment of the work at home, or the names given. After all, both ministers at home and Missionaries abroad must remember that they are but instruments, and that nothing can be done except the Lord uses them; and therefore whatever be effected, He should have *all* the praise. The following brief notice of this native pastor and his work is from the Rev. J. Owen, an American Missionary at Allahabad: its date is Jan. 4, 1861—

"You ask me about your Mission here. Your native pastor, the Rev. David Mohun, I know well, and have known him several years. I have known him as a catechist at Sigra, Benares, and have great confidence in his soundness and piety. His congregation here, consisting of about 400 native Christians, is one of the most interesting in the North-Indian church, and he is, I believe, a laborious and faithful pastor. When the Bishop was here, more than a year since, Mohun presented several of his flock for confirmation. It was a truly interesting scene. The other day I had the pleasure, with others, of attending an examination of the school, composed entirely of children of Mohun's congregation. The general superintendence and direction of this school is by no means the least important of his duties. I may mention that he has been living in one of the houses in my compound more than a year past, there being no other house convenient for him, and consequently I have seen much of him. He often comes to me, when in perplexity or anxiety, and we have had much pleasant intercourse. Your Committee have reason indeed to thank God, and take courage, for this Allahabad native church and pastor. May such be speedily increased a thousandfold throughout the land. The crying want in all our Missionary operations is that of a native agency. When Christianity becomes indigenous, I have no doubt its progress will be rapid."

It is evident, however, that even in the most advanced of the Missions a commencement only has been made, and that much remains to be done in order that the supply of native pastors may become equal to the requirements of the churches. Such is the conviction of the South-India Conference.

"In view of all that has been done in this direction, the Conference acknowledges the goodness of God in raising up so many godly and able native agents; but believes that much yet remains to be done in order to secure an agency worthy of the work; and for this our eyes must be directed to the great Head of the church, whose prerogative it is to raise up men after his own heart, endow them largely with self-denial and true devotion, and fill them with the knowledge of divine things and with burning compassion for perishing souls."*

Suitable materials for the pastorate, if only looked out and wisely dealt with, cannot be wanting. Wherever a congregation has been raised up, if indeed it be a genuine work, it will not fail to include the materials for its own pastorate. They must be looked out, and they will be found—men of sterling piety, and sufficiently endowed with natural gifts for the work they have to do. Let them be taken and subjected to such a training process as is going forward in the Palamcotta Propaganda Institution, in the training school at Santipore, and under Bishop Williams at Waiapu, New Zealand; and then, if they be apt and able to teach in the vernacular the truths of the everlasting Gospel, let them be ordained, although they do not know a word of English. To insist upon a knowledge of English, as an essential requisite to the ordination of a native, would grievously hinder the development of the pastorate, and inflict upon the nascent work a very serious injury.

THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIVE PASTORATE.

But the difficulty in the increase of the native pastorate does not lie in the paucity of

* "South-India Conference," p. 170.

materials, but in the question of support. So states the "Baptist Herald"—"the only limitation to the largely-increased use of the native agency is the want of funds." And, again—"It is this very question of the support of a native agency which is the real difficulty to be grappled with." Hitherto "they have been dependent on foreign sources for their support, or have received it under the direction and control of Societies which have sanctioned their employment;" and the burden thus cast on the home organizations has interfered with the onward movement of the Gospel.

"The burden of both propagating and maintaining the Gospel has weighted the action of every Missionary Society, and compelled slower progress than might have been attained had propagation been their only task. Missions have not expanded as they ought and would have done had not Societies been constrained, or thought themselves to be so, to uphold the churches they have formed, and to provide for the pastors they have supplied. With the calls to new fields daily opening upon the Christian church, and the increase of converts in every Mission field, this draft on our resources becomes more burdensome. If the means of extrication are not speedily found, Christendom will have to provide not only for the spread of the Gospel, but for the permanent maintenance and direction of the numerous churches which are rising up throughout heathen lands. But for the amounts swallowed up in the support of native agents, many more active, energetic Missionaries might have gone forth to preach 'everywhere' the unsearchable riches of Christ."

Now this is a very serious state of things. The native churches are injured by the tardiness that marks the development of the pastorate, and the great onward movement is hindered as well by the diversion of funds from direct evangelizing work to the maintenance of Christian ordinances amongst them, as by the preoccupation of the European Missionaries. "If the means of extrication are not speedily found, Christendom will have to provide not only for the spread of the Gospel, but for the permanent maintenance and direction of the numerous churches which are rising up throughout heathen lands." But it was not so at the commencement. Judæa was the originating centre from whence the work went forth. But Judæa did not contribute to the maintenance of the native churches which were raised up so extensively throughout the then known world; nay, on the other hand, these churches contributed to the necessities of the poor saints at Jerusalem. They met their own necessities; they maintained their own pastors; nay, not only so, but instead of depending for pecuniary support on the Missionary agency which had introduced amongst them the Gospel, they contributed to the support of that agency as the Philippians did in the case of Paul. Certainly these native churches were not all rich and affluent. The churches of Macedonia are stated to have been in deep poverty. (2 Cor. viii. 2.) Yet they found means not only to support their own "bishops and deacons" (Phil. i. 1), but to contribute to other and extraneous objects. The poverty of the church at Smyrna is also noticed—"I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty." In fact, if in those days, churches, as they were raised up, had not started at once into vigorous and self-supporting action, the whole work must have stopped, for there were no home funds to fall back upon. And now, with respect to ourselves in these modern days, the various Societies are entrusted with means which, if duly husbanded, will be found to suffice for initiative work, but which cannot be otherwise than wholly inadequate to the maintenance of native churches and pastors. The attempt to do this, even over a limited area, is already producing serious embarrassment and difficulty. What, then, is to be done, or how are "the means of extrication to be found?" Every church raised up from amongst the heathen ought to have its own native pastor, and the pastor should be such as that the native church shall be able to support him. If in any collective body of converts from among the heathen the work be genuine, it will be found to include the materials for the pastorate. If the men selected for the pastorate be genuine men, they will be contented with such a measure of support as their flock can yield them; and if this be not enough, they will work with their own hands to make up what may be wanting. But then the pastors must be of the people themselves, amongst whom they are to minister. They must be men of like habitudes, and accustomed to the same mode of living. It is this which makes us so deprecate the European standard of qualification for orders being used as the measurement of qualification for the native ministry; so that no candidate will be accepted unless he be sufficiently conversant with English as to be able to meet an examination carried on in that language. To insist at present on such a measure of qualification would be to dissimilate the pastorate from the churches as they are now. With the knowledge of the

English language, there must of necessity come in English ideas, and a tendency to English habits and mode of living; and this will engender just so much of dissimilarity as to disable the native church from the support of its own pastorate, and, to a certain extent, indispose it so to do. A native ministry, retaining native habits and modes of life, so far as they be not inconsistent with the emendatory influence of Christian truths, and yet carrying with it into its ministry "grace and truth," so as to be "an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity," this will command affection and respect. The whole native church will be benefited, because such a ministry will present a convincing proof, that, in order to be advantaged by the Gospel, it is not necessary that a man should change his language or abdicate his nationality; and that this wholesome leaven, introduced into the midst of any distinct race, can so pervade it, as, without destroying the national type, to assimilate it to the will and service of Christ. Such a ministry, having a hold on the affections of the people, will soon attract to itself the means of sustentation, provided that foreign Missionary Societies do not unwisely interfere, and injure the native church, by salarizing the pastorate. Considerations of this kind have had their due weight with the Bishop of Calcutta, and decided him in his primary charge thus to express himself on the subject of native ordination—

"I am assured, as a matter of fact, that in a period of transition like the present, to teach a Bengalee convert English, is too often only to separate him from his countrymen, to 'Anglicise' him, as the phrase is, to make him discontented with a simple life, a small salary, and quiet native habits. . . . . Our first object must be at present to raise up pastors having perfect sympathy with the people, and to make war upon the notion, that Christianity is in some way or other essentially connected with England, that it is the religion of the *Sahib log*, and implies the abandonment of innocent native customs, the native dress, the native mode of living, or the native names. Most strongly do I feel the importance of vindicating the catholicity of Christianity, and its power of absorbing into itself all things harmless and indifferent. Therefore, when I am told that this is at stake, I now repeat, what I have said elsewhere, that as I consented, on the anxious recommendation of trustworthy witnesses, to ordain, as an experiment, a native of the north-west, who did not understand English, so, if I live to return from my present journey, I shall be ready, also as an experiment, to admit to the office of deacon any Bengalee catechist who satisfies me of his experience in pastoral work and fitness for the ministry, and who, in the judgment of my chaplains and myself, has attained the degree of knowledge which I have announced as requisite for admission to orders."

It is on this point, that in our Preparandi Institution, and other seminaries designed to prepare native Christians for orders, great care is needed, lest, in the earnest effort to give them Christian and intellectual development, we so Anglicise them as to unfit them for usefulness amongst their countrymen. It is urged that the vernaculars of India are barren of theological and other books which are requisite for the due instruction of candidates. That is to be regretted. Let the deficiency, by all means, be corrected as soon as possible; but the proper mode of effecting this is not to Anglicise the pastorate, but by translational labours, such as are contemplated by the "Christian Vernacular Society for India," to enrich the native languages. The ministry will rise with the enrichment of the vernacular, and that in a gradual and safe way, without endangering its simplicity.

We believe that the sustentation of the native pastorate ought to devolve on the native churches, and that if the pastorate be of the right kind, and, in sympathy with them, they will not fail to accept and discharge that responsibility. Our cotemporary, the "Baptist Herald," says, "It is surely reasonable to expect, that when instructed converts become pastors of churches, their churches would support them, and, in their turn, contribute somewhat towards the spread of the faith. Yet this is the very thing that has not been done, and, from present appearances, cannot be done. With the partial exception of the remarkable Mission among the Karens of Burmah, and the Baptist churches of Jamaica, no Mission has succeeded in rendering native churches independent, or a native ministry self-supporting." Well, but in these instances it has been done. What has been done in one or two instances may be done in others, and therefore the desideratum, whatever it be, although a difficulty is not an impossibility. The South-India Conference has borne explicit testimony to the success which has attended the efforts of the American brethren in this respect—

"The American brethren in Burmah have apparently been very happy in selecting the right men for the right places; and the ex-

tent to which their plan has been carried to the establishment of nearly a hundred separate and independent churches, shows clearly that the Divine Head of the universal church has blessed their endeavours for his glory."

The Conference then proceeds to say—"These results have, it appears, been chiefly in the rural and mountainous parts of the country. Perhaps many of these pastors, beloved and honoured by their people, and successful and able ministers of the New Testament, if removed to a large town, especially where the inhabitants have had some of the advantages of education, might prove not so acceptable."

Let the pastorate be a handful taken out of the mass amidst which it is to minister; if in large towns, from amongst the town-converts; if in the rural and mountainous parts of the country from amongst the Christian inhabitants of those places. But this is the point to be indicated, that the poor converts in the rural and mountainous parts of Burmah sustain a pastorate chosen from amongst themselves. Referring again to the American Baptist Report, we glance at the "Shwaygyeen Mission," a district which had been kept in alarm on account of the rebel Mein Long, and yet, under such disadvantageous circumstances, we find the following notice—"The churches, with the exception of the one at Shwaygyeen, support their own teachers. They give them no regular monthly salary, but furnish them with food, and make them presents, from time to time, of various articles of clothing, &c. One teacher was presented with a pony, and twenty betel trees; another with seventy-five pounds of betel-nuts, worth about twenty rupees; and another with eight baskets of paddy. In short, our brother Harris commenced aright with these churches, and now they support their own teachers without feeling it a burden. Besides what they have done for their teachers, the churches have contributed 273 rupees during the year for other benevolent and Christian purposes, which, being the first offering of the kind, shows a good beginning."

In the Toungoo Mission, where, at the above date (1858), there were 101 stations, each provided with a licentiate, or school-teacher, besides three ordained preachers, the subscriptions to the male and female normal schools, and to their village teachers, amounted in cash, the one to 930 rupees, and the other to 453 rupees.

It may be interesting here to introduce a paragraph which shows the earnestness of the village-teachers to become fitted for their work, and the means adopted for affording them additional instruction. It is from the report of Dr. Mason—

"No feature of the work among the Karens appears so full of promise as the eagerness with which the young preachers seek for information on biblical subjects. During the three or four weeks spent with our Associations, whenever I sat down to eat they were always more or less around me, seeking information on difficult subjects; and when I strolled into the forest at evening, a long peripatetic train questioned me at every step. Sometimes I would seat myself to rest on a granite rock, overtopping the plains thousands of feet below, when all around would quietly seat themselves—a crowd of young men, with their open Testaments—each eager to ask me concerning some passage or other which he found difficult to comprehend. . . . . Some have chronological difficulties to settle; others ask for historical information; and still others have numerous inquiries to make on the natural productions mentioned in the Bible; while not a few have questions to ask which Gabriel himself could not answer. Thus a single lecture is diversified, like mosaic, with theology and botany, exegesis and zoology, metaphysics and lightning wires, history, sacred and profane, geography, ancient and modern, with a sprinkling of almost every other subject of the past, the present, and the future. After lying down to sleep, I often hear the younger teachers inquiring of their seniors the signification of various passages, and asking information on numerous topics on which they have been instructed. In this way the knowledge communicated to one is passed on to tens, twenties, and thirties, and my school of theology is as wide as the province, and its pupils as numerous as the ministry within its borders."

In addition to this "extemporaneous" method of imparting a knowledge of divine things, Dr. Mason has, during the year, initiated a more formal and systematic plan. Under date of October 1858 he writes, "I have taught a school for the assistants these rains — three or four months — embracing over forty pupils, most of whom are employed as preachers and teachers, and could not be absent long from their congregations. Some could attend school a month, others two, and others three, and I adapted my school to the wants of my pupils, and let them come and go so as best to further the interests of the churches. . . . .

"It is atonishing to see the progress these men make under the most unfavourable circumstances, when they are really

called of God to the work; or, if that language be too old-fashioned, when they are in earnest. My pupils embraced Sgans, Mannie-pghas, Pakeés, Mo-pghas, Tunio-Bghaes, and Pant-Bghaes. It was a Missionary Society as well as a school. While in operation, four several parties of wild Bghaes came to me for teachers, all from districts farther north than we previously had any stations. I brought the applicants before the school, and told them they should have any teachers present whose hearts God moved to go. We never wanted for volunteers.

"In the matter of studies, we went through Matthew, with parts of Luke, Acts, Romans, Hebrews, and 1st Corinthians, and I stood ready to answer all sorts of questions on every part of the Bible that the young men sought light on. Many learned the first principles of arithmetic, a few to measure land and the distance of inaccessible objects; and, having no book on geography, all attended one hour a day on Mrs. Mason's *viva-voce* instructions, aided by a good set of large coloured maps."

Nor is the self-supporting animus confined to the Karens, but is at work among the Burman converts. Thus, at Rangoon, "the pastor of the church is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the church and congregation, who have raised for the purpose the sum of 241 rupees 11 annas, besides 71 rupees 13 annas for the incidental expenses of public worship and general Missionary purposes."

We rejoice to find that the same healthful element is manifesting itself in connexion with our Church Missionary work, and that, in proportion as the native pastorate comes into action, our native churches feel the duty of contributing to its maintenance, and take it up heartily because they feel it to be possible. The native church at Allahabad, to which we have already referred, is one which has passed through much trial and severity of discipline. At Secundra, before the mutiny, its temporal circumstances were prosperous. There was a flourishing printing-press, around which the native village was grouped, and which, used by Government, afforded sufficient means of support. That was ruined by the mutineers, and the congregation, after many wanderings and hardships, at length settled at Allahabad. They are not rich, and yet they are doing much to the support of their pastor and their Christian ordinances. This will appear from the following extracts from the Rev. D. Mohun's annual letter—

"The Lord has been our rock of defence and protector during the past year. In my first letter I mentioned that all the Secundra native Christians were dispersed, and were not living together; but now I am happy to inform you we have been able to find for them some temporary huts, and collected them together, and thus I am enabled to visit them almost daily. We have also managed to build a temporary schoolhouse in the village, where the children of these native Christians receive instruction, and which also serves for our daily and weekly services. The salary of the teachers is paid partly by the native Christians themselves, and partly by some kind gentlemen of the station. The Christians subscribe for this school, besides the pastorate fund, about twenty-seven rupees, and about thirty rupees from other friends of the station. In one school there are fifty-five children, out of which twenty-seven are boys and twenty-eight are girls, who are taught in English and Urdu, and some in Persian. Though we have three teachers, yet I also have to teach them three hours daily, and, I am happy to state, the children have made some improvement. They were examined on December 20th, on which occasion several kind gentlemen and ladies were present, and expressed general satisfaction.

"With regard to the native Christians, I am glad to say they are all doing well; and it seems that some change has recently taken place in some of them, as I can, without hesitation, say that the Lord has many of his children among them. Our Sunday and weekly services are well attended, far better than what they were last year. Hitherto they had learned to *take*, but now they have commenced to *give*. You will be happy to hear they subscribe for the pastorate fund, for the school fund, for the poor fund, and for the clearing of their village, a thing which I believe was never done before. It is my earnest prayer that the Lord, who has commenced the good work among them, may also bring it to perfection. The conduct also of these Christians is very much changed. Very few quarrels take place amongst them now. We have appointed twelve men of them, who act as punat (jury). Their business is to see that no quarrel takes place in the village; and should there be any, they decide small cases themselves, but difficult matters are brought to me, and we settle the quarrel to the satisfaction of the parties.

"They have appointed a prayer-meeting among themselves, and also have daily prayers in our schoolroom, all conducted by themselves. I am very much pleased with some of these Christians. They all subscribe for

the poor beggars who collect every Sunday in their village. They are made to sit on the grass, when a portion of the Bible is read and explained to them, and then some pice or grain is distributed to each of them. This is all done by themselves. . . . . .

"We are still short of a place of worship of our own. Our Sunday services are still held in the station church. I wish we had one of our own. I hope, when a helper comes here, he will be able to do something for us. I am extremely happy to inform you that our congregation presented me on Christmas-day with a preacher's gown and a pulpit Bible. I believe it is a new thing in India for an Hindustanee congregation to present such a thing to their native pastor."*

We gladly welcome these commencements of self-supporting action in the native churches of the Bengal Presidency. But in this important feature, so far as the Missions of the Church Missionary Society are concerned, the first place must be assigned to our South-India Missions, and especially to those in the province of Tinnevelly. We shall first state the increase in the yearly sums which have been contributed, and then specify the special objects for which they are intended.

		Rs.	A.	P.
1855.	From Tinnevelly alone .	6775	1	8
1856.	Ditto (a year of scarcity)	5632	13	8
1857.	From Tinnevelly and Travancore	8743	12	10
1858.	Ditto	8350	3	1
1859.	Ditto	9353	5	11

Let it be remembered that "the equivalent value of 9350 rupees, if raised in England, would be upwards of 4000*l.*, if we allow for the high comparative value of money in the rural districts of South India, and represent a sum about equal to the combined Church Missionary contributions of the counties of Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, and Durham."†

The following are the objects among which the sum total of contributions is distributed—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Missions	1919	4	0
Church-building and repairs .	2090	8	10
Lighting of churches and church fees	939	8	9
Communion alms	437	9	0
Endowment fund	630	11	7
Poor fund	866	11	7
Widows' fund	733	11	3
Miscellaneous	1695	5	3

In these items two important principles are represented—the self-supporting principle, as manifested more especially in the Church-building and Repairs Fund, and the Missionary principle, as manifested in the contributions given expressly for that object. Both these are essential to the healthfulness of a church, whether at home or in the Mission field; and both, although as yet in an infantile state, are to be found, and obtain increasing action, in the vast native churches of South India.

The sums contributed towards Missions are entirely spent upon the support of readers sent by various southern districts to la-

* In our engraving we present a group of catechists labouring in connexion with our Benares Mission. One of them, Nehemiah, may be known to some of our readers, having been for some time in this country with the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. We would recommend a little volume, "Dwij," published some ten years ago by the Rev. W. Smith, our senior Missionary at Benares, which details the labyrinth of doubts and difficulties through which this native brother had to pass, but from which, through the grace of God, he was finally extricated, and brought forth into the enlargement of the Gospel.

"Pundit Nehemiah having completed his work on the Six Darshans, which has been printed by the Calcutta Tract Society, is now engaged in a similar work on the Vedas and Purans. It has come to our knowledge that he has been the means, under God, of the conversion of at least two or three persons. A Missionary in the west of India lately informed us that his best man now employed as a catechist ascribed his conversion to the instrumentality of Nehemiah. This should encourage our brother, and all of us, indeed."

Triloke had been a Zemindar on the opposite side of the river from Benares, and, through the instrumentality of the late Rev. W. Bowley, was brought to the faith of Christ so long back as in 1826. He was baptized on Sunday, January 28th, 1827, and received the name of Christian Triloke. Ever since has he with consistency persevered in the service of the Mission. Timothy, originally from Jubbulpore, received his education in the General-Assembly School in Cornwallis Square, and was brought to the full knowledge of the truth, and baptized by the Rev. W. Bowley. Thakoor, also a fruit of Mr. Bowley's labours, a Brahmin, was baptized March 9th, 1828, being then about twenty years of age. Samuel, a Brahmin, whose heathen name had been Nand Kishor, was converted through the instrumentality of the Rev. P. L. Sandberg in 1848 ("Church Missionary Record," p. 135). Davee Solomon, with Paul Tulsi, the pastor of Dhera Dhoon, and David Mohun, was ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta in January 1859, and placed in charge of the native flock at Chunar. Let us be much in prayer for these men.

† "Madras Church Missionary Record," April 1859.

bour in the itinerancy which is being carried on in the northern portion of the province. This is most judicious. Money raised for Missionary purposes amongst our native churches should be expended, not on remote, but proximate objects, which they can observe and feel interested in, so that their own contributions shall react beneficially upon themselves, and serve to the increase amongst them of a Missionary spirit. It will be observed that the contributions of 1859 exceed those of 1858 by upwards of 1000 rupees. Of this the Tinnevelly districts have given 830 rupees, and that for the special purpose of evangelizing the darker parts of the Tamil districts. Catechists went, in the first instance, from the southern congregations to the itinerating work, remaining there a month or six weeks, during which they were supported entirely by the congregations which sent them forth. It was subsequently resolved, at the anniversary of the Native Missionary Society, to appoint catechists who should attach themselves permanently to the itinerating work.

Public meetings are held throughout the native churches in order to sustain interest in the various objects to which they contribute. On the first day of each year there is always a general meeting at Mengnanapuram, in the large church, for the purpose of hearing the report, with the names of the subscribers, when spirited addresses are delivered by the native clergy and catechists to an assemblage of 1800 people.

At a recent meeting, English sovereigns were found among the contributions, and it is by no means rare to find ear-rings and other ornaments of value among them. Half-sovereign donations also occur: many give pagodas (=7*s.*), and others, according to their means, down to a quarter rupee (=6*d.*). Nothing, however, tells more than the systematic collections made in the small earthen chatties. These singular Missionary-boxes were first placed in service some time during the year 1855, and sixty-nine of them were opened at the anniversary meeting of January 1857. The result exceeded expectation. "One poor woman, who earned her living (under one penny a day), by sweeping out the yard of the Travellers' Resting-house, brought her pot, as full almost as it could hold of coppers, with only two small pieces of silver, amounting in all to one rupee and fourteen annas. There were about 260 small coins." What a lesson this poor Shanar woman addresses to ourselves at home! "Many that were rich cast in much." It may be so, and no doubt there are many such amongst us; but there are also many more rich who cast in little or nothing to this work; and then there is the further attainment which we have yet to reach—"she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living." On that first occasion the earthen chatties yielded 76 rupees 10 annas. They have since continued to do good service.

One pair of ear-rings was given by a catechist. In his itinerancies he had met a respectable Hindu, with whom he entered into conversation. "What do you wish me to do?" was the inquiry. "Remove the mark of idolatry from your forehead, seek to know the true Veda, and obtain the salvation of your soul," was the answer. "I will do so," replied the heathen, "provided you will comply with my request: take off these ear-rings, put aside that white jacket, and then go and mind your own business." The catechist demurred. He was as unwilling to part with the ear-rings as the Hindu his ashes, and they parted. But the incident did not part from recollection of the catechist. At length he came to our Missionary, the Rev. E. Sargent, and, placing the ear-rings in his hand, said, "I did not see this matter in the clear light I now do. Here are my ear-rings, which you will please to accept as a donation to the Missionary fund, as I can well part with such things for so good a work."

We are happy to find, that amongst our new Christians in the Sivagasi district similar meetings are being held, and that from the first they are accustomed to the great duty of religious contribution. We introduce a description, by the Rev. W. Gray, of one of these meetings, held on June 15th of last year—

"You would have been truly delighted if you had been with us on Tuesday morning, June 5th, and had looked out from our tent on the many varicoloured groups that studded the beautiful tope of Thiruthangal. A more desirable place for a public meeting, such as that which we held, could not be found. It would not have been possible to have provided house shelter for all that came, and each tamarind, with its capacious shade, was a house-roof for each family, which far surpassed any artificial efforts for their comfort. Our own party was much larger than usual. We had Mr. Fenn and Macdonald, our two native brethren, and Isaac and Daniel of Strivilliputthur. Mr. Hufton was ill and could not join us. We were all ready at ten o'clock, and our pandhal gave accommodation to the whole assemblage. We calculated that in all there were 350 persons present. I commenced the proceedings by singing a hymn, then reading King David's glorious prayer (1 Chron. xxix.), and offering

up a short prayer. I then opened the meeting with a short statement of the object of calling them together.

"I endeavoured to show them that there was a threefold relationship in which they should view themselves, and that out of each grew a corresponding duty.

"1. There was the relationship which we Christians of North Tinnevelly peculiarly bore to each other, and out of which grew the duty of helping each other in spiritual advancement. Those who were well off should help those who were weaker, &c., and the channel for doing this lay in the Church-Building Fund, and the Catechists'-Houses Fund. 2. There was the relationship in which we Christians of North Tinnevelly stood to our brethren of the church in Tinnevelly, of which we must ever look on ourselves as a part. This called on us to give to the Native-Pastors' Endowment Fund. This, as I thought, would be the truest way of showing our brotherhood to the church of Tinnevelly; also the Tinnevelly Church Missionary Association. 3. There was the relationship in which we stood to the church universal throughout the world. By subscription to what object, could we show our brotherhood with the whole church? What object was nearest to all true Christians' hearts? Was it not the Jews? I therefore recommended a subscription for the building up of the walls of Zion. These were the objects I set before the meeting.

"Our speakers were, the Rev. D. Fenn, who addressed them for an hour; the two native brethren; Daniel, Royappen, Davidhu, catechists; Mosé, schoolmaster; Yoseppu, Pétheru, Vedhamanikkam, Savarimutthu. The speeches were generally short and to the point.

"The collection came then, and the chatties were broken. I had appointed a Committee for the apportionment of the funds to the several objects.

"The Committee was, all the clergymen who might happen to be in the district, one catechist and two Sabeiyars from each section. Several jewels and ornaments were put on the plates, and it was a part of the Committee's business to decide the value of the ornaments.

"This was our collection—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. In pots	20	12	5
2. On the plate	13	8	10
3. Jewels (Committee's valuation)	9	0	0
4. Ditto, ditto, given before,	8	12	0
	52	1	3

"This we divided thus—

1. Tinnevelly Church Missionary Association . .	13	0	0
2. Church Building Fund .	5	1	3
3. Pastors' Endowment Fund;	21	0	0
4. Jews	13	0	0
	52	1	3"*

And here we desire, with sincere regret, to notice the loss which the church of Tinnevelly has sustained in the death of one of the most valuable of our native pastors, the Rev. Paul Daniel. He was ordained to deacons' orders early in 1856, and, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Thomas, was placed in charge of Satthankulam. There his diligent and earnest labours were felt everywhere. His power as a preacher was of no ordinary character. Mr. Thomas, in one of his reports, says, "It is a never-failing pleasure to me to listen to his discourses. I have at times, upon hearing his text, felt sorry that he had not selected one which I should have thought more appropriate; but five minutes are quite enough to rivet the attention of all present: and so wonderfully great is his power, that I have felt, as he was proceeding with his discourse, 'I should not have thought of that, and yet how appropriate.' But he is never so interesting as when he expatiates upon the redemption of a lost world by the death of the God-man, and grace provided for the chief of sinners. These are themes at which he kindles and burns, and absorbs the attention of all, and is often overwhelming. I am thankful to say that Paul continues to manifest the most profound humility; and I doubt not but that he keeps close to God in prayer and the study of the word, which is the secret of his great power in the pulpit. Cruden's Concordance, I think, spoils the English preacher in that kind of power. I have great reason to speak of Paul's behaviour to myself in the highest terms. He is uniformly affectionate and confidential, and uses every effort to carry out in his district whatever wish I may express with reference to the catechists, congregation, or schools. His district is in a healthy, thriving state."

He was continually to be found side by side with his European brother and superintendant. In the evenings they would go out and speak to the people in the streets; and then they would visit the houses of the Christian people. He accompanied Mr. Thomas to the public meetings, and rendered efficient aid by his very telling speeches. This good

* "Madras Church Missionary Record," Aug. 1860.

and able man has gone to his rest. He died the 23d of last November of a severe attack of cholera. All that could be done was attempted on his behalf, but in vain. The Lord had need of him; and this was the first of the twenty-four native clergymen, in connexion with our Society in South India, who has been unexpectedly removed in the prime of life and usefulness, and before many of his seniors in years and in the ministry. Mr. Thomas writes—"It has pleased God to remove his servant Paul from among us. He expired on Friday evening at six o'clock, after much suffering. How mysterious are the ways of the Lord! He doeth all things after the counsel of his own blessed will, all for the best; but He giveth not account of any of his matter. I cannot tell you how much I feel the loss of my dear friend. His affection, his simplicity, honesty, and straightforwardness, his amazing pulpit abilities and profound humility withal, endeared him to me beyond all that I can describe. The last sermon that I heard from him was, without exception, the greatest sermon I ever heard—'Enduring the cross, and despising the shame,' &c. Never did I hear Jesus Christ so exalted by human tongue: the effect was perfectly overwhelming. His sun went down at noon."

On the important question of self-support, a few more remarks may be permitted before we close this part of our subject. How is it that the same results which we have pointed out in the Karen and Tamil Missions are not more universal, and that some from amongst the poorest of the native churches have confessedly done the most? We think the reason may be indicated. We wait till the churches have attained a certain measure of maturity before we put upon them the burden of this duty. Until this be reached we consider them too feeble to bear it: we fear that, if expected of them too soon, it will offend them, and turn them back. So we salary the native pastors and catechists, in the expectance that, in due time, the native churches will relieve us of this expense, while, by the very course we are pursuing, we are unfitting them for doing so. We ought to begin at once, and from the first. It is wisdom so to do. There is not one of the native churches dispersed throughout the world, the members of which, before their conversion to Christianity, had not something which they called religion; and that religion necessitated pecuniary contribution and outlay, often of a very burdensome character. What they had been in the habit of doing up to the time when they became Christians, they should continue to do on their profession of Christianity. Their offerings should be at once transferred from the service of superstition to the service of the Gospel. The habit should not be suffered to be interrupted. It is here the mischief occurs. The Missionary, in his solicitude for these, as yet, babes in Christ, provides them with all the requisites of Christian ordinances and teaching free of expense. Thus the habit of giving is interrupted, and, when expected to resume it, they are not disposed to do so. Circumstances may be such as to render it necessary that, in the first instance, aid should be rendered; but it should be so done as not to supersede the necessity of immediate efforts on the part of the native Christians, but to encourage and supplement them. Thus, in the report of the Henthada Mission, it is said—"Last year we aided, more or less, forty-two native preachers, for the whole or a part of the year. We pay none of the native preachers regular wages; yet where they are so numerous, and the Christians so few in each place, we must, for the present, aid these brethren a little. These native preachers, on an average, do not receive ten dollars a-year each. Hence, where men are needed, where people desire to know the way of life, how can we refuse to send men? We cannot refuse. We say to them, 'Go, brethren, and be faithful. If the few worshippers cannot furnish you with your food and clothing, we will try and aid them. Go, and expect your reward in heaven.' Do not forget to pray for these brethren. Remember, God is able to convert the vilest heathen though their instrumentality."

The grand point is, not to defer this duty, but to move in it with the first formation of a Christian church. The convert should be taught to regard this duty as part of his profession of Christianity. Much is said of the poverty of native converts by way of accounting for the backwardness which has prevailed on this important point. "But the apathy is apparent even where poverty has no existence; while, in a large majority of cases, it is sufficient to reply, that were only a portion of the sums saved from the grasp of the Brahmins, from the cost of superstitious practices, from the exactions of the Zemindars and others, from which most of our native Christians are protected by the Missionary, devoted to Christ's cause, ample funds would be forthcoming for the house of God and the spread of the Gospel. . . . .

"But the truth is that the native Christians have been so long accustomed to see the Missionary take the lead, originate every

evangelistic movement, promptly supply the funds for its support, and require little more than obedience from his converts, that, notwithstanding occasional exhortations to zeal and liberality, they have learnt, by example and practical experience, that there is no need for activity on their part. They have been tutored into apathy, or into dependence on the Missionary. Necessity has not been felt to preach or support the Gospel."*

We cannot but think, that not unfrequently in these matters there is an unhappy inversion of the true order. Missionaries say, "We should seek to promote the temporal welfare of our converts as far as practicable. In many instances our native Christians are miserably poor;" and then we are informed, "the more our native Christians are raised in the social scale, the *greater ability* will they possess to build their own places of worship, and support their own teachers." But, with the increase of ability, will there be an increased readiness? Are we to wait until they be raised in the social scale before we summon them to the discharge of their duty? and, in the meanwhile, is the Missionary Society not only to send out the Missionary, but to maintain the church? Nay, let us not delay for a moment the commencement of this duty. Whatever the converts be as to temporal circumstances, let us take them as they are. If the church be poor, the ministry must be poor. But in doing what they can, Christian energy will be developed, and, with the improvement in principles and habits, their temporal circumstances will improve also.

PREPARANDI AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN THE KAREN AND TAMIL MISSIONS.

We shall now look back upon the Karen Mission, in order to consider, so far as space permits, another important feature in their organization—the Educational Institutions, so far as they are designed to provide suitable materials from whence the native pastorate may continue to be supplied; and then, side by side with these, to place our South-India Institutions of like character. We find, then, in the Karen Mission, a Young-Man's Normal School, for the due maintenance of which the Missionaries have availed themselves of Government grants-in-aid during the last five years. There is, besides, a Theological Seminary at Rangoon, under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Binney. Such of the young men in the Henthada Normal School as are found to be suitable are transferred to the Rangoon seminary, there to be instructed in the holy Scriptures and collateral subjects.

There is also, at Henthada, a National Female Institute, of which Mrs. Mason, in a letter to the Commissioner, relates the following interesting particulars:—

"On raising the posts of the National Female Institute, the following resolutions, written in the Karen language, were deposited by the Toungoo chiefs in a lead box in the north-east corner of the building.

"Resolved—

"1. That we, the members of the Burmah Karen Education Society, will guard and watch over this institution, and be faithful in supporting a girls' school on this land, given us by the English Government, down to the remotest generation.

"2. We will send our daughters here annually for education, and will give them up freely for school-teachers to their countrywomen.

"3. We will regularly supply our daughters with board, fuel, lights, books, and clothing, while pursuing their studies in this institution.

"4. We will faithfully come down from the mountains and clear this land, and cultivate fruit-trees three times every year.

"5. We will repair and keep in order the roads on the institute land.

"6. We will annually choose a Principal, and one assistant, for each tribe in the school, who shall instruct and guard the pupils, look after the books, furniture, apparatus, gardens, garden implements, roads, and every thing appertaining to the institute.

"7. We will attend annually the public examination of the school, and select the teachers for the year at that time.

"8. We will choose a Board of Managers once in three years, always re-appointing one member of the board that had served in former years.

"We will faithfully appoint men possessed of wisdom, understanding, patience, meekness, and love; men strong in body, and who are willing to deny themselves for the public good.

"Here follow the names of the present Board of Managers—the Nga Khans chiefs, deacons, and schoolmasters of thirty-six Pakeé and Manne Pagha villages; eighteen Bghae; ten Mopgha; fifteen Pant Bghae; two Wa Wan, and one Sgan village, numbering 164 chiefs, 82 schoolmasters, and some thousands of Christians, who, six years ago, had never seen a book in their own lan-

* "The Missionary Herald," November 1860.

guage, or heard the name of Jesus Christ, and many of them men who for ages had gloried in kidnapping women and children, and selling them into irredeemable slavery.

"Since this school was opened, in 1857, the Karens of Toungoo, and two villages of Shwaygyeen, have aided it in labour, produce, and money, as follows—

In Produce.

2 goats.	11 dahs.
5 pigs.	15 rupees of rope work.
130 fowls.	12 or 15 rs. worth of eggs.
2 buffaloes.	550 strips of rattan.
1 pony.	2500 leaves of thatch,
3 boats.	2500 large bamboos, and
75 mats	5000 small ditto.
20 baskets.	

In Labour

"They have cleared the whole thirty-three and a half acres all over once, and much of it twice and three times.

"They have cut and floated down to town fifty-eight large teak logs, and eighty long ironwood posts.

"They have conveyed by hand several thousands of bricks from the city to the institute, for the purpose of securing the posts in the sandy soil.

"They have made six good roads, and drained them, around the institute land.

"They have built a storehouse, two long dormitories of bamboo, two chapels, all the saw-pits for sawing up the fifty logs, a teacher's house with wood frame, the first ever erected by them in Toungoo, and have built themselves thirty bungalows around the institute land, three of them with wooden posts and frames.

"They have planted—

500 plantains.	20 betel vines, and
100 palms.	100 oranges and groves.
300 betel-nuts.	

In Money,

"For board for the girls' school and young-men's school.

"For a ferry-man.

"For lights, fuel, and garden tools, and for paint for the house-posts, they have paid into my hands 1600 rupees, all voluntary donations.

"Besides the Government grant of 1400 rupees, this Society has received, since its formation, about 5500 rupees from friends in India, England, and Scotland. . . . .

"The Karen young women manifest the greatest eagerness to acquire a knowledge of letters, and are perfectly docile and teachable.

"The Karen department has been taught three terms, and the present term each pupil came bearing half a basket of rice down from the mountains upon her back, while brothers and friends brought the remainder for the term.

"One, whose chief refused to grant it, in order to study, walked three days up the mountains, begged her basket of others, and came back, bearing it down triumphant, amidst the ridicule and contempt of her people.

"Four of these girls have already commenced teaching, and have become so popular, that ten chiefs have applied for schoolmistresses as soon as the present term closes, although, when the school commenced, many opposed.

"The Young-Men's Normal School, which has also been undertaken by the Karen Education Society, is of very great importance, as to this we must look principally for teachers for all the northern and eastern Karens."

In our Tinnevelly Mission we have a Preparandi Institution. "From the first, as each Missionary station was formed, the Missionary took under his instruction young men who gave promise of being useful as Christian teachers, and sent them out to labour as opportunity offered. The demand on each Missionary's time, for such work as this, rendered it at length desirable to form one central establishment, and to assign a Missionary to this particular work. This institution was accordingly commenced in July 1851, and, during a period of seven years, had yielded to the service of the Mission forty-one catechists forty-five schoolmasters, of whom fourteen were subsequently employed as catechists, besides four transferred to the Vernacular Institution for the training of schoolmasters. From these men, after having been tried, the native pastorate is recruited, such of them as are selected with a view to the higher office, returning for a season to the institution that they may pass through a special preparation.

In close parallel with the "National Tamil Institute" of the Karen Mission, we have, in Tinnevelly, the Sarah Tucker Institution. The elementary instruction is given in the boarding and village schools, and from them a transfer is made of such young persons as appear suitable to be trained for schoolmistresses to the Sarah Tucker Institution.

In our Cottayam Mission we have the Cottayam College, which, after a season of depression, is now rapidly recovering, and promises, at no distant period, to become an effective organization for the accomplishment

* Parliamentary Papers, "Karen Mountain Tribes," Feb. 1861.

of objects similar to those contemplated by the Preparandi Institution at Tinnevelly.

There is on one point, and that an important one, a divergence, as it appears to us, between the system of our own Society and that of the American brethren at Burmah. They say in their report, "The schools belong to no Mission Society, but are Karen Institutions, supported by the people themselves." Not so supported by the people, we apprehend, as to render altogether unnecessary pecuniary appropriations from America and elsewhere. Neither are they so entirely Karen institutions as to be wholly remitted to Karen management, but remain for a season at least under the direction of the American brethren. Now, however, we are prepared to devolve the care of native congregations, and the village schools connected with them, on the native pastorate, desiring that the pastorate should be supported by the people themselves; yet the Normal Training Institutions and Theological Seminaries we consider had better remain in the hands of the Parent Society. For the sake of the native church, until it has acquired a measure of consolidation, which cannot yet be looked for, they ought to be regarded as belonging, not to the native Christians, but to the Missionary Society; and to the support of such colleges and institutions the funds raised in England or America may, with all propriety, be applied. The Parent Society, with jealous care, should continue to watch over these feeding-places of the Mission, and wisely and progressively raise the intellectual acquirements of the native ministry, so that they shall keep pace with the growth and increasing exigencies of the native churches.

CONNEXION OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES WITH THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES.

We observe that the American Missionaries apply, without hesitation, to the British authorities to support their schools, and that the aid which they ask is readily granted, although these schools are intended for the express purpose of helping on the evangelisation of a heathen people. The Missionaries have always spoken out plainly and honestly on this subject. They have had no morbid scruples about receiving aid and co-operation from the State, as though a Christian Government was not at liberty, if so disposed, to help on the free action of Christianity amongst its subjects. But, on the other hand, they would not give up one iota of their Christian teaching and freedom of action, in this particular, to obtain the aid of the Government. Early in the history of the Mission a resolute stand had been made on this point, and that by a Missionary's wife. In 1833, Mrs. Boardman, apprehensive lest some expectation had been formed in the minds of the authorities that the Mission schools would be modified on this important point of Christian teaching, thus addressed the Commissioner of that day—

"I apprehend I have hitherto had wrong impressions, in reference to the ground on which the Honourable Company patronize schools in their territories, and I hope you will allow me to say that it would not accord with my feelings and sentiments to banish religious instruction from the schools under my care. I think it desirable for the rising generation of this province to become acquainted with useful science, and the male part of the population with the English language. But it is infinitely more important that they receive into their hearts our holy religion, which is the source of so much happiness in this state, and imparts the hope of a glorious immortality in the world to come. Parents and guardians must know that there is more or less danger of children deserting the faith of their ancestors, if placed under the care of a foreign Missionary; and the example of some of the pupils is calculated to increase such apprehensions. Mr. Boardman baptized into the Christian religion several of his scholars. One of the number is now a devoted preacher; and notwithstanding the decease of their beloved and revered teacher, they all, with one unhappy exception, remain firm in the Christian faith. . . . With this view of things, you will not be surprised at my saying it is impossible for me to pursue a course so utterly repugnant to my feelings, and so contrary to my judgment, as to banish religious instruction from the schools in my charge. It is what, I am confident, you yourself would not wish; but I infer, from a remark in your letter, that such are the terms upon which Government afford patronage. It would be wrong to deceive the patrons of the school; and if my supposition is correct, I can do no otherwise than request that the monthly allowance be withdrawn. It will assist in establishing schools at Moulmein, on a plan more consonant with the wishes of Government than mine have been. Meanwhile, I trust I shall be able to represent the claims of my pupils in such a manner as to obtain support and countenance from those who would wish the

children to be taught the principles of the Christian faith."*

Mrs. Boardman's Christian fidelity had its reward. She was permitted to carry on her schools without being deprived of her grant, or constrained to compromise her principle. And so, at the present time, we find the American Missionaries asking the same help, on the same understanding, that in the communication of Christian instruction they are not to be interfered with, and their application favourably responded to. Thus Mrs. Mason, after that remarkable enunciation of efforts made by the people for the support of their normal school, proceeds to say—

"No assistance has yet been given this school by Government, and I would beg to ask that you will kindly take into consideration and do us the favour to recommend it to the Supreme Government.

"1. Three thousand rupees, or whatever amount might be thought suitable for the erection of a good brick schooolhouse, large enough to accommodate 100 pupils.

"2. As no continual grant-in-aid is desired, I would ask if Government will not grant twenty acres of good paddy-land, already under cultivation, near the institute grounds, and free from taxes, as a permanent support.

"2. That if the loan so kindly granted to the Karens in 1858 be promptly paid, that amount may be allowed for the purchase of buffaloes, to be used in the school fields, until the school shall be able to purchase for itself.

"This favour is asked because, even though the Karens be relieved from taxes for ten years, it will not apparently be any inducement to those of Toungoo to leave their wild highland homes simply because they have not the means to make a beginning. A hundred cultivators would come down immediately if they had means to purchase buffaloes, carts, and rice, for the first few months. I do, therefore, most earnestly hope that some help may be given for the school in this matter."†

Dr. Mason follows up this application by another letter to the Commissioner, dated Jan. 21, 1859, ten days later—

"At the Pakée Association which has just closed, you saw nearly 80 of our 120 Karen assistants, and were pleased to express yourself as much gratified with their attainments and general appearance. They belong to the Sgan, Manne Pagha, Sakn, Turrie, Bghae, Pant Bghae, and We Wan tribes, all of which, except the first, are found exclusively within the limits of the Toungoo Mission. We are just commencing our labours among the Red Karens, who are more numerous, it is probable, than all the Karen tribes in the aggregate in Pegu and Tenasserim. We have also just occupied the first station among a new tribe on the northern boundary that show by their dialects an unmistakable affinity with the Pmas of southern Pegu and Tenasserim. We are dependent on our own normal school for teachers for those various tribes; and we are in great need of scientific instruments for this school. A good telescope to examine the heavenly bodies, a sextant, an artificial horizon, a pair of globes, and a set of large maps, are among our *desiderata*. An apparatus for taking photographs would also be very useful. Were Government to furnish these articles for the school, or as many of them as you may deem suitable to recommend, they would confer a great boon on these wild tribes, which are just awakening from the sleep of ages to see their ignorance and appreciate the value of knowledge, that they are now seeking with intense interest; and the youth exhibit no less intelligence than the Anglo-Saxons.

"During the last season a few learned to measure land by the cross staff; others acquired the use of the prismatic compass and the first principles of plane trigonometry; some understand the rudiments of astronomy, and, if furnished with instruments, would soon be able to determine the latitude of places of which our best maps give very erroneous representations. . . . .

"It is not necessary to remind you, but it may be Government, that the Toungoo Karen schools are founded on entirely different principles from those of any other schools in Burmah, if not in India. They belong to no Mission Society, but are Karen institutions, supported by the people themselves.

"The present school-buildings, with a house for the teacher, were built at their own expense, and it is not intended to ask aid from Government, or others, for the support of the pupils, as the people are pledged to do that for themselves. Five hundred and fifteen rupees were brought in for the purpose at the present Association. The basis of all our operations is to help the people to help themselves."*

The response of the Governor-General of India to the application of the Commissioner of Pegu on behalf of the Karen schools is brief and satisfactory—

* "The Gospel in Burmah," pp. 83—85.

† Parliamentary Papers, Feb. 1861.

* Parliamentary Papers, Feb. 1861.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, giving an account of the progress which has been made in educating and converting the Karens to Christianity through the efforts of Dr. and Mrs. Mason, and recommending certain grants of money to them.

"In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant of the sum of 3000 rupees, recommended by you, towards the building of a schoolhouse for the Karen young men at Toungoo; the house to be of brick masonry, and to accommodate 100 pupils.

"His Excellency in Council has also been pleased to authorise you to procure the following articles for the use of the school, at a cost not exceeding 1200 rupees—

"1 telescope on stand. 1 prismatic compass
1 sextant and artificial horizon. and chain, and 1 set of school maps."*
1 pair of globes.

How inconsistent, then, and absurd, the withdrawal of the grant for Christian schools among the Santhals. Surely that which is right to do among the mountains of Toungoo cannot be wrong to do among the Rajmahal hills! The Karens and Santhals both need to be civilized. It is in the interest of the Government that they should be so, for then they will become valuable and productive races. But they cannot be civilized except by the influence of Christianity. This can accomplish it; nothing else will: yet the Government has refused to do that for the Santhal which it does for the Karen. But we believe that the folly of that refusal has been seen, and that it either has been, or will be, rescinded.

THE REGIONS BEYOND.

One more remark: great as are the efforts which have been made among the Karens, yet they are only the beginning of a mightier and more extended work that lies beyond. Dr. Mason, in his letter to the Commissioner, says, "We are just commencing our labours among the Red Karens." Who they are will best appear from the following account of them drawn up by this able Missionary—

"The eastern Bghae, Bghae-mu-hay, or Red Karens, call themselves Kaya, their term for 'man,' and are called by the Burmese, Kay-yen-ni; by the Shans, Yen-laing, or 'Red Karens,' from the colour of their dress, which was originally all red, as it occasionally is now, but a mixture of black garments is now commonly seen. Yule says, 'It is generally believed that they are not in any way closely allied to the Karens proper of Pegu and Tenasserim, but that they are rather a Shan race. I have not been able to find any proof of the latter kindred, other than their being *gens bracata*.' The men wear short red pants, with perpendicular narrow black or white stripes. Sometimes the pants have a black ground, with red or white stripes. Below the knee are black bands, several inches in diameter, formed of twisted thread. A shawl or sheet of white, with red or black stripes, is wrapped around the body, with or without a Shan jacket. A bright red turban is worn on the head, and an ornamental bag is hung across the shoulders. Every man carries a short knife in his belt; many, swords; and those who have not muskets or matchlocks carry from one to three light spears, which are used in war like javelins, and thrown from the hand. Every man has a pony, so that, in time of war, they form a species of light cavalry, when all turn to service, and the cultivation is carried on then by the women exclusively.

"The female dress is peculiarly picturesque, though every garment is only a rectangular piece of cloth. The head-dress is a large red or black turban, wound up to form a small tower on the top of the head. There is no gown, but a cloth like the Roman toga is tied by two corners on the right shoulder, and the left arm is sometimes kept covered, but more often it is thrown out above the garment. A second piece of cloth, like the first, is kept in the hand like a loose shawl, or wound around the body. These garments are usually one black and one red. For a petticoat, another rectangular piece of cloth is wrapped two or three times around the person, and is kept in its place by a wampum belt, some half-dozen inches in diameter. Another enormous band of beads is worn below the knees, and on the ankles large silver bangles. Both sexes wear silver bangles on the wrists, and the women a profusion of silver necklaces, formed of ingots of silver, or coins, to which are added a dozen or more strings of beads. Ear-drops are worn by both men and women, and the latter add silver ear-plugs of an inch or more in diameter. Beads are as numerous among the women, though all imported, as among the American Indians; and the profusion of silver ornaments seen indicates any thing but poverty. The feminine instinct for ornaments above all other things is strikingly illustrated while I am writing. A girl stood in the crowd while some boys were going

* Parliamentary Papers, February 1861.

over their spelling lessons, and she was asked to study. 'If I do,' she replied, 'must I put off these?' pointing to her ornaments; and on being told she must, the decided answer was, 'Then I won't yet.'

"It is not generally known that the country inhabited by the Red Karens is the finest known in the interior of Burmah. After fourteen travelling days from Toungoo, I found myself on the summit of a mountain some four or five thousand feet high, about the twentieth we had crossed on our way, when the land of the Red Karens opened suddenly before us, and a more beautiful prospect I never beheld. Mountains, in two massive ranges, ran down like the sides of a triangle, with the apex at the south near where we stood, and in the interval was spread out what appeared to be an immense plain, bounded on the north only by the horizon. It seemed to be pillared on mountains two or three thousand feet high, like a gigantic altar on which to offer sacrifice to God, or to build a temple for his worship. Its scant shrubbery and bare red soil contrasted strongly with the dark mountain sides, covered with heavy timber. The picturesque summits of the almost perpendicular walls that supported this expanse indicated them to be, as they proved, of mountain limestone. On entering the country, however, I found it far from being the plain it appeared in the distance. It is a rolling country, with long dry ridges and deep hollows, in which the water sinks, to arise in perennial springs in other places. The village in which I now am, has no water for its fifteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, except what one of these springs supplies. The country, with the mountains around it, resembles both Scotland and Vermont, and the inhabitants are only what the Highlanders were in the days of the Wallaces and Bruces. . . . .

"The eastern Red Karens are said to be three times as numerous as the western, and these must amount to fifty or sixty thousand. I am told there are ninety-four large villages, and several smaller ones. This one has between three and four hundred houses, and there are three or four villages larger. Supposing them to average one hundred each, we shall have, at five or six persons to a house, the population of the whole district fifty or sixty thousand. I find the people, with all the savageness which is imputed to them, by far the most civilized Karens known. They are better clad, provide themselves with better food, are better skilled in the arts, are more vigorous, active, laborious, than any jungle-tribe I have met. They make their own knives, axes, swords, spears, hoes, bangles, silver ornaments, and earthenware, bits and bridles, saddles and stirrups. Every foot of land they cultivate is hoed with a heavy hoe of the European form, such as is never seen among either Burmese or Karens, but is used by the Chinese. They have cattle in great abundance, which are trained to carry panniers as donkeys are in Europe, and which bring their produce from the fields to the villages. Almost every thing cultivated in Burmah is seen growing here. Jacks, tamarinds, mangoes, guavas, oleaster plums, limes, citrons, plantains, and other fruits, are seen scattered in all their villages. Millet is cultivated in great abundance; beans of several species, vegetable eggs, gourds, pumpkins, leeks, sugar-cane, and yams abound. Cotton flourishes here better than in any other locality where I have seen it in Burmah, and various dye-plants are cultivated. Their houses are kept in much better condition than among other Karens, and they fence in their yards and grounds, and have stiles and bars to take down and put up on their crossroads, reminding the traveller of the country in England or America before the advent of railroads . . . .

"The people seem more strongly devoted to making offerings to evil spirits than any with whom I have met; yet they have very distinct traditions of the true God, whom they denominate 'Eapay.' Eapay, they say, created the heavens and the earth, and man, and all things. He associated with men at first, but when they ceased to obey him, he left them, and is now in the 'seventh heavens.' When sick they often pray to God, saying, 'O Lord Eapay, have mercy on me. I am sick, I am suffering, O Lord Eapay.' They have long traditions in poetry, I am told, concerning God. A small specimen given me I found to be in lines of ten syllables, to which they have tunes adapted, a measure that I never before met in Karen poetry. Like the rhymes of other dialects, it abounds in repetition, as may be seen below.

"'The earth at its origin Eapay created.
The heavens at their origin Eapay created.
Man at his origin Eapay created.
The sun at its origin Eapay created.
The moon at its origin Eapay created.
The grass at its origin Eapay created.
The trees at their origin Eapay created.
The bamboos at their origin Eapay created.'"

FORT GARRY, RED RIVER.

THE RED-RIVER SETTLEMENT VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE CANADAS AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.

THE co-operation of God's providence with man's efforts for the spread of the Gospel to unevangelized lands, is an experience full of interest and encouragement to those who, in the midst of many difficulties, are engaged in enterprises of this nature. It may be traced throughout the history of Bible and Missionary Societies. When the great work of translating the Scriptures of God into the languages of our world was nobly entered upon, the Turkish, amongst the first, claimed attention. The manuscript had been prepared nearly two centuries before. The famous Levin Warner, the Dutch Ambassador at the Court of the Grand Sultan, had originated the undertaking, the translator being a learned Mussulman, Ali-Bey, by birth a Pole, but stolen by the Tartars, and sold to the Turks at Constantinople. The manuscript, "corrected and ready for press," was sent to Leyden by Warner, in order to be printed; but this was never done, and there it remained in the library of the University, until discovered and made available by Dr. Pinkerton. The translation of the Bible into Amharic, the vulgar dialect of Abyssinia, under the direction of M. Asselin, the French Chargé d'Affa res at Cairo, presents another instance of the same kind. The reader who would desire to pursue this subject further, so far as the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures are concerned, may be referred with advantage to that *θησαυρος* of information, "The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society," by the Rev. George Browne.

In the proceedings of Missionary Societies, the same providential guidance may be traced, and more especially in the choice of starting-points where the work should be commenced. The range of selection was at first exceedingly limited, the difficulty being to find any *locus standi* where the Missionaries might be enabled, without molestation, to pursue their labours. Often we were obliged to avail ourselves of the first door of entrance which presented itself, although by no means as eligible as we could wish, and constrained to go forward in a direction from which, if left to our own wisdom, we should very probably have turned away. It is remarkable how opportunities, at first of a very contracted nature, and presenting but little encouragement, expanded into important fields, and remote localities, so secluded from the world, that it seemed as though they never could become otherwise than isolated points of interest and labour, have eventually proved to be centres of commanding influence. In the table of our own Society's stations many such points might be indicated, places, the value of which in the first instance was not at all realized, but which, amidst the changing circumstances of this world's affairs, have risen into primary importance. When our Missionaries fell back on Sierra Leone, it was a matter, not of choice, but of necessity. As a British settlement, it afforded protection, but as a field of Missionary operation, its aspect was contracted and discouraging. It has become the basis of our operations, and the seed-plot from which Christianity may be transplanted into the interior. New Zealand might have proved as important a centre of Missionary operation for the Southern Pacific, as Sierra Leone for Africa, had the energies of the native church been promptly and energetically turned in that direction. When our Missionaries commenced their labours at Ningpo, they were scarcely aware that it would afford a door of access into one of the most populous and important of the Chinese provinces. When they occupied Peshawur, they did not know that they had secured a position at the gate which leads into Central Asia. When they sailed for the Mauritius, its importance as a confluence of languages, and as a *point d'appui* for the Asiatic and African coasts was but imperfectly known.

And so with another point, perhaps the most remote and isolated of all the stations of our Society, the Red-River Colony. A lone spot in the wilderness, where a few settlers were congregated, and around which wandered a few Indian tribes, it appeared incapable of expanding into any thing of importance. The only door by which it was wont to be approached, lay through the portals of Hudson's Bay, over which stern winter held unwearied watch, allowing them to be opened for a few weeks only in summer, and then closing them with barriers of frost and snow. But now this lone spot is opening out with unexpected importance, and promises to become a great connecting link between east and west—between the loyal Canadas and gold-producing Columbia.

The importance of bringing British Columbia into as brief communication as possible with the Canadas and the mother-country, becomes more and more apparent. It is not merely a question of gold-produce, important as this may be. After a time, as in other regions of the same character, the surface

gold will be absorbed, and science and capital will be required to render available the more latent treasures of the river and the rock; but the population, brought together by the spirit of enterprise, in its more valuable portions, will have permanized itself on the soil, and the productive capabilities of the country, and its magnificent harbours and coal seams, will afford employment alike to an agricultural and maritime people. If England is to retain her influential position in the Pacific—and it is only as her influence is conserved that there is any security for the extension of human liberty and improvement—this important province must be brought into close connexion with the mother-country, watched over and fostered. Vancouver's Island, and the harbour of Esquimault, serve as an equipoise to the mouth of the Amoor and the strongly-defended harbours in its vicinity. "Russia has now got possession of the great water-course, and the only one through which access from the sea to the vast plains and mountain districts of Central Asia can be obtained; the Lena, the Yenissey, and the Ob being sealed in the Arctic Ocean. This is a great water-way, extending more than 2200 miles into the eastern portion of the empire, with its outlet into the Pacific. It will also open up a water-communication into the vast region bordering on the sea of Japan, and up to the great deserts of Gobi."*

"After passing the settlement of Vait, all the branches of the Amoor are united in one stream, nearly two miles in width, and varying from 150 to 200 feet in depth. This broad tide rolls up to Nicholaiofsk, the great defence of the Amoor. These works have been designed and constructed under the superintendence of eminent engineers, and their armament would speedily stop any ships that attempted to enter, while the fleet would remain safely moored higher up the stream. . . . . .

"Martello towers are built on Cape Tabak and Cape Pronge to defend the mouth of the river: they would not be easy to pass; and similar towers have been raised on the coast between Cape Pronge and Castrie's Bay at every point best suited for defence.

"The latter will ultimately be the port of the Amoor. It is only for three months in the winter that vessels would be sealed up here, even if caught in the ice, a circumstance that would rarely happen, as sailing a degree or two south would take the ship into a more genial clime. . . . .

"Both sides of the strait will, before long, be peopled by Russians, and the island of Saghalien be added to their empire. The latter contains valuable beds of coal, whence Russia can draw supplies for either a steam navy or for industrial purposes. It will also give her splendid harbours in the Pacific, and leave her fleets free for operations throughout every part of the year."*

God has given to England British Columbia and its island dependencies, as a post of observation, from whence undue domination from any quarter may be precluded, and the wide Pacific be left free for the intercourse of nations, and the extension from shore to shore of pure Christianity and civilization.

It is a singular and interesting fact, that railway communication between the east coast and the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the western shore, cannot be carried out on the American side of the frontier line on the 49th parallel. "The general character of the soil between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic is that of great fertility, and as a whole, in its natural condition, with some exceptions at the west, is well supplied with timber. The portion also on the western side of the Mississippi, as far as the 98th meridian, including the States of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, and portions of the territory of Kansas and Nebraska, are fertile, though abounding in prairies and subject occasionally to droughts. But the whole space to the west, between the 98th meridian and the Rocky Mountains, denominated the Great American Plains, is a barren waste, over which the eye may roam to the extent of the visible horizon, with scarcely an object to break the monotony.

"From the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, with the exception of the rich but narrow belt along the ocean, the country may also be considered, in comparison with other portions of the United States, a wilderness unfitted for the uses of the husbandman: although in some of the mountain valleys, as at Salt Lake, by means of irrigation, a precarious supply of food may be obtained sufficient to sustain a considerable population, provided they can be induced to submit to privations from which American citizens generally would shrink. The portions of the mountain system further south are equally inhospitable, though they have been represented to be of a different character. In traversing this region, whole days are frequently passed without meeting a rivulet or spring of water to slake the thirst of the weary traveller.

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," p. 419.

* "Atkinson's Amoor," pp. 495, 496.

"We have stated that the entire region west of the 96th degree of west longitude, with the exception of a small portion of western Texas, and the narrow border along the Pacific, is a country of comparatively little value to the agriculturist: and perhaps it will astonish the reader if we direct his attention to the fact, that this line, which passes southward from Lake Winnipeg to the Gulf of Mexico, will divide the whole surface of the United States into two nearly equal parts. This statement, when fully appreciated, will serve to dissipate some of the dreams which have been considered as realities as to the destiny of the western part of the North-American continent. Truth, however, transcends even the laudable feelings of pride of country; and, in order properly to direct the policy of this great confederacy, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the theatre on which its future history is to be enacted, and by whose character it will mainly be shaped."*

Any railroad therefore "constructed within the limits of the United States must pass, for a distance of twelve hundred miles west of the Mississippi, through uncultivable land, or, in other words, a comparative desert. Along the 32d parallel, the breadth of this desert is least, and the detached areas of fertile soil greatest in quantity, but the aggregate number of square miles of cultivable land amounts only to 2300 in a distance of 1210 miles."

The northern limit of this great desert lies within the British territory; and then, north of this limit "there is a broad strip of fertile country, rich in water, woods, and pasturage, drained by the North Saskatchewan and some of its affluents, and being a continuation of the fertile prairies of Red River, the eastern water shed of the Assiniboine and Red-Deer Rivers, with the outlying patches called the Touchwood Hills, File Hill, &c.

"*It is a physical reality of the highest importance to the interests of British North America that this continuous belt can be settled and cultivated from a few miles west of the Lake of the Woods to the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and any line of communication, whether by waggon-road or railroad, passing through it, will eventually enjoy the great advantage of being fed by an agricultural population from one extremity to the other.*

"No other part of the American continent possesses an approach even to this singularly favourable disposition of soil and climate, which last feature, notwithstanding its rigour during the winter season, confers, on account of its humidity, inestimable value on British America south of the 54th parallel.

"The natural resources lying within the limits of the fertile belt, or on its eastern borders, are themselves of great value as local elements of future wealth and prosperity; but in view of a communication across the continent they acquire paramount importance.

"Timber available for fuel and building purposes; lignite coal, though not equal to true coal, nevertheless suitable for many of the different objects to which true coal is applied; iron-ore widely distributed, of great purity and in considerable abundance; salt in quantity sufficient for a dense population;—all these crude elements of wealth lie within the limits or on the borders of a region of great fertility, and drained by a river [the Saskatchewan], of the first class, navigable by steamer, during several months of the year, for five hundred miles of its course, and by batteaux for nearly double that distance."*

Thus the Red-River colony, occupying a midway position between the Canadas and British Columbia, and situated in the very belt of fertile country which alone affords opportunity of facile and continuous communication between sea and sea, has emerged from its obscurity, and promises to become a commanding centre of influence and responsibility. Attention is now directed to this spot, which commands the approaches from the United States and the Canadas to those fertile districts, through the midst of which must run the highway of commerce. We have ourselves long desired a more minute acquaintance with its physical features and peculiarities than it has been possible to collect from the accounts of voyagers who pass along by the usual canoe route, and to whom the country behind the river's banks is an unexplored territory. Such an opportunity is now afforded us. The attention of the Canadian Government has been directed to the Red River and Saskatchewan districts as available for settlement and cultivation, if only routes of communication might be discovered sufficiently practicable to encourage the onward progress of emigrants. With a view to obtain reliable information on this point, the Government, in July 1857, organised and detached an expedition to ex-

* Dr. Joseph Henry, quoted in Hind's Narrative of the Canadian Red-River Exploring Expedition of 1857.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. ii. pp. 234, 235.

amine the country between Lake Superior and the Red River of the north. The results have been given to the public by the geologist of the expedition, H. Y. Hind, Esq., in a work entitled a "Narrative of the Canadian Red River and Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expeditions of 1857 and 1858."

From this work we proceed to introduce some extracts which describe, in an interesting way, the general features of this as yet little-known territory, and more particularly the Selkirk settlement on the banks of the Red River. Let it be remembered that the completion of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, in May 1855, established an uninterrupted water communication for sea-going vessels between Lake Superior and the Ocean, so that ships can sail from European or Atlantic ports, and, without breaking bulk, land their cargoes at Fort William for less than one-fiftieth part of the cost involved during the period when the North-West Company became a powerful, wealthy, and influential body.

A dividing ridge, separating the valley of Lake Superior from that of the Mississippi, precludes further progress by steam or boat navigation to the westward, its elevation being about 475 feet above the level of the lake. The direction of the route to the Red River is north-westerly to Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods, and from thence, instead of advancing in a direct line to Lake Winnipeg, which is difficult of accomplishment from the nature of the country, the great Lake Winnipeg is reached by descending the river of the same name, and the embouchure of the Red River being found, the ascent of that stream conducts to the settlement. Two established routes lead from the valley of Lake Superior to that of the Rainy River, one by Pigeon River, the other by the Kaministiquia River. The latter was the one selected.

The distance from Lake Superior to the Winnipeg, by the Kaministiquia route, measures 657 miles. There are, along this line, sixty-two portages, yet the voyage to Red River was completed in a month, Fort William being left on August 3, and their destination reached September 3. Many points of interest presented themselves. The Kaka-beka falls, about thirty miles from the mouth of the Kaministiquia, are "extremely beautiful. The river precipitates its yellowish-brown waters over a sharp ledge into a narrow and profound gorge. The plateau above the portage cliff, and nearly on a level with the summit of the falls, is covered with a profusion of blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, pigeon-cherry, and various flowering plants, among which the bluebell was most conspicuous. On the left side of the falls a loose talus is covered with wild mint and grasses, which grow luxuriantly under the spray. Beautiful rainbows of very intense colour are continually projected on this talus when the position of the sun and the clearness of the sky are favourable. Numerous small springs trickle down a perpendicular cliff of about twelve feet in altitude at the base of the talus, whose coolness and clearness, compared with the warm, coloured waters of the river, make them a delicious beverage, the difference between the temperature of the springs and river being about 20°. The right side of the cliff at the falls is perpendicular for a height of more than 100 feet, and exposes the stratification with perfect fidelity."*

Beautiful are the falls at the Little Dog River, the difference in level between the Little and Great Dog Lake being descended by the stream in six successive leaps. "The shoals, rapids, and falls on the Kaministiquia, will always prevent that river being used as a means of communication with the interior for commercial purposes. The first large area of water is Dog Lake, and, with a view to reach that elevated sheet of water, a road from the shores of Lake Superior, in as direct a line as possible, will be required." A marshy lake stretches across the narrow level plateau forming the height of land between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, its elevation above the sea being 1485 feet, and above Lake Superior 844.

At Fort Frances, situated about two miles from the point where Rainy River issues from Rainy Lake, in lat. 48° 36′, and long. 93° 33′, the party separated into three divisions, with a view to explore different routes. Mr. Hind, with a companion, struck direct west, in the hope of crossing the water-shed which divides the Red River and the Lake of the Woods, a route which, if accomplished, would shorten the journey by at least two-thirds, Shoal Lake, a westerly extension of the Lake of the Woods, being about eighty-seven miles in a direct line from Fort Garry, but, by the Winnipeg route, 320 miles. At the Lake of the Woods, however, their further advance in that direction was prevented by the Indians. Their camp-fires having discovered them, the voyagers were soon visited by the chiefs. "We counted thirteen canoes," says Mr. Hind, "and found that

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 36, 37.

they contained in all fifty-three men and boys, there being seven of the latter: the others were the chief and warriors of the tribe. A portion of them had just returned from an expedition against the Sioux, and were decorated or disfigured, according to taste, with whatever advantages paint, feathers, and ornaments could confer. As the object of their visit was to ascertain the reasons why we wished to pass through this part of their country, a long council or 'talk' was the result of the visit.

"The council terminated by a distinct refusal, on the part of the chief, to allow any of the tribe to guide us through the swamps which separate the Lake of the Woods from the prairie country to the west. The replies and objections of the chief were often couched in very poetical language, with a few satirical touches, which were warmly applauded by the audience. The following is a specimen of the colloquy—

"'What reason can we offer to those who have sent us for your having refused to allow us to travel through your country?'

Chief. "'The reason why we stop you is, because we think you do not tell us why you want to go that way, and what you want to do with those paths. You say that all the white men we have seen belong to one party, and yet they go by three different roads: why is that? Do they want to see the Indian's land? Remember, if the white man comes to the Indian's house, he must walk through the door, and not steal in by the window. That way, the old road, is the door, and by that way you must go. You gathered corn in our gardens and put it away: did you never see corn before? Why did you not note it down in your book? Did your people want to see our corn? Would they not be satisfied with your noting it down? You cannot pass through those paths.'

"'We ask you now to send us one of your young men to show us the road: we shall pay him well, and send back presents to you: what do you wish for?'

Chief.—"'It is hard to deny your request, but we see how the Indians are treated far away. The white man comes, looks at their flowers, their trees, and their rivers; others soon follow; the lands of the Indians pass from their hands, and they have nowhere a home. You must go by the way the white man has hitherto gone. I have told you all.'

"At the close of the council, the chief said to the interpreter, 'Let not these men think bad of us for taking away their guides. Let them send us no presents: we do not want them. They have no right to pass that way. We have hearts, and love our lives and our country. If twenty men came we would not let them pass to-day. We do not want the white man. When the white man comes he brings disease and sickness, and our people perish: we do not wish to die. Many white men would bring death to us, and our people would pass away: we wish to love, and to hold the land our fathers won, and the Great Spirit has given to us. Tell these men this, and the talk is finished."*

This interference, the refusal of guides, and the illness of some members of the expedition, induced the abandonment of an effort to strike out a new and shorter route to Red River, and the old canoe route by the Rat Portage and Winnipeg was followed.

"Issuing from the Lake of the Woods through several gaps in the northern rim of the lake, the river Winnipeg flows through numerous tortuous channels, for many miles of its course, in a north-easterly direction. Some of the channels unite with the main stream ten or fifteen miles below Rat Portage, and one pursues nearly a straight course for a distance of sixty-five miles, and joins the Winnipeg below the Barrière Falls. The windings of this immense river are very abrupt and opposite, suddenly changing from north-west to south-west, and from south-west to north-west, for distances exceeding twenty miles.

"In its course of 163 miles it descends 349 feet by a succession of magnificent cataracts. Some of the falls and rapids present the wildest and most picturesque scenery, displaying every variety of tumultuous cascade, with foaming rapids, treacherous eddies, and huge swelling waves, rising massive and green over hidden rocks. The pencil of a skilful artist may succeed in conveying an impression of the beauty and grandeur which belong to the cascades and rapids of the Winnipeg, but neither sketch nor language can pourtray the astonishing variety they present under different aspects; in the grey dawn of morning, or rose-coloured by the setting sun, or flashing in the brightness of noon day, or silvered by the soft light of the moon."*

Passing through a country marked by an appearance of hopeless sterility, the expedition reached our Church Missionary station of Islington, or the White Dog, occupying a cultivable tract of about 250 acres.

"The Rev. Robert M'Donald, the Missionary in charge at Islington, informed me that

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 98—100.

* Ibid. vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

the Mission was formerly held by the Roman Catholics for a period of several years, but was abandoned on account of the opposition of the Indians, who drove them away in consequence of the death of a young girl in the nunnery at Red-River Settlement. The heathen Indians persuaded the converts that all who embraced Christianity would soon die. The Mission was left vacant for a period of six years, after which Mr. Philip Kennedy was appointed catechist in 1850, a post which he held until the 20th October 1853, when the Rev. Robert M'Donald was enabled to revive the Mission by the generous and Christian liberality of an English lady.

"This Mission is at present sustained by a munificent gift from Mrs. Landon, of Bath, of 1000*l.* sterling for its establishment, and 100*l.* a year for its maintenance. Its present prospects are favourable, and it will eventually become an important station in the wilderness by which it is surrounded. I attended divine service in the schoolhouse, where it was celebrated in the Ojibway language. At my request, the heathen Indians who had assisted in conducting us from Garden Island were present. They maintained a respectful silence during the service, and a favourable impression may have been produced.

"Mr. M'Donald divides the Indians who hunt north-east and north of the Lake of the Woods, from those who inhabit the shores, islands, and the country east and south-east of that beautiful lake. The former belong to the Muskeg nation (Muscaigoes), or Swampy Crees, the latter to the great Ojibway nation. The Swampys have a tradition that, at a remote period, they drove the Ojibways from the lower Winnipeg to the country bordering on the Lake of the Woods, and since that time they have maintained their footing in the conquered territory."*

Below Islington the river precipitates itself down a succession of falls to Lake Winnipeg. Some of them are exceedingly beautiful.

"The Silver Falls are, perhaps, the most imposing and beautiful of all the cascades on the Winnipeg. The volume of water precipitated here is immense, all the inosculating branches of the Winnipeg uniting some distance above the magnificent Silver Falls. The vast torrent descends a slope about 200 yards long, with an inclination of nearly sixteen feet, in the form of five or six gigantic swells. The observer may stand close to the huge heaving waves, and watch them run past him with astonishing velocity and ever-changing form. Sometimes they send a thin sheet of water over the smooth rock on which he is standing, at the edge of the torrent; in another minute there may be a gulf, ten or fifteen feet deep, with a terrible whirlpool raging below, between him and the crested swell fifty feet from the shore. Suddenly the gulf is filled, and the turbulent waters, dashing against the rocks, send a shower of spray far and wide over the polished gneiss which confines them. We reached Fort Alexander at four in the afternoon, stayed half an hour to procure some flour and potatoes, and then hurried on to Lake Winnipeg, camping at the mouth of the river."*

The voyagers now approached the Red River, and the settlement on its banks, the centre of Missionary operations in North-West America.

"The Red River of the north rises in Ottertail Lake, State of Minnesota. The north-east end of Ottertail Lake is in latitude 46° 24′ 1″, and the general course of the river is westerly, through an attractive undulating country, until it makes its great bend to the north, in latitude 46 · 9″. It then meanders through a boundless prairie, which gradually declines in elevation until it forms a vast level plain, elevated above the water of the river only about one and a half to two feet at its ordinary stage in June. The distance of this great bend is 110 miles from Ottertail Lake, and the vast low prairie through which the river subsequently flows, in an exceedingly tortuous channel, is level as a floor. In latitude 46° 23′ 30″ a belt of timber sets in, and continues, with some interruption, along its banks, on one side or the other, to Pembina.

"The length of the Red River, within British territory, is about 140 miles by the windings of the stream. It debouches into Lake Winnipeg, in latitude 50° 28′, longitude 96° 50′. Its most important affluents on the east side are Roseau River and German Creek. On the west side it receives, in latitude 49° 53′ 24″, and longitude 96 · 52′, the Assiniboine River; at the confluence of these streams, Fort Garry, the capital of Assiniboia, and the head-quarters of the fur trade in British America, is situated.

"The following description in detail of Red River, within British territory, supposes the observer to ascend the stream from Lake Winnipeg in a bateau, or canoe, and is confined to those objects which come under observation during the voyage.

"Fourteen miles from the mouths of the river the Indian Missionary village occupies

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 120.

a terrace thirty feet above the summer level of the stream. Above the village the banks are fringed with oak, elm, and maple, which soon give way to aspen, and then to open prairie land, the trees of larger growth appearing at intervals on the points and on the insides of the bends.

"About four miles above the Indian Missionary village, a remarkable bend in the course of the stream gives rise to a sharp projection of the level plateau of the prairie, called Sugar Point, from the groves of maple which cover it.

"Near to Sugar Point is an Indian school, in connexion with the Indian Mission below, situated north of the line which divides the parish of St. Peter from that of St. Andrew, and marking the northern limits of the Red-River Settlement. The banks on both sides are very heavily timbered close to the river, but, between this place and the Stone Fort, there are very few farmhouses. . . . .

"In order to arrive at a true conception of its physical features, it is merely necessary to imagine a river, from 200 to 350 feet broad, with a moderately rapid current, having in the course of ages excavated a winding trench, or cut, to the depth of from thirty to forty feet in tenacious clay, through a nearly level country for a distance exceeding 100 miles, and the general physical aspect of Red River, within British territory, is re-produced. . . . At each turn of the river, above the Stone Fort, the houses of the inhabitants of Red-River Settlement come in sight, and occupy the banks, at short intervals, all the way up to Fort Garry, a distance of twenty-three and a half miles by the windings of the river. Two miles above the Stone Fort is the so-called Whirlpool Point, and immediately above it the Big Eddy : these are obstacles to further progress, formidable only in name. . . . . The east side of the river is wooded to a depth varying from a few yards to a mile, and generally this feature prevails along the eastern bank as far as Fort Garry : the timber is similar to that already described. At the Grand Rapids, which, even during the low stage of water in September, offer no formidable obstacle to the Company's and freighters' boats, carrying four and five tons, an assemblage of well-built stone buildings are grouped, which create a very favourable impression of Red-River resources and comfort, not unfrequently repeated in ascending the stream. There is erected a very substantial stone church, capable of seating 500 people, and surrounded with a wall, enclosing an extensive burying-ground. About 300 yards south of the church the parsonage-house is seen from the river, and, next to it, a capacious and well-built schoolhouse of wood. Four miles above the Grand Rapids, Water-mill Creek enters the river, having cut its way through the yielding clay substratum of the prairie to the depth of twenty-five feet, half a mile from its mouth. . . . .

"Above St. Paul's church, in the Middle Settlement, eight miles north of Fort Garry, the river winds between high prairie banks, which generally maintain an altitude of about thirty feet : houses and windmills occur at regular intervals, until the steeple of St. John's church, the peaked roof of St. John's College, the schoolhouse, the bishop's residence, &c., offer the appearance of a large village, which is again reproduced after a sharp turn at Point Douglas, by the imposing Roman-Catholic church, dedicated to St. Boniface, the spacious nunnery, and the parish school, with other buildings on the left, and a group of several commodious private dwelling-houses just below Fort Garry, on the right. About half-way between these small centres of population, German Creek, a small meandering stream, comes in from the south-east. A quarter of a mile above the Roman-Catholic church the Assiniboine enters Red River, and, a short distance up this stream, the bastions of Fort Garry come into view. Above the mouth of the Assiniboine the course of the river is exceedingly tortuous. An idea of its meanderings may be obtained from the comparison between distances by the river from Fort Garry to the mouth of La Rivière Sale, and the relative position of the same places by the road, the former being sixteen and the latter nine miles. The houses of settlers appear at intervals on the banks for several miles above La Rivière Sale, the last house being situated thirteen miles from Fort Garry, or fifty-seven from the 49th parallel. Above this the river windings are fringed with forest, varying in depth from a few yards to half a mile. Here and there naked bends are exposed to the prairie, the peninsula portion on the opposite side being generally clothed with trees of large dimensions : this character is preserved far south of the 49th parallel. . . . .

"The vast ocean of level prairie which lies to the west of Red River must be seen in its extraordinary aspects before it can be rightly valued and understood in reference to its future occupation by an energetic and civilized race, able to improve its vast capabilities and appreciate its marvellous beauties. It must be seen at sunrise, when the boundless plain suddenly flashes with rose-coloured light, as the first rays of the sun sparkle in the dew on the long rich grass, gently stirred

by the unfailing morning breeze. It must be seen at noon-day, when refraction swells into the forms of distant hill ranges the ancient beaches and ridges of Lake Winnipeg, which mark its former extension; when each willow bush is magnified into a grove, each distant clump of aspens, not seen before, into wide forests, and the outline of wooded river banks, far beyond unassisted vision, rise into view. It must be seen at sunset, when, just as the huge ball of fire is dipping below the horizon, he throws a flood of red light, indescribably magnificient, upon the illimitable waving green, the colours blending and separating with the gentle roll of the long grass in the evening breeze, and seemingly magnified towards the horizon into the distant heaving swell of a parti-coloured sea. It must be seen, too, by moonlight, when the summits of the low green-grass waves are tipped with silver, and the stars in the west disappear suddenly as they touch the earth. Finally, it must be seen at night, when the distant prairies are in a blaze, thirty, fifty, or seventy miles away; when the fire reaches clumps of aspen, and the forked tips of the flames, magnified by refraction, flash and quiver in the horizon, and the reflected light from rolling clouds of smoke above tell of the havoc which is raging below."*

The reader is here presented with a panoramic view of the Red-River Settlement, more graphic and interesting than any we have yet been favoured with.

At this point we must for the present break off, purposing in our next Number to accompany the author in his statistics of population and review of Missions at the Red River.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 125—135.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN CHEKEANG.

THE treaty of Pekin has terminated our war with China: may we hope that we are correct in using the word "terminated," and that no events will occur to show that we ought rather to have used the word "suspended." So far as the Tartar dynasty is concerned, and its promises are to be depended upon, no more obstacles will be interposed to prevent the intercourse of western nations, not merely with the sea-board population, but with the interior masses. British subjects, under the passport system, are authorized to travel for purposes of trade to all places of the interior, provided that they do not attempt to enter as the salesmen of opium. That drug, the sale of which is now legalized, passes at its port of entry from the hands of the foreign merchant into those of the native dealers, who can alone introduce it into the interior. It is the only article the transit duty of which has not been fixed by treaty. This is left to the discretion of the Chinese, who are making arrangements, not of the most scrupulous character, to tax it heavily.

Persons teaching or professing the Christian religion are declared to be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; and are secured, so long as they peaceably pursue their calling, from persecution.

Let us briefly consider in what position we are, as a Missionary Society, to take advantage of these opportunities.

At Ningpo, on the sea-coast of the Chekeang province, a native church has been raised up, numerically small, but genuine in its quality, and therefore, like the leaven hid in the meal, possessed of assimilating and reproductive power. Of 140 members, no less than 84 are communicants, while 12 are engaged in evangelistic labours among their countrymen, two of whom it is proposed, on the next opportunity, to present to the bishop for ordination. From Ningpo we have occupied, in advance towards the great city, Hang-chow, three outposts; one at a village about three miles from Ningpo, with a contiguous population of 10,000; a second, twelve miles further, at a Hin, or third-class city, with a population of 60,000, called Z-kyu; and a third, fifteen miles further in advance, at Yü-yau, a city of the same rank and population. Thus a highway has been prepared into the midst of the twenty-six millions of the Chekeang province.

So soon as tidings reached Ningpo of the conclusion of the war, it was deemed advisable by the Missionaries, in conference at Ningpo, that advantage should be taken as well of our advanced position towards the interior, as of the restoration of peace, to visit Hang-chow, the capital of Chekeang, with a view to ascertain whether it might not be at once occupied as a Missionary station. Let it be remembered, that in the previous March the Taepings, by forced marches, fell on Hang-chow, mined the walls, and, aided by sympathizers among the Chinese garrison, or the militia, entered it on the 19th of that month. The Tartar garrison, retiring within the inner city, held it for six days, until relieved by a

considerable detachment from Kiang-sin, when the city was, after a fashion, recovered, the captors—after, it is said, an awful destruction of life and property—retiring a short distance.

Accordingly, on November 22d, a Missionary party set out on this somewhat perilous expedition, consisting of the Rev. J. S. Burdon, the Rev. T. S. Fleming, both of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. Mr. Lord, of the American Baptist Missionary Society. The following is Mr. Fleming's narrative of their proceedings :—

"After conference with the brethren at Ningpo, it was thought well that the Rev. J. S. Burdon and myself should take a trip to Hang-chow, to see the state of affairs with respect to the rebels, and to ascertain the prospects of Mission labour there. With this view we hired an u-sæn-jün, or black-bamboo covered boat, and having been commended to God in prayer, we started from the north gate at a quarter to five o'clock P.M., November 22. As the boat was to be our house for a fortnight, we had to make the best arrangements our limited space would allow for bed and board. The bow of the boat we appropriated to the cook and all his paraphernalia, while the boatmen, of course, had the stern for cooking, eating, sculling, and sleeping. Mr. Burdon and I had the centre, which possessed some advantages, though not without corresponding disadvantages. We soon got settled and at work; Mr. Burdon poring over Williams's Chinese Dictionary, and I glancing at Milne's description of his route to Hang-chow, which differed considerably from the route we took. But our silence and equanimity were soon disturbed, for tea-time will come round, and cooks will make a smoke, while boats, kept covered to keep the rain out, will, with equal certainty, keep the smoke in. The boatmen lighted their fire, and almost stifled us, and our cook soon followed their example; the latter scolding the former for making so much smoke, while he, with his charcoal-fumes, was the worst of the two. The rain having increased, we could not well remove the bong, or boat cover, so there were we, most industriously disposed, trying to write, while on one side we were smoked out, and on the other almost stifled with confined charcoal-fumes. Our books were covered with blacks, and our eyes smarted to such a degree we could not see a character. The cooking over, all was again peaceful till we reached Yiang-dzi, at half-past seven P.M., when we were disturbed by a crashing and grinding, which made us think something serious had occurred. But we soon discovered our fears were groundless: the boatmen had left the river to avoid the force of the tide, and had entered a canal, where the water was too high to let the boat go under the bridges: hence arose the crash. With some difficulty we regained the river, and reached Pun-p'u, a small village about twelve miles from Ningpo, some time in the night. The scenery here is very cheerful: the hills contrast strongly with the immense mud plain extending from Ningpo northward to the Yiang-tse-kyiang. Pun-p'u is the nearest point from which stone can be obtained, the quarrying of which provides many with employment. Here, too, we catch the first glimpse of the geological character of the district. The stone is a course grit belonging to the old red sandstone system, and is used for building bridges and paving. When we rose in the morning the wind was blowing a gale, and so we were detained. At noon, as the wind showed no sign of abatement, we resolved to leave the boat in charge of the cook, and walk back across the country to Ningpo, to spend the Sabbath there. After service on Sunday the storm died away, and so we returned to our boat. During the night we left Pun-p'u, and, by eleven o'clock the next morning, reached Yü-yiao, a large and thriving city, about fifteen miles farther on. Part of it lies on one side of the river and part on the other, the river being spanned by an old but pretty bridge. The chief trade of the city appears to consist in making large water-jars and wine-jars, all of which are of rough clay.

"Leaving Yü-yiao, in a few hours we passed through Mô-cü, a busy place, with a good bridge that has a distinctly-marked keystone, which, I am told, is not common, in this part of China at least. After leaving the town the river takes several sudden turns, and the scene that bursts upon the view is beautiful beyond description. On either side are lofty hills clothed with pines, and at their base are plains highly cultivated; but in the midst of our admiration we are stopped by a pô, or sluice, a very frequent nuisance attendant on inland travelling in China. The object of these sluices is to facilitate the passage of boats between two canals, whose difference of level prevents a junction, in the same way as we use locks in England; but as the Chinese know nothing of these ingenious devices, they have to accomplish the same object in a very clumsy and imperfect manner.

"They erect a kind of embankment, or double-inclined plane, at angles varying,

perhaps, from 10° to 40°. On each side of the sluice is a capstan. A rope, attached to each capstan, is fastened round the stern of the boat, and the capstans being set in motion by a number of men, the boat is drawn up to the ridge of the embankment, and then launched into the canal below. This frequently necessitates unlading the boats, and carefully securing whatever baggage remains, a neglect of which precaution must be paid for by the fracture of crockery, &c., as our own experience proved, the velocity of the descent being very great. Scenes, very amusing to all but the unfortunate travellers, sometimes takes place at these sluices: a discussion as to the proper charge for being drawn over, invariably occurs, and it is not an uncommon thing—an instance of which we saw—for a boat to be kept balanced at the ridge of the inclined plane, in a state of tottering uncertainty, till money matters are satisfactorily adjusted.

"Having arrived at the pô, farther enjoyment of the scenery was out of the question, till the subject of the dong-din, or money, was settled, and whenever this is the topic, it is in vain that we try to stop the angry discussion, or induce them to draw us over first, and discuss liabilities afterwards; but, once over, all again is peaceful. The canals branch out in every direction; the fields are rich with rice, whose golden head bows before the breeze, and waits for the sickle; the hills, at hand and far removed, stand out in their peculiar freedom, some clothed with firs, and others in their naked grandeur, their forms curving in all the graceful lines of beauty. The sky was clear and cloudless, and the bright uncompromising sun threw ever-varying shades around and on the whole. As we proceeded the pretty kyiah-wô-jüns, or boats rowed by the feet, glided on with considerable speed, many of them bearing government despatches; these boats, on account of their speed, being frequently employed to perform the work of our English postal arrangements at home. Many of the fields were laid under water, which gave them the appearance of considerable lakes.

"The minds of the people seemed engrossed with the rebels and the rebel movements: at the mention of the name, all faces gathered blackness. As we passed through village after village, it was very painful to hear the oft-repeated inquiry, 'Is it peace? Is it peace?' May the time soon come when these poor people shall be equally anxious about peace with God. Had they but that, what daylight would it pour upon the soul when all around was darkness. What comfort would it impart, though all the 'foundations of the earth were out of course.' But such peace can come only from faith in Jesus. 'And how can they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?' Oh that the churches at home would lay the matter still more to heart, and answer the apostle's questions. Oh that, while affording help to other countries, they would not forget 'the land of Sinim.' We could only distribute a few books as we went along, and thus scatter by the wayside the precious seed of the word of God. The seed has been sown, but the sun and the shower are the Lord's. May both be given in rich abundance! On reaching 'O-kô-pu, we were detained six hours, waiting for our turn to be drawn up over another pô. Soon after our arrival, a man came to ask if we had any 'Jesus books.' Of course we gladly gave him one, and distributed a few among the people. During our detention we visited a salt-boiling house, of which there were several in the village. The people were at first afraid to give us any information; for on asking them what they were doing, they told us that they were burning wood, for the ashes to be employed as manure. But this we thought a very small part of the intention of the curious structures before us; and so as we could gain no reliable information, we had to exercise our ingenuity to solve the mystery for ourselves. The fire was very large, and the draft so great, that a sudden puff sent the flames out, and burnt Mr. Lord's hair and eyelashes. Over the fire was a kind of large boiler, twelve feet square and one foot deep, full of a white boiling liquid, which we soon discovered to be salt. We also saw large quantities of salt put up in baskets, and more being drained from the remaining water. The bottom of the boiler excited our curiosity especially. It was nothing more than a bamboo-mat, the size above mentioned, covered with a coating of lime one-eighth of an inch thick, of course the lime side being exposed to the naked flames. It was not till we saw a new one almost ready for use, and had examined very particularly the one containing the boiling liquid, that we were quite convinced that the men who made the statement had not deceived us. At this village, also, I saw, for the first time in China, what must have been intended for carts, but they were decidedly the most primitive and clumsy things I ever saw. They were drawn by buffaloes, a few of which were white. They were used

exclusively for the conveyance of the bush-wood fuel from the junks on the Dzong-'o river to the salt-boiling houses.

"Just before leaving we had an illustration of one of the many miseries attendant on the rebel movement. We had a short conversation with a travelling Hang-chow family of some respectability. Their history was as brief as it was sad. For six months they had fled before the rebels. From Hang-chow they escaped successively to Shanghae, Siao-hying, then back to Hang-chow, Siao-hying, Ningpo, Chefoo, and, when we saw them, they were returning, almost ruined, to Ningpo. We told them of a place of rest, but they had sought it where it was not to be found.

"Having crossed the pô, we were fairly in the Dzong-'o river, the banks of which were of solid mud, cut out by the resistless force of the tide in a very peculiar manner. Its rush is so great and sudden, that high embankments are required to keep the country from being flooded.

"A few li down the river is the Tseng-p'u-pô. Here many of the women have large feet. The head-dress also differs considerably from that worn at Ningpo; the wings of the latter place giving way to the Siao-hying helmet as worn at Hang-chow. Many of the people are very fair in their skins, and their countenances appear much more open and honest than any I have seen in China. I felt very much drawn out towards them, and longed to see their darkness yield before the dawn of Christian light. Buffaloes are here used to draw the boats over the pô instead of the capstans before alluded to. While our boat was being taken over, we gave away a few books, in the hope that faith might come by reading them.

"In two hours we reached Seng-tön, a good-sized town, with a red temple, in fair preservation, standing conspicuously on the banks of the canal. It contained thirty gilt bu-sah, or idols, besides the gigantic central ones, and a number more in gilt shrines. Seven very respectable women were busy counting their beads, precisely as the Romanists do. Indeed, there is a striking similarity in many parts of the Buddhist and Romanist rituals. They were afraid of us, and said to a native of our company, 'This is a poor place: why do foreigners come here? there is nothing worth taking.' The native silenced their fears by saying that we were good people, who came purposely to tell the people of a Saviour. They at once became assured, and one of them, coming to me, said it was very good, and thanked us.

"The language now quickly changes to such an extent, that a Ningpo man can with difficulty struggle out the meaning of what is said. The canals here are still large and beautiful, out out in all the variety and freedom of nature; while the boats, with the fishing cormorants looking for their finny prey, made the scene one of still greater interest. On one side the country is a dead level, but on the other, hills are seen stretching away into the dim distance. A number of canals now unite, and form a large lake, through the centre of which we scud along at a rapid pace, till we reach another canal, which brings us through Tong-p'u to Siao-ssen, which city we reached before six A.M. on the Wednesday after leaving Ningpo. The silent highway ran through the middle of the city, and was crossed by several bridges, some of which had distinctly marked keystones. We had some difficulty in getting in, as the gates were closed and carefully guarded for fear of the rebels. Every boat is examined, and inquiry made, 'Where from?' 'Where going?' 'On what business?' Mr. Burdon and I were asleep, when we were suddenly aroused by a great lantern being thrust into the boat. We at once started up, and the lantern as suddenly disappeared. Mr. Lord, however, did not escape so easily, for he had to get up and write a card of name and address before the disturber of his slumbers would depart. Having passed through the city, we saw another instance of the sad effects of the rebel movement. Sleeping by the roadside were several refugees from Hang-chow. The weather was intensely cold, and these poor creatures were only shielded from its inclemency by a little straw, white with the frost. Such scenes as these, and many others like them, lead one still more earnestly to long for the time of China's gracious visitation, that, temporally as well as spiritually, 'garments of praise may be given for the spirit of heaviness.'

"The canal runs several li, and then falls into a large lake, over which were flying great numbers of wild-fowl. On our left arose high, picturesque hills, and on our right lay a widely-extended plain. The hills were covered with mounds and mausoleums: for miles they appeared like one vast necropolis. The coffins were not exposed, as many are at Ningpo, but were covered with earthen mounds, and some were surrounded by tombs, erected at vast expense. The summits of the higher hills were covered with azaleas and brushwood, which looked very beautiful. The purple leaves of the tallow-

tree contrasted with the dark-green pine, and the tall and sombre aspect of the latter was again relieved by the broad, gigantic, and cheerful-looking camphor-tree. The men were engaged in the peaceful pursuit of husbandry, gathering in a God-given harvest, yet blindly unconscious of the heavenly donor.

"The canals were now divided off by bamboo fences into fish-preserves, and the fishermen's huts, supported by four stakes about five feet above the water, to my unpractised eye looked very strange. As we went along, frequent were the inquiries, 'Who are they?' 'Are they good?' But in no case did we meet with the least incivility. During our entire journey we were not called even 'ong-mao,' or red-haired, more than two or three times, and then with no apparent malice.

"At length we reached Meng-kô-yin, a town on the banks of the Tseen-tang, about forty li distant from Hang-chow. The pô is about two li past the centre of the town, and the canal runs parallel with the river. The town consists chiefly of one very long street on the bank of the river, and a large proportion of the people seem connected with or dependent on the junks, most of them being government vessels and junks of war. On reaching the pô, we found boats which had been waiting six days to be drawn over, but as all work was suspended, it was alike hopeless for them and us. After some discussion and inquiry, we were conducted by a respectable Canton merchant, who spoke a little English, to a boat-hong, with the view either of getting our boat over, or of engaging another. We were followed by a great crowd of people, but all behaved with the strictest propriety. Here, as at other places, they took with avidity the books we offered, though I fear with no higher motive than that of mere curiosity. The crowd followed us into the reception-room of the hong, where tea was offered, and accepted. Then followed the usual inquiries respecting our honourable names and famous places of abode. My small acquaintance with the Ningpo dialect availed but little here where the language was so different, but Mr. Burdon was quite at home, speaking at one time the Shanghae dialect, then the Hang-chow, and then the Mandarin. At length we secured another boat, and, much to the grief of our servant—who said the dinner was partly cooked, and the change would spoil it—we transferred our beds, dinners, and cooking-utensils to the boat which we had just engaged. We then started on the beautiful Tseen-tang river, the Hang-chow hills being visible in the distance. The general appearance of the ships was as different from, as it was superior to, the clumsy craft on the Ningpo river. They were much lighter in their build, had very superior houses on deck, and were very clean and nicely varnished with an almost colourless varnish. The Tseen-tang river is in some parts three or four miles broad, though, owing to the mass of mud washed down by the force of the current, it is very shallow. The tide turns with great strength and rapidity, frequently running eleven and a half knots an hour. As in some other large rivers, there is the phenomenon of frequent occurrence called the bore. This takes place at the full and change of the moon, and in the second and eighth months especially. In the hyperbolic language of the Chinese the bore is thus referred to—'The swell rises like a mountain, and the waves like a house: it roars like thunder, and in its progress threatens to swallow the heavens, and bathe the sun.' Milne says 'it ascends with a prodigious noise in one vast wave, rising from five to thirty feet above the natural level, and rolling up with a foaming head, upsetting all it meets with, until, exhausted by resistance, it sinks into a feeble undulation.'

"On the right bank, as we went along, were large camps of imperial soldiers, and the war-vessels, decked with their yellow, red, and black imperial flags, looked mournfully gay. After proceeding about thirty li, the large mulberry plantations reminded me of the silkworm, and the source of Hang-chow's greatness. At this point the river takes a sudden turn, and brings us in sight of the Lo-ho-t'ah, or pagoda, contiguous to Hang-chow, together with the majestic scenery on the outskirts of the city. One of the boatmen was on the footpath towing the boat along, when, close by the Lo-ho-t'ah, upon the shore, we came in full sight of a troop of, perhaps, 200 soldiers, creeping on in single file, and with the usual disorder of Chinese forces. Whether imperialists or rebels we could not tell, and being within range of their matchlocks, the English and French having too recently driven the rebels from Shanghae, it was a time of some suspense. The boatman was seized with great alarm, and came running back, crying, 'Feh k'yi, feh ky'i,' positively refusing to go farther. At length, however, he consented to go, on condition that we would be answerable for him and his boat. We soon afterwards landed at the pagoda before referred to. The temple adjoining was a large one, and, a few months before, it supported a great number of priests.

But where are they now? All have fled: the cormorant and bittern alone remain. The temple was in ruins; the hand of the iconoclast had been there, for nothing but the dust of the idols now existed."

We interrupt here Mr. Fleming's narrative, to introduce an extract from the Rev. J. S. Burdon's journal of the same tour:—

"We landed not far from a pagoda, distant from the nearest city gate about four miles, called the Lo-ho-t'ah. This pagoda is beautifully situated on the bank of the noble river, which, a little further down, widens into the Hang-chow Bay, and, in times of peace, was a very favourite resort of both the gentry of the city and the people from the country, for devotional, or, more properly speaking, superstitious purposes.

"Whether it is now any farther from being so or not I cannot tell. But this I have to record, that neither priests nor people are now to be found within the precincts of this idolatrous temple. The desolation at the time of the visit which I am now describing was complete, and one could not help feeling solemnized by the almost *audible* silence that reigned around. The rooms where the priests used to receive their guests were in utter ruin, even the roof being stripped from off them; and other rooms in the building were entirely gutted. The pagoda itself (one of six or seven stories) seemed to have been untouched. The idols, too, were left intact. There they sat in grim and dirty and silent state, fit presidents of the ruins around them, of which, as a type of more terrible desolations in other parts of the country, their worship has been one great cause. Much as we mourn over the convulsions of China, and the miseries brought upon the people by the present revolution, we cannot help thinking that it is the only way in which the neck of that terrible monster, Idolatry, can be broken in this unhappy land."

Mr. Fleming proceeds—

"On landing, we found the shore was composed of coarse gravel and mud, and the rocks belonged to the old red sandstone system. From the pagoda we walked to the suburbs of the city, once teeming with life, but now almost as silent as the grave. For the distance of three miles, heaps of stones and tottering walls are all that remain of once noble mansions. If I except a few wooden huts, unworthy of the name, not a house is standing; business is entirely suspended; all men seem to gaze on vacancy, and to be ready for flight at a moment's notice.

"I speak not now of the beauty of the scenery, vocal with the song of birds of varied tint. It is mournful to contrast the works of God with those of man, the hills in their beauty with the suburbs in their desolation. That man alone is vile, one cannot help feeling in the most acute manner.

"On inquiry, we found that all the city gates were kept closed except the Tsông-gyiao-meng, which was open three hours a day. It being too late to go that day, we returned to our boat for the night, and started after prayer the following morning. Never shall I forget the scene of misery and ruin through which we passed *en route* to the city. Our way lay through several open spaces, defended by barricades of crossed stakes driven firmly into the ground, and across planks that supplied the place of demolished bridges. As we approached the walls, we saw they were in a state of defence, and near them lay a still unburied corpse, probably the victim of starvation. Flags, tents, soldiers, and barricades everywhere met the eye. Outside the Tsông-gyiao-meng a strong temporary gate was erected as a further defence. We reached this spot about eight o'clock A.M., when above 200 people were waiting for admission. By nine o'clock the crowd had increased to about 500. The attention of all was arrested by explosion after explosion, then a succession of crackers and deafening shouts, and then a rush of 150 or 200 soldiers from the city. The gate was then opened, and the soldiers sallied forth in a very disorderly way, brandishing their swords and pitchforks in a most wild and frantic manner. After forcing a passage, and lining the way on each side, the people were permitted first to pass out. The sight was very depressing: all were laden, though not with merchandize. Heavy loads of furniture, and other household effects, and still heavier hearts, were all they carried with them, while those who were waiting to enter appeared as though doing so only to bring away the few things they had left behind.

"In a short time a guard came to take us within before the authorities, that we might give an account of ourselves, and of the reason of our being there. We were treated with great ceremony and politeness by about a dozen mandarins, the chief of whom, whose cap was adorned by a clear blue button, and, as a further mark of imperial favour, a peacock's feather, was evidently a person of distinction. Having shown our letter from the consul, and given explanations through Mr. Burdon, who spoke Mandarin, they expressed themselves satisfied, and said that at any other time we might freely go in and out; but as the city was now in a state of siege, and the rebels only a few li off, they regretted their in-

ability to let us pass before they had shown our credentials to the Governor; but if we would kindly return to our boats till the next morning, an officer should come and let us know the result. As things appeared so unpromising, we thought it useless to wait; so, having expressed our thanks, we were shown out by a mandarin, who escorted us a long distance, forcing a passage for us through the crowd by striking the people on the head and shoulders with a bamboo stick. We then bade him adieu, and returned to our boat on our way back to Ningpo. Thus ended our trip to Hang-chow. 'How long, O Lord, how long shall the enemy triumph, and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves?"

Hang-chow being thus found for the present impracticable, Mr. Burdon has taken up his residence at Yü-yau, as the furthest accessible point towards the interior, where, a short time previously, a house had been offered and accepted, sufficiently large for a foreign Missionary. Mr. Burdon describes the importance of this city as a Missionary station, and of the labours which are being carried on there.

"Yü-yau is important, not merely from the fact that it contains a large number of immortal souls (perhaps 60,000 or 70,000), but also from its position as on the highway from Ningpo to many other large and important cities in this province. It is especially important in this latter respect, as a stepping-stone to Shau-hing and Hang-chow; and therefore, with the consent of my brethren, I proceeded to occupy this station immediately after my return from the visit to the capital, already mentioned. Mr. Bao, the oldest catechist of this station, was my efficient native helper. The people are particularly well disposed towards us; but there is as yet, of course, no movement in favour of the doctrines that we teach. 'The husbandman must *first labour* in order to be a partaker of the fruits.' Every afternoon the door of our little preaching-room is thrown open, and conversation is carried on with those who come in. Mr. Bao, at the same time, is diligent in pressing his message home upon those whom he visits at their own houses. In this kind of work he meets with various kinds of receptions. . . . . .

"It is only within the last few months that we have been able to reach our present position in Yü-yau; and it has been occupied as a basis of operations providentially granted to us, from which to extend the Gospel to regions still further beyond. This gradual mode of working seems to me the most natural, and, in China, the most appropriate one. The people are not yet prepared for any sudden and great strides; and so, though it may appear but a small step in advance, it is our duty to take it, with a view to more important steps in time to come. Let us not despise the day of small things. If we cannot do great things for God, He will accept small efforts, as perhaps the truest way to produce great results.

"Many of these places, in the neighbourhood of Ningpo, on the highway to other important cities in this province, are at this moment as open as they ever will be to the Christian Missionary. They have populations of from 10,000 to 100,000 souls; and all we can do as yet is to station catechists in a few of these places, and one foreign Missionary in what is deemed, for our future purposes, the most important of them. Mr. Fleming hopes to locate himself soon at another of them; and I am in hopes soon to get beyond Yü-yau. But what can we do without men? What are we among the millions of this one province of China? One man cannot be in more places than one at a time; and to take advantage of further openings, which we expect will soon be made for us in the providence of God, we *must* have men to fill the places we leave. We are all willing here to leave these stations which God has opened for us, if the church at home will only send other men to fill our places. The position which the treaty gives is insecure. We know not but that the whole ground will have to be fought over again. But our position here, and in the cities and villages within fifty or sixty miles of Ningpo, has been obtained by the gradually extended influence of Christian Missionaries, and is far more secure than any treaty-obtained privileges. If the church now wishes this to be widened till this whole province is embraced, let her send us *men, men, men*, and never again sink down into the false idea that China is shut up against the preaching of the Gospel. If the church sends men, China will find places for every one of them."

Mr. Burdon, at the time when this earnest appeal for men to come and do the Lord's work in China was written (Jan. 14), was at Ningpo, whither he had to come to unite in one of those prayer-meetings which, at the commencement of this and the preceding year, have been so universal throughout every part of the world where few or more Christians were to be found.

"Last week was observed here, as I suppose in every praying community of Christians throughout the world, as a week of earnest public and private prayer for the outpouring of God's Spirit on the church and the world

It was for the purpose of spending that week among Christian friends, and so of getting strengthened for the life of loneliness among the heathen yet before me, that I left Yü-yau a little more than a week ago. I purpose returning thither in a couple of days, with another catechist to assist me in any movements further in the interior that I may be able to make. But I go with a strong assurance that the prayers, earnest and faithful, of this little circle, will be followed here by immediate and devoted action. And so I am persuaded will it be in the church at large. It would be hypocrisy to offer such prayers for the conversion of the world without personal efforts to promote it. This is the only way in which we can prove to the world our sincerity in praying, and without it our prayers can only rise up at last against us to condemn us. What, then, will the Lord have me to do after all this prayer, so as to take my share in the work for the success of which I have been praying? This is the practical question left on the minds of all the little community with whom I have had the privilege of uniting in prayer during the past week. God grant that this may be the case with every individual member of the church of Christ. The unevangelized world waits for this result; God looks for it; our Redeemer deserves it at our hands. Then, and only then, will He who is 'able to do exceeding abundantly above all we ask or think' fulfil in us and by us 'all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.'"

There is one consideration which ought to quicken our exertions on behalf of China. The treaty concluded between Her Majesty the Sovereign of England and the Emperor of China, designated "A treaty of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation," provides for the free action of the "Christian religion," by which expression is intended Christianity and its counterfeit, Romanism. The treaty proceeds thus:—"Art. 8. The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities." This treaty is a most melancholy specimen of a state-paper addressed by a Protestant nation to a heathen people. We tell them in this document that Protestantism or Romanism are alike Christianity, and alike efficacious in the result which they produce: "they inculcate the practice of virtue, and teach man to do as he would be done by." Then truly the Chinese Romanist, and other Romanists also, are in a position to put rather an awkward question to England. They may ask, "Why then are you, as a nation, Protestants? You admit that the Roman-Catholic religion is Christianity, and that its influence on the conduct is wholesome and beneficial. But you were yourselves once Romanists: why then did you leave that religion?" Now, we would ask, is this treaty of peace a document that is likely to carry with it the blessing of God? one in which England tells the Chinese that Protestantism and Romanism are alike good, and that it matters not which of them they prefer? To scriptural Christianity this great country owes her eminence and prosperity. It is this which, in its influence, has developed the energies of the national character, prepared us for freedom, and given us that freedom to enjoy. And is this our gratitude—this faithlessness to the truth of God, and disgraceful compromising of ourselves with an old discarded system—discarded because it was as a curse upon the land? "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" That woe is ours, so long as we permit such documents to be put forth in the name of the nation, and there is no protest against them.

We might have left it to France to take care of Popery, which she never fails to do whenever an opportunity presents itself. We might, too, have imitated her consistency; for while she stipulates for Romanism, on the subject of Protestantism she is silent. The Art. 6 of this convention of peace between the Emperors of France and China runs as follows:—

"It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of the 20th February 1846, that it is permitted to all people, in all parts of China, to propagate and practice the 'teachings of the Lord of Heaven,' to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches and to worship; further, all such as indiscriminately arrest [Christians] shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings, as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians, shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French representative at Pekin, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. It is, in addition, permitted to French Missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure."

But it is the more our duty so to act as to

convince the world that the acts of Government are not always true expressions of the mind and principles of the nation. There may be much rottenness on the surface, but that, at the heart's core, the nation is sound, this is our belief. But we are bound to vindicate ourselves from the anomalous position in which, undoubtedly, state-papers such as these are calculated to place us; and one way in which this may be done is by multiplying one hundred-fold our efforts for the evangelization of China.

LETTERS FROM TINNEVELLY.

WE invite our readers to the perusal of the following letters, as they furnish, when taken together, a very complete insight into the present state and condition of our largest and, in many respects, most advanced Mission.

The first is the Annual Report just received from the Rev. John Thomas Tucker, now a Missionary of nearly twenty years standing, of his extensive district of Panneivilei. Long experience and deserved weight of character invest his statement with much importance. We have here a portraiture of a long-established Mission field, and may see how the work advances as it were by its own momentum when it has once acquired compactness and solidity. Panneivilei was separated from the district of Palamcotta in the year 1843, and, nine years afterwards, was again subdivided by the severance from it of the district of Pannikullam, the expansion of the work having made an additional Missionary indispensable. The population of the present district may be estimated at 100,000, of whom about one in fifty are now professed Christians: in 1843 the proportion was not more than one in 130. A noble church of stone, much of the cost of which was defrayed by Mr. Tucker from his own private resources, can now accommodate Sunday after Sunday, 1000 worshippers. It was the scene, at Christmas 1859, of the largest ordination ever held in Tinnevelly, or indeed in India. Mr. Tucker's faithful catechist, the Rev. Abraham Isaac, was one of those who were then set apart for the ministry of the word and sacraments.

The next letter is a translation from the Tamil. The writer, the Rev. Paramānandhen Simeon, was ordained deacon on Feb. 2, 1851, and priest on March 1, 1856. His admission to the order of presbyters was regarded as a suitable occasion for placing him in a position of greater independence and responsibility. The village of Alvarnēri, which lies due south of Palamcotta, at the extremity of the district of that name, was selected with this object. It contains a suitable village church and schoolhouse, and the surrounding neighbourhood within a radius of five miles was accordingly placed under his pastoral charge. When the late Mr. Ragland and his companions visited the stations of South Tinnevelly, in July 1856, to stir up the minds of the native Christians to deeper interest in the work of evangelization in the northern part of the province, Paramānandhen Simeon presided at the Missionary meeting held at Alvarnēri, just as an English clergyman is in the habit of doing in his own country parish. Mr. Ragland, in writing to Mr. Sargent, the Principal of our Palamcotta Preparandi Institution, thus expresses his pleasure at such a sight—"We have enjoyed our visits to the various congregations on our way here (Mengnānapuram), and none more than the first we made at Alvarnēri. It was very delightful to see the manner in which our dear brother Paramānandhen conducted himself in the midst of his flock. Every word we heard from him was just what it ought to be, humble and Christian, and cheerful and amiable. You have reason indeed to be thankful for having been the means of preparing and introducing into the ministry such a truly valuable man." The letter we now present to our readers gives our native brother's modest estimate of his parish after five years' experience of it.

The other two letters have each their peculiar value. The Rev. R. R. Meadows, on returning to his former sphere of labour in North Tinnevelly, presents us with a sound and wise review of the interesting revival movement there, which had taken place during his absence. We were not mistaken in hailing it as a work of God, to be welcomed, not to be ignored—to be guided with cautious vigilance, and yet with large expectations, in the remembrance that wherever influences for good are most active, there will the subtle enemy of souls be the most busy. Times of revival are sifting times. The brighter the light, the deeper the shadow. Some who, to human eyes, appeared correct and sincere, and who seemed previously to the Missionary worthy of his confidence, are brought to confess that their former profession was

worthless and hollow, and that in the sight of God they were very different from what they were taken to be by the sight of men. Such cases are recorded as among the results of the recent revival. But we are not to suppose that because some few of our native agents have been thus self-detected of hypocrisy, through that conviction of sin which has shaken their very inmost souls, it is a fair inference that such is the character of all, or even of many of them. We have just drawn attention to the letter of one who is but a fair average sample of the seventeen native clergy of Tinnevelly. They have all of them been drafted from this very class of catechists, and each ordination of late years has witnessed a larger and a larger accession to their numbers. 'The highest is the measure of the man,' and we judge of the general character and capabilities of any class by the more prominent individuals. The great Tinnevelly axiom—None but spiritual men can do spiritual work—is, we believe, faithfully followed by our Missionaries there, in the selection of their catechists. For inferior agents, such as readers or schoolmasters, it is practically impossible to require this standard; but, alas! is not this as true in England as on the Mission field? But whatever it teaches us, let us welcome this blessed work of revival. If it show us flaws and stains that had hitherto escaped detection, surely it is even thus a cause for rejoicing. And if it bring us agents who have learnt, like the prophet, their own vileness and the blessedness of pardon, and have thus the grand primary qualification for evangelists, we shall indeed have reason for abounding joy.

The letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert well closes our series. Mr. Cuthbert's wise and faithful services for the last fifteen years as Secretary of our Calcutta Corresponding Committee, entitle him to speak with authority, when he brings his experience to bear on our Missions in the south. Had he resided there longer, he might possibly have modified his opinions as to the motives which have induced the Shānar people to come over simultaneously in considerable bodies to Christianity. This must of course be with many a nominal adhesion; but it has been found on investigation that there is generally a nucleus of really earnest inquirers, who sway and impel the rest. To grant, however, that mixed motives have drawn men under the sound of the Gospel in Tinnevelly, is only to grant what has been true in the history of almost all Missions, and of the spread of Christianity in all ages. He who is the Lord of providence as well as of grace, uses the brass as well as the gold in the service of His sanctuary. The grand question is, How have these nominal adherents been dealt with when enclosed within the 'Gospel net?' Mediæval Missions resulted in a gigantic system of spiritual despotism and superstition, for want of the pure infallible standard of the written word of God. We see a most hopeful future before Christian Tinnevelly, because the Tamil Bible holds the first place in the literature, and is circulated most widely amongst the members, of that rising native church.

Letter of the Rev. J. T. Tucker, Jan. 23, 1861.

"In sitting down to write you my annual letter, I wish, in the first place, to ascribe my humble thanks to God for the great success which He has been pleased to give to the Missionary work in the Panneivilei district during the past year.

"Our converts being so weak, full of infirmities of all kinds, and so long accustomed from their childhood to many evil habits, cannot throw away all their heathenism in a day. We have, therefore, not only to seek after new people among the heathen, but we have also to watch over every new convert we receive, and endeavour to teach him or her all things whatsoever our Lord commanded. It is, then, a cause of much thankfulness to God that He has been pleased to bless our efforts to instruct the converts in His ways, and to give them strength and grace to remain faithful to their profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. We have, through God's mercy, been permitted to retain possession of ground previously conquered in the name of Immanuel, and thence to sally forth among the slaves of Satan, to proclaim liberty to captives in the name of our Lord Jesus.

"The satisfactory state of the older congregations may be gathered from the fact, that in thirty villages out of forty, there has been a greater or smaller increase of Christians, and this effected, under God, by the zeal and teaching of the older Christians. This has been remarkably the case in the hamlets round, and in the neighbourhood of Panneivilei. In seven of these hamlets, in 1859, there were more than four hundred heathen, besides Christians: now, with the exception of four families, all are professedly disciples of Christ, and appear determined to remain so. The increase of so many converts in our immediate neighbourhood has greatly helped to swell the congregation every Sabbath in the large church, so that there are sometimes a

thousand worshippers assembled at the noon service in the Panneivilei church. I feel it indeed a great privilege to be permitted, in God's providence, to address so many souls at once on the great subject of their eternal salvation. For many years we were frequently disturbed during the service by the crying and playing of little children; but for some months past I have established an infant school near the church, where mothers are allowed to leave their little ones during divine service, and this enables us to worship God in peace. Moreover, the fact that six hundred and eighteen rupees, six annas and nine pice have been subscribed by the Christians of the district for Missionary purposes, during the last year, is some indication of spiritual life among the people. Is there any place in England where so much is collected in proportion to the wealth of the people? Gnānaprāgasam, a palmyra-climber, brought, at a late Missionary meeting, the sum of four rupees five annas, and eight pice in a Missionary-box. His average daily wages are about two annas, or threepence. Calculating the daily-labourer's wages in England at two shillings per diem, Gnānaprāgasam's offering would be equal to 3*l.* 9*s.* Do we often find an English labourer giving so much, or collecting so much, for a religious object?

"Another indication of the satisfactory state of the Christians generally is, that out of 2129 souls, including men, women, and children, 509 persons can read the Tamil Scriptures. This is, no doubt, the result of many years' teaching in our schools. It is indeed a happy thing to find so many of the people able to read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

"But the great cause of rejoicing to my heart is, that so many as 607 persons, who were worshippers of idols on January 1st, 1860, are now disciples of Christ, and are so apparently sincere in their profession of Christian faith, that I have admitted them into my list of native Christians. Moreover, besides the above 607, there are 500 more who have recently renounced idolatry, but as yet have not been long enough under instruction to be trusted. The total number, therefore, during the past year, of new converts, amounts to about 1100 people, a much greater number than I have ever before been permitted to receive in one year. I believe it is owing to the teaching and the preaching of the Gospel by myself and catechists among the heathen for some years past. I confidently look forward (trusting to God's blessing) to a still greater increase during the coming year, should it please God to spare our lives.

"Of course I cannot look upon these 1100 new people as all true Christians. On the contrary, I fear that there are but few among them that are true children of God. Yet the facts, that they have destroyed their idols, which they once worshipped; that they willingly attend the means of grace where the Gospel is preached; and live, so far as man can see, a consistent life, is a source to my own mind of much joy and thanksgiving to the God of all grace. God's word most assuredly will not return void. Several instances of apparently true conversion have taken place among the new converts and among the older Christians.

I will mention two out of eight places where the banner of the cross has been established for the first time during the past year.

"1. Tiruvarlinādanvelei is a village two miles to the east of Panneivilei, containing about a hundred families of Shānars, some of whom are worshippers of idol-demons, and others of a strange religion called the 'Eight-letter religion.' These latter do not worship idols, but profess to adore eight letters, which they consider are the initials of the eight attributes of God. Their mode of worship, however, is very abominable, and the only thing I am astonished at is that such wicked men can become Christians. Perhaps their iniquities are so apparent, and their sins bring upon them such wretchedness, that they are more easily convicted of sin. At Tiruvarlinādanvelei there is a large temple built by the grandfathers of the present generation for the purpose of meeting to worship their eight letters. The ceremonies consist, first of all, of offering up a large number of sheep, and a great quantity of rice and fruit: this, of course, is turned into a great feast together, with much drinking of arrack. As soon as night comes on, men and women of all castes mingle together, and commit all kinds of abominations during the whole night, and this is a part of their worship. Strange, that in this land, where caste is so strictly observed, such a mixture of all castes should be sanctioned by the people themselves. However, the heart of man is naturally so vile, that, to carry out its hatred against good and against God, there seem no bounds. In short, debauchery appears to be the very essence of the Eight-letter religion. The Gospel, however, has found its way among these people. Through the exertions of some of the catechists, and one or two members of our Pan-

neivilei congregation, eighty persons of Tiruvarlinādanvelei have renounced their heathenism, the majority of whom were of the Eight-letter religion.

"The new converts of this place have attended the means of grace regularly, and afford much hope of their remaining true to their profession.

"Gnānaweri Pillay, a pilgrim supported by a lady at Brighton, has been the chief means of winning these poor people to the knowledge of the Gospel.

"2. Madatthapatti, a hamlet in the Sīvalapaig Gramam, is another place where the Gospel has taken a strong hold for the first time this last year. The Rev. A. Isaac [native clergyman, ordained Christmas, 1859] has, in God's providence and grace, been the instrument of leading more than a hundred souls in this place to destroy their idols, and zealously profess themselves anxious to serve the true God. I was delighted on visiting Madatthapatti to see even little children smashing idols that their forefathers had long worshipped. On my second visit to the hamlet I was thankful to find that nearly all of the people had learnt by rote the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and that some of them had commenced learning the Ten Commandments. Then, also, about twenty persons applied for baptism; but as they had only so recently placed themselves under Christian instruction, I considered it better to postpone their baptism until my next visit. May we not hope that God's blessing will rest upon the faithful teaching and preaching of the Gospel among these new converts? In addition to destroying their two devil temples, with all the images in them, they have also delivered over to me a well-built Rest-house, which they had hitherto allowed heathen travellers, proceeding to heathen feasts, to put up in. Moreover, they made over to me lands which bring in a rent of seventeen rupees per annum, which money I am to give away in charity. I have been permitted to establish a new school in Madatthapatti, at which the children of the new people attend daily. The following instance will show the good effect of establishing English schools for the benefit of the higher classes. The high-priest of a respectable caste, called Severli Vellālars, living at Mūditānanthal, on his deathbed sent a letter to me, requesting me to take charge of a son of his, and bring him up a Christian. Thinking that the poor man himself might wish to become a Christian, I proceeded to Mūditānanthal, and visited him on his sick-bed. He was delighted to see me, and then renounced all confidence in idols, and solemnly declared that he believed that Jesus Christ was the only Saviour. I found that he had been in the habit of daily reading the Scriptures. Though weak, he was very anxious to relate what he knew of the history of our Lord; and the account he gave was correct, indicating that he had been a diligent student of the New Testament. He requested his son to come, and, as soon as the lad appeared, he put the child's hand into mine, and earnestly requested me to be a father to the lad, bring him up in the faith of Christ, and endeavour to make him the instrument of leading all his relatives to embrace the Christian religion. Afterwards I endeavoured to persuade this poor high-priest to be baptized, but I could not get him to consent to that. The Rev. A. Isaac also visited the man, and tried to get him to receive baptism, but he was afraid of his relatives. Before his death he made his eldest son swear that he would bury, and not burn, as the heathen, his corpse. However, after the poor man's death, his heathen relatives prevailed, and burnt the body. This man was so far led to look to Jesus Christ by attending occasionally the school where his sons were instructed in English. The lad that was delivered to me has ever since attended regularly the instruction of the catechist, and professes himself a Christian. Only yesterday three brothers of the deceased came and requested me to receive them under Christian instruction. They are a rich and influential family, and men of high caste. Mūditānanthal is a town of about 4000 people, the majority of whom are Severli Vellālars. The late high-priest was the headman over about 20,000 men of his caste. Previously to his last illness I had had several conversations with him about religion, and the last time he was very inquisitive regarding the resurrection of the body. Although the inhabitants of Mūditānanthal are high caste, yet they do not make the least objection to the thorough teaching of the Bible, either in the English school, or in another school of fifty children, where the instruction is given only in the vernacular. I have a great hope that, if spared to live and labour among these people at Mūditānanthal, this year I shall be permitted to see many of them turn to God.

"While writing about schools, I rejoice to say that friends in England have supported so liberally Mrs. Tucker's boarding and day schools, that now there are upwards of fifty in the former, and seventy in the latter. The increase of converts in the immediate neighbourhood of Panneivilei has enabled us also to increase the number of children. One young woman, by the name of Rachel, who

had been educated at Mrs. Tucker's boarding school, was obliged to pass through a severe trial. Her father selected a rich heathen to be a husband for her, but she boldly refused to marry a heathen. Upon this her father sent to say, that unless she would consent to marry the man that he had selected for her, he would have her murdered. I, knowing that such evil deeds are sometimes done in Tinnevelly, kept a watch over the school-room, lest the girl should be forcibly taken away. Soon after this we caught three men in the very act of attempting to take Rachel away. This obliged me to bring the case before the Collector, who sent for the girl, and finding she had been threatened with murder, very properly took measures to prevent such an evil deed. Subsequently she has been married, with the consent of her father, to a Christian man.

"Hearing that the Marquis of Westminster was disposed to assist our schools, I wrote to his lordship, giving him an account of our Mission, and asking for help; and in answer to my letter he sent me out 100*l.* to build a schoolroom for Mrs. Tucker's boarders. The foundation for this building has been laid, and the work progressing. I know that his lordship is very liberal in building and supporting schools, &c., at home. I trust that he may be led to use his great influence in spreading the Gospel among heathen nations.

The churches at Mannariandittū and Kannāndavilei have been finished, and new churches and prayer-houses begun and finished at Nattatti, Vaikikullam, Nallangūly, Gurukavalei, Puthūr, Motachekudeyerappu, Arlakapuri, Madatthapatti, and Tiruvarlinādanvelei.

"The village of Nattatti is a sacred place for the Nattatti Shānar caste. I was therefore very much opposed in building a church there by Nattatti Nādan, the priest of that caste. He went even so far as to vow to the chief idol in his large devil-temple, that if a Christian church was built in the village of Nattatti no more offerings should be made to the image. Moreover, he brought an entirely false complaint against me respecting the building of the church, in consequence of which I was obliged to appear five days in the Tāsildar's cutchery: however I was enabled, by cross-examining the Nādan's false witnesses to prove that his complaint was a thorough falsehood. Moreover, I proved that I had a perfect right to build a church on a piece of ground given over to me for that purpose by one of the Nattatti Christians. This struggle was a very great one in the eyes of the heathen. Thanks be to God for the victory!

"The Christian zeal of Miss E. Gore, of Brighton, has led her not only to support two itinerating catechists herself, but to collect money for four more catechists, and also for some children in our schools. The above catechists have been doing their best to win heathen to Christ.

"In conclusion, I record my humble thanks to the God of all grace for His great mercies vouchsafed to my people, my catechists, my dear wife, and myself, during the past year, and for permitting us to make known to so many Christians and heathen around us His great and unspeakable love in sending His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ to die, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

"I add that the zeal and pious labours of the Rev. A. Isaac have given me great satisfaction.

Statistical Return.

Native Christians	2129
Baptized	1449
Baptisms during the year	161
Native Communicants	378
Native Teachers, including 17 School-mistresses	68
Boys' Day Schools (a few girls in some)	33
Scholars	647
Girls' Day Schools	1
Scholars	70
Boys' Boarding Schools	1
Scholars	40
Girls' Boarding Schools	1
Scholars	54

Translation of a Letter of the Rev. P. Simeon, Dec. 31, 1860.

"I thank God for the privilege I have enjoyed in labouring among my countrymen during a period of ten years. Though my labour among them is but feeble, yet it is encouraging to me to have occasion to think that the Lord's blessing rests on it, and that my efforts are not in vain. My feeble endeavours among the heathen, in bringing the Gospel of salvation before them, have not been without some good results; but they have been more frequently taught to feel their folly, by causes which we should perhaps regard, as in reality, less influential than the love of Christ to sinners as set forth in the Gospel. The catechists and myself have often visited them, and conversed with them on the subject of religion, pointing out to them the evil consequences of idol-worship, and exhorting them to repent of their sins and turn to Christ, in whom alone salvation

is to be found; but it was not before they experienced the Lord's dealings with them, in the way of visitation, that they began to pay attention to our preaching. I shall state a few instances as illustrative of this point. There is a heathen village, named Karapukatti, about three miles from Alvarnēri, where the people have a festival annually. At these festivals they present sheep, fowls, plantain, cocoa-nuts, &c., as offerings to their god. The last festival they set about to celebrate was in July. They had prepared various offerings, and fixed a day for celebrating the festival; but before they proceeded to offer their sacrifices, the headman of the village, who was the chief devil-dancer, was severely attacked with cholera, and died suddenly. Five others followed him to the grave. This circumstance disheartened the people in their attachment to idol-worship; and all, except five families, fled to the neighbouring villages, and the festival was stopped.

"A similar circumstance took place at Patthiniparei, near Kamppukathi, where also the people had prepared various oblations to their god, and fixed a day for offering them; but just two days before the appointed time cholera broke out in the village, and about ten or twelve died, and, consequently, the intended festival was stopped.

"The people of Thamaresari, a village about a quarter of a mile north of Alvarnēri, used to think very highly of themselves and of their goddess, Nallachiamman, by whose care, they said, they were always protected from cholera. During, however, the course of this month, it broke out among them also, and eleven people died: ten others are still ill. If it be asked, How is it that the heathen should be dissatisfied with their idolatry when they suffer from such calamities, and be drawn towards Christianity, although they see that Christians also are cut down by the same disease? I answer, that the heathen, in their attachment to their idolatry, have regard only to worldly prosperity, and have no reference whatever to pardon of sin and peace of conscience. Consequently, in calamity they feel that their own system has failed them. Then, as they inquire about Christianity, they find that it promises more especially spiritual blessing and needful comfort under the sorrows and trials which will inevitably be our lot here, and which also are in themselves designed for our good. Hence, in the visitation of cholera, the heathen, who usually prefer their livelihood and bodily health above other things, are taught to feel their folly. They now speak contemptibly of their gods and goddesses. They say that, as cholera generally breaks out among them during their festivals, it is evident that there is one Supreme Being who overrules every thing for the honour and glory of His name, and that such sicknesses are not at the disposal of their gods. They often remark, also, that the prevalence of Christianity in this country has deprived their gods of the influence and power they formerly possessed.

"There are two great Hindu festivals at Trichendūr, which is a place of resort for all classes of people from Madura, Malayalim, and other provinces. During the last festival cholera broke out among them, and many hundreds perished. It is a general belief among the Hindus that their gods will send rain during the celebration of the anniversary of their weddings and other festivals, but at present they experience the contrary. These circumstances have greatly shaken the confidence of the heathen in idols, and they frequently talk now as if their gods have lost all their virtues.

"The heathen, who are thus brought by providence to feel their superstition, acknowledge the excellence of the religion of Christ when we converse with them on that subject. But caste prejudice, worldliness, custom, and the vanity of the world, stand in the way of their becoming professed members of the church of Christ at once. But I trust in the Lord that many of them are not far from the kingdom of God. Heathenism, which is like a large tree, has now ceased growing, and daily its spread-out branches become scorched.

"The consistent lives of many of the members of the several congregations in this district have encouraged me much to labour cheerfully and hopefully among them. The scarcity which commenced in this province seven years ago, and which more especially increased during the present year, has reduced our people much in their worldly prosperity; but I am thankful to say that the sums contributed by them to the different Societies have been a little more than in former years. In accordance with the suggestion of Mr. Sargent, that the people of each village should undertake to defray one-third of the expenditure of their church-buildings and the purchase of *ghurries* (used as bells to summon the congregation), before any aid can be given from the District Church-building Fund, the people of Konkanthanparei and Ambalam erected a prayer-house in each of their villages in this way. The people of Pulipattam have likewise paid one-third of the price of the ghurry, bought for use in their prayer-house. During this year a church was built at Marudhakulam at the

expenditure of Rs. 547 . 8 . 6, of which 200 rupees was paid from the church-building fund, and the rest, Rs. 347 . 8 . 6, was defrayed by the people; the headman, Enoch Nadan, subscribing rs. 286 . 10 . 6 out of his own pocket. Besides this, the people of Marudhakulam have cheerfully granted a piece of *nanjai*, or paddy-land, measuring two and a quarter *kotta*, to be annexed to the property of the district church-building fund as an endowment. The revenue from this source will give a profit of twenty rupees a-year.

"The congregations have contributed cheerfully for the relief of the poor and sick members in connexion with this district. Our poor fund was for a time so low that we were unable to attend to the wants of all. But the catechists and others, as they long felt that it was a part of their duty to attend to their distressed brethren, made great efforts to raise the fund; and I am thankful to say that they succeeded, and that the poor are now occasionally receiving suitable assistance from this fund.

"These facts, combined with what I have seen of the character of many in private intercourse, lead me to believe that Christianity has really taken root in the hearts of many. I can confidently say of many that they walk consistently with their profession as Christ's disciples, and that they are daily growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Scriptures.

"In our visits to the heathen villages we find the people either quarrelling with each other and using obscene words, or doing some open wickedness. Their children wander about, receiving no education. These things are painful to us. But when we come to Christian dwellings, we are encouraged with many things we see there. The attendance of the people at prayers, their comely behaviour in their homes, their reading the Scriptures, their holding family prayers, and the attendance of their children at school for instruction, lead us to think that certainly there exists a great difference between them and the heathen. It is a great comfort to us that those members of our congregations who are now under Christian instruction for a considerable time apply for no help from us in their worldy matters. This enables us to devote our time entirely to the service of God in ministering to them the Gospel of Christ.

"It is usual in this country, that when a heathen falls sick he first takes some remedy, making a vow at the same time to his god to offer him gifts in case of his recovery. If, by these endeavours, he is not cured, he is ...uaded to believe that his enemies have devised enchantments against him. He then sends for the best magicians and devil-dancers, and begs them to recover him of his disease, offering them money and other gifts. If they do not succeed, they induce him to believe, that as the sins of his forefathers have brought this disease on him, he should give alms to the poor, and so the poor man is led on to poverty. But the conduct of a Christian is quite different to this. I have often visited sick members of the congregations, and talked with them about their spiritual condition, and frequently have I been encouraged by perceiving in them a sense of their sins, and a sincere dependence upon the promises of God. There is a man at Alvarnēri who has been sick for three months. I often called upon him, exhorted and comforted him, and prayed with him, reading several portions from the Scriptures to him. The following is what he said to me on different occasions—'When I think over all my sins committed from childhood, I perceive that I am the greatest of all sinners, and I fear whether I shall ever have any portion in the Lord; but when I am in this state of perplexity about my salvation, I am encouraged to put my trust in the Lord. My sweet Jesus shed His blood for me also, and I am therefore entitled to have a share among the saints in glory. Had not the Lord afflicted me thus, I should never have thought of all my sins. I feel now that my disease is intended for my good. My constant prayer in these days is, O Lord, correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing. The Lord hear my prayer!'"

Letter of the Rev. R. R. Meadows, Sivagāsi, Jan. 22, 1861.

"It will not be my province to give you a general report of the district for the whole year, for I arrived at Virdupatti only on Oct. 10. All I have to do is to convey to you my own impressions of things as they have appeared to me during the last three months.

"You will be anxious to hear in what condition I found the converts of the revival period, and how they are still conducting themselves.

"The places where they are chiefly to be found are Vāgeikulam, Rājapaliam, Melapatti, and Pattakulam. The first and last two places are only villages; Rājapaliam is a large town of 20,000 inhabitants. Some few cases have also occurred in other villages. The movement does not appear, in the Sivagāsi district at least, extensive. The numbers affected are not more than 160, nor do I

find that the heathen beyond the places, or the near neighbourhood of the places, in which the converts are, have been influenced. They listen no better to the preaching of the itinerants, and are no more inquisitive than before. However, having premised thus much, by way of caution, I would say most decidedly that the work is of God. I feel most thankful for what I have seen, and pray most earnestly that it may appear in other congregations, and to the heathen too.

"I find that persons of different caste, sex, and age, among whom are five Mission agents, have been awakened, some with bodily emotions, and some without. Where persons have been walking consistently for years, their zeal and earnestness, and the value they set on prayer, have been much quickened. The revival has brought forth the fruit of forty-five baptisms, and several more are nearly ready for baptism. Men and women and younger persons, to the number of seventy-one, have been stirred up to learn to read; and besides individual cases of heathen and backsliders being converted or restored, one village of about fifty persons has been added to the body of inquirers, simply in consequence of the revival.

"I have said that five native agents had been affected. I have long known four of these. We always felt suspicious of one of them, as a person mixed up with the affairs of the Zemindar of the district, and as probably receiving bribes from him. Indeed, since his conversion, he has confessed that he was a drunkard, and guilty of other sins, and he was cruel to his wife. He now goes occasionally to the Zemindar's house, but it is to preach the Gospel to him. His own house is now converted into a place for prayer for the congregation, increased from twenty-nine to forty; and his wife says that it is now like heaven on earth to live with him.

"Another of these native agents was a lazy, sleepy, unsatisfactory person, acting as reader at a little village in the district. He says now that he seldom or never read the Bible or prayed in private. Ever since his conversion he has been a diligent prayerful Christian. I have never, I think, heard from a catechist such a practical, common-sense, experimental, earnest sermon, as I heard from him at our last bi-monthly meeting of catechists; and his prayer at the conclusion was as if he were really pleading with God. He has just offered himself for work in the Mauritius, as it appears to me in a truly Missionary spirit. But it is not yet decided whether he is to go or not.

"There is a little company of awakened women in Rājapaliam who are constantly meeting for prayer. One of them goes to different houses to pray with the female inmates. She cannot read herself, but she gets one of the boys in the school to read for her, and then she prays. One of this party was a heathen a few months ago, and notorious, even among the heathen themselves, for her vile and abusive language. They notice now the change.

"There is a Christian woman in Vāgeikulam, who, since her own awakening, has been most earnest in her efforts for others, and God has blessed her zeal in more cases than one. Her husband's eldest sister, living some ninety miles off, was a very quarrelsome person. She quarrelled with her son-in-law, whom she was living with, and left him in consequence, and came to Vāgeikulam. One day this humble-minded but faithful woman, always a Christian, but much quickened at the great event of the revival, took her into the church close by, and talked and prayed with her for a long time. She now brings forth the fruits of the Spirit, which are 'love, joy, and peace.'

"I have seen only one case of bodily emotion, though, before I arrived, many were thus affected. It was that of a man, about thirty-five years old, from Kilapottalpatti. He had been an inquirer professedly for ten years, but he was a drunkard, and a person otherwise immoral. He had been awakened for some months when I saw him. Mr. Satthianādhen (the native clergyman) asked me to examine him for baptism. I was not prepossessed with his appearance and manner, but his answers were satisfactory. Soon, however, during our conversation, and from no apparent cause, his whole frame began to shake. He knelt down and remained upright upon his knees for a very long time; in fact, he seemed to be in a trance: his eyes were tightly closed, and he appeared quite unconscious of any thing that was passing around. Presently he sat down, but when I spoke to him he took no notice. He continued thus for about an hour and a half. When he recovered, he spoke to me very earnestly and excitedly. 'Jesus Christ,' he said, 'had commanded his disciples to be baptized, and I was in duty bound to baptize him.' Then he spoke of the sufferings of Christ, one by one, with the greatest feeling, and said, that if he committed sin again it would be like crucifying Christ again. At his baptism, about a month after, this trance came on him again, and during most of the service he remained transfixed to the ground, engaged in mental prayer. I asked him to account for this extraordinary manifestation.

He said he could not prevent it, but that it came on when he thought of his sins.

"I will now mention more particularly the condition of the two congregations of Vāgeikulam and Rājapaliam, adding a few cases taken from each.

"*Vāgeikulam.*—Three years ago, when Mr. V. Dēvanāyagam (a native clergyman) first went to this place there were but two men and one woman in the whole congregation giving signs of conversion. There were many nominal Christians, who attended church more or less regularly, but they were really heathen in life; and the abusive and vile language of many was such as to make it very trying to live with them. Before the revival the number of persons who usually attended from the village itself, and the neighbouring hamlets, was about 100: now the usual attendance is about 200, and it is with great difficulty that room can be found for them in the church. Abusive language has ceased, and Vedhanāyagam speaks without hesitation of more than thirty in the village itself as converted Christians. One of the most interesting sights, perhaps, in the whole district, is that of some twenty persons, men and women, sitting in the church on the ground, in the evening, round a lamp, learning to read: the schoolmaster and mistress, and a little orphan boy about nine years old, act as their teachers. Their conduct is the more remarkable, as they are employed all day at hard labour in the fields. It forms, too, a striking contrast to the general apathy, even among Christians, on the subject of education. I will now note down a few cases in this congregation as briefly as possible.

"Arulappan, aged thirty, baptized by me December 16th, was formerly notoriously wicked and debauched. He was awakened, had three days' struggle, wept, and confessed his sins. His wife was a careless person. She, too, for the last six months, has shown all the signs of a true convert.

"Yesuvādian, aged thirty-two, baptized, and a communicant, the most exemplary person in the village. He is one of those three true Christians whom Mr. Vedhanāyagam found there three years ago. He was much stirred up at the time of the revival, and is learning to read. There is scarcely a house, heathen or Christian, in Vāgeikulam, where he has not, at one time or another, spoken to the inmates about Christ. This he was in the habit of doing before the revival. His wife, represented as stubborn and disobedient, who had for several years lived away from her husband, was awakened through the earnest, faithful teaching of Mr. Vēdhanāyagam's wife. She is learning to read, is now reconciled to her husband, and is, in fact, as good as he is.

"Ramai, a girl of fifteen, formerly a heathen: her husband is still a heathen. She was awakened with bodily emotions. She felt her sins deeply, has been the means of her mother's conversion, and is herself learning to read. She is persecuted by her husband, and, in fact, turned out by him; but she has, I am glad to say, been received back again.

"But I would not have you gather too favourable a view of Vāgeikulam, although it is impossible to contemplate the work there without deep gratitude. Vēdhanāyagam tells me that there are still among this congregation Christians, professing godliness indeed, but whose hearts remain as hard as ever. I gathered this also from the character of his sermons. Besides, I find, in looking over the memoranda of that village (which I keep for my own guidance), such expressions as these regarding different individuals—'Piety doubtful;' 'correct, but no appearance of piety;' 'not satisfactory, but improved a little;' 'awakened at the time of the revival, but grown cold;' 'always indifferent;' 'attends church, not sincere;' and so on.

"*Rājapaliam.*—The congregation in this large town live in three different localities. Some few from each locality were subjects of revival. The catechist and his wife were affected. She has since died, beloved and mourned by all; and we feel sure that she is now enjoying her reward with her Saviour. There are five men, two women, and nine children, learning to read here. The children from the school are deputed to teach them, and the youthful schoolmaster superintends the whole. The peculiar feature of the revival here was the simultaneous prostration and conversion, during divine service, of eighteen persons. All of these, I am thankful to learn, walk consistently. Others, who had come to see the wonder, were also converted. Nathaniel, a former schoolmaster of the Society, but who had ceased connexion for several years, and was in life more a heathen than a Christian, was persuaded by the catechist to attend the prayer-meeting on the Wednesday following Whit-Sunday. Thirty persons were weeping and crying for mercy. He was himself affected, and wept. He had been a very bad man, supporting himself, as many persons in this country do, by carrying false suits through the courts. He had been, moreover, a drunkard, &c.

He confessed all this to Mr. Satthianādhen and the catechist. He is now a consistent Christian. He has left his wicked employment, and has become a petty trader. He tries to influence his father and wife, and the heathen. He is teaching his wife to read.

"I might bring forward many more examples, but these will suffice to show that, as far as man can judge, a real work of the Spirit of God is being manifested among us. I will now mention some congregations and individuals whose cases present much that is interesting and encouraging. One of them only, Pudhūr, is connected directly with the revival, though I am not sure whether they have not all been more or less influenced by it.

"*Pudhūr*, a hamlet about three-quarters of a mile from Vāgeikulam, and *Kuruvikulam*, about two miles from it, present this most encouraging feature, viz. that one of the Christians themselves, without receiving any salary, undertakes to instruct the converts, to conduct service, &c. I saw the people of Pudhūr about a month ago, and preached to them in their own village. I was struck with their proper behaviour, their progress, and the neatness of their women—a thing so unusual, among Pallar heathen at least. They all know the Ten Commandments, some know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and a few verses of Scripture. Their teacher himself did not know all the usual lessons, but he possesses the advantage of being able to read, and teaches the rest to the extent of his own knowledge. At Kiruvikulam, Satthianādhen, a member of the congregation, acts as teacher. He is most efficient, equal, as Mr. Vedhanāyagam expresses it, to a catechist receiving ten rupees a month salary. His friend, Gnānapragāsam, has built a place for the people to assemble, near his own house, and at his own charges. He has shown, too, his Christian sympathy, by paying Ramai's subscription for the oil required for the reading class at Vāgeikulam. These two are not the only instances, in our district, of congregations helping themselves, and not depending upon catechists for instruction, or the Society for money.

"*Rettiapatti* is a village of Chaḍklars, a caste lower than the Pariars. Their occupation is cleaning and working in leather. All bullocks or horses that die of themselves go to them, I believe, as a right. Their houses, separated from the main village by a few hundred yards, built of mud and thatch, round in shape, are so small that one could almost stand in the middle and touch the sides with the arms stretched out. Very few of this caste have ever embraced Christianity. Here, however, are six families. It is very pleasant to see them in a congregation more neatly dressed, perhaps, than their fellow-worshippers of two or three grades higher in the social scale. Two of them, evidently taught by the Spirit, make a point of speaking to the people of their own caste about the Gospel, wherever they go. I saw them a few weeks ago at Strivilliputthūr. They had come, on their way, to places some thirty miles more north, whither they were going to tell their caste relatives 'as much as they knew of the Gospel, in obedience to Christ's command, "Go ye into all the world . . . . and, lo! I am with you always"' At a large meeting of Christians at Tiruttangal, some six or eight months ago, one of these men had more in his Missionary earthen pot than any other person.

"*Our Agents*—Besides the three native clergymen, there are six assistant catechists, nineteen readers, ten schoolmasters, five schoolmistresses, and three monitors. This includes seven permanent itinerators, paid by the Tinnevelly Native Church Missionary Association, and two supported by private funds. Six out of the seven itinerators are very efficient men. But with regard to the other catechists and readers, though we hope all are converted men, and though many labour diligently for their flocks, and are not wanting in ability or attainments, yet we have not one catechist, and not more than one or two readers efficient as preachers. And till the teachers of the people (as the catechists and readers really are) can expound the Scriptures, so as to inform and build up their congregations; and till they learn that the chief excellency in a sermon is not that of multiplicity of subdivision, but that of heart speaking to heart; we cannot hope for any general improvement in the standard of our people. This is a subject to which it seems to me we need to pay very great attention.

"The congregations themselves are generally composed of Pallars and Pariars, classes of people lower than Shānars, and very nurous in our district. I have already alluded to the defects of the catechists as affecting the congregations. Their own general poverty and ignorance are another hindrance to their improvement. They most of them earn no more than 1a. 8p. or 2a. [2*d.* or 3*d.*] a day, and are therefore very unwilling to spare their children for a few hours to give them the advantage of school-teaching. Moreover, out of 600 adult Christians, I find that only 86 can read: of these there are only six women. One cannot expect, therefore, to find them setting a very high value on education, till

indeed they begin to hunger and thirst after the word of God, and feel anxious to read it for themselves. The revival has had this effect upon some seventy, as has already been said, and one hopes to see its influence more and more in this respect.

"I cannot read over the facts which I have been able to collect, of interest and encouragement in this district without feelings of profound gratitude to Almighty God. Whoever has been the agent, He and He only has been the author. To Him let us ascribe all praise! And may He increase a hundredfold the present fruits, converting the nominal Christian, restoring the backslider, and turning the heathen from darkness to light!"

Letter of the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, Jan. 20, 1861.

"I had heard much and often of Tinnevelly and its Missions; but yet I think I can say, that, in many respects, the half was not told me. I suppose one never thoroughly realizes any scene or any work until one sees it. So it certainly has been with me, at all events, as regards the Tinnevelly Mission. I had not realized its extent, nor its maturity, comparatively speaking, nor the advanced state of completeness to which its machinery had been brought. Nor, on the other hand, had I realized some of its less satisfactory features, nor been so fully aware that, essentially, its character is similar to that of our Mission in Kishnagar, though in several circumstances much in advance of it.

"Thus, the coming over of large numbers of people at once to join the body of Christians, seems to be caused by pretty nearly similar motives of a worldly or mixed kind to those which led over the people of Kishnagar. So also some of the Tinnevelly brethren rejoice to find one or two at a time coming over, as with us, under apparently real conviction of conscience or of the mind, almost more than of a number coming together as has been usual.

"But the wisdom and care manifested in the treatment of those who have come over, whether in larger or smaller numbers; the judicious distribution of catechists among them; the patience and pains wherewith the catechists have been taught, directed, and encouraged for and in their work; the advance made in some of the stations in school work amongst the girls as well as the boys, must all be spoken of most highly. And so also is the energy, the skill, the perseverance shown by many of the brethren—especially at the first and also for so many years since—in reclaiming so much, not only of the moral wilderness, and converting it into a garden of the Lord, but also of the natural desert around them, laying out their stations, erecting the various buildings, and gradually forming for themselves and their successors a pleasing civilized Christian home, in which they might feel willing and happy to abide as long as their work might require, and the Lord might permit.

"The Institutions, &c., at Palamcotta I like very much. I have scarcely ever seen a nicer girls' school than Mrs. Sargent's; and the Institution for Preparandi seems very well arranged, ordered, and taught. It is in its arrangements, style, and apparatus, much above our's at Santipore, in Bengal, though I think our youths are quite as well instructed. The training school is also very nice, but I did not see so much of it.

"I rejoiced very much to meet Messrs. Fenn, Meadows, and Macdonald, so simple and fervent, and yet sober in their work. Cold must be the Missionary heart that could forbear offering them a cordial 'God speed.' It is impossible to avoid expecting much fruit from their labours, though as yet but little has appeared.

"How far the late 'Revival' movement may be considered as indirectly a result of their labours, may perhaps be a question not easy to decide. Their devotedness, prayerfulness, and zeal, probably stirred up a somewhat like spirit amongst their native assistants, which may have communicated itself to some of those with whom those assistants were conversant, and it may have manifested itself in the 'Revival,' and in this way that movement may be said, perhaps, to have resulted from their labours.

"It has been tinctured with a good deal of extravagance, and, as might be expected, with some false pretences; but I think it is quite certain that an influence for good has been, and I trust still is, at work among some of the people in North Tinnevelly, and even down towards the South. I saw some of the effects of it myself, and heard several very gratifying facts from the Missionaries and others. A spirit of attention to the Gospel has been awakened in some places, a desire to read the Bible, and a steady effort to learn to read it, an improved moral tone, and, in some cases, a marked reformation in moral habits, may be stated as some of the evidences and results of the movement. And they have been so plain, that some senior brethren in other parts, who at first made light of the whole, now rather desire to see a like effect among themselves. I hope to see a little more of the Tinnevelly Mission on my return from Ceylon."

"THE FOX"—CHIEF OF THE PLAIN CREES. (*Vide* p. 140.)

THE LORD'S DEALINGS WITH THE NATIONS.

THE command of Christ is our authority for the work of Missions. He Himself it is that has enjoined and laid this obligation on his people. He had risen triumphantly from the grave, and in his resurrection proclaimed the victory he had achieved. As a mighty conqueror returning from the field of battle, He was on his way to the throne of glory which had been prepared for Him; and, in a solemn convocation of his people on the mountains of Gallilee, laid upon them the great Missionary charge, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The command is prefaced by a declaration of the supreme administration into which, as Mediator, He had entered, and which He has continued ever since uninterruptedly to exercise, "head over all things to his church," "angels, and principalities, and powers being made subject unto Him;" and this is done, not only as declarative of the fact, that He had authority to prescribe the course which should be pursued, but also to assure his people that this high administrative power would not fail to be exercised on their behalf; that not only should they be sustained by his Spirit amidst the trials inseparable from a work like this, but that human affairs in his administration of them, should be so ordered as might be most conducive to the furtherance of an enterprise which is to Him an object of such special interest, and that the operations of his providence throughout the earth should be such as to facilitate its progress.

The necessity that the "all power" given to Him, both in providence and grace, should be so used, is obvious. The duty is one of the most arduous character, inferior in its magnitude and difficulty only to the personal work of the Lord Himself, when He came amongst us to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. The same elements of hostility which met Him on his path of sorrow oppose this undertaking. There are the same evil combinations. The earth is a great battle-field, where the god of this world, assailed in his strongholds by the action of aggressive Christianity, is putting forth all his craft and power to maintain his rule over the prostrate nations of the earth. And therefore, in the face of such resistance, mere human efforts could only meet with a miserable discomfiture. Even the maximum of human power would be unavailing in such an enterprise: how much more the fragmentary portion of it which is brought into requisition in the Missionary work. The agency is so numerically feeble—the men who are willing to go forward to the van, and commit themselves to the great conflict which is carried on at the foot of the enemy's strongholds, are so few—that, had we not the hope of Jonathan, when he said to his armour-bearer, "It may be that the Lord will work for us; for there is no restraint to the Lord, to save by many or by few," we might at once desist. But divine power can work just as surely and effectively by a feeble as by a numerous agency. Nay, when the agency has been strong, the Lord has often purposely diminished it, lest the result produced should be ascribed to man, and not to Himself. The weakness of the agency throws us the more entirely on the promised strength of God, and penetrates us with the conviction, that unless He who has all power identifies Himself with us in this conflict, we should be unequal to wrest from the enemy one foot of the territory which he so resolutely defends.

This is our hope, and herein consists our confidence and encouragement to go forward, that we carry with us into the conflict the presence of Him who has said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," and that the "all power" vested in his hands will not fail to be exercised for the furtherance of the Gospel.

Something of this we are permitted to see; enough to assure us that this power is being so administered as to co-operate with human efforts in the great work of evangelization, and that not only by graciously sustaining the hearts of his people in this effort, and enduing with the necessary qualifications for its prosecution, but also by providential interferences of a very solemn and impressive character.

There are two difficulties which meet us in the Missionary work, one of an external nature, the other internal, and having its status in the mental condition of those to whom the Gospel is addressed. Amongst the first may be classified political obstructions, the jealousy of governments, and the efforts made by them to prevent the entrance of the Gospel amongst the populations over

whom they rule. In the removal of these, the power of God in our day has been marvellously displayed. Princes and rulers have attempted to prescribe limits to the extension of God's truth, and the evangelist and the Bible have been alike arrested on the frontier, and turned back. But a great earthquake has come, and rent asunder the rocky barrier; political convulsions have humbled the pride, or levelled with the dust the thrones of the opposers, and "He who shutteth and no man openeth, and openeth and no man shutteth," has placed before us open doors where we least expected them.

One recent instance of this interference may be referred to. The Tartar dynasty of China has been obstinately opposed to the dissemination of Gospel truth amongst the inhabitants of that vast empire. If we have had any *locus standi* there, it has not been with the goodwill of the authorities. Reluctantly they gave us access to the free ports, and there they laboured to detain us; shutting us out from all freedom of approach to the interior populations, although China's need of the Gospel was of the most pressing character. Those restrictions are at an end. The arrogance of the Tartar has been humiliated. On Oct. 12th, 1860, half an hour before the wall was to have been breached, the An-tin gate (Gate of Peace) of Pekin was surrendered to the allied forces, and the ramparts occupied by detachments with field-pieces, the French on the east, the British on the west. Beneath lay at the mercy of the conquerors the subjugated city, with its vast extent of one-storied houses partially hidden amongst the many trees, the public buildings with their roofs of glazed tiles, green or yellow, rising above the rest; the streets wider and more regular than in the southern cities, but the houses and shops presenting an appearance of poverty and dilapidation that was little looked for in the capital of the Celestial Empire.

The first ceremony was one of mournful solemnity—the interment of those gallant officers and men who, captured by the Chinese, though under the protection of a flag of truce, had succumbed beneath the cruelties to which they had been subjected. No one can read the account of their sufferings, as narrated in a recently published blue-book, without a deep conviction that there is no nation on earth which, more powerfully than China, needs the ameliorating action of the Gospel, for there is none that, under a thin veil of *quasi* civilization, retains a more implacable and pitiless nature. The felons of China were found to be more merciful than the Mandarins. One of the English gentlemen was cast into the common prison at Pekin amidst a crowd of murderers, thieves, &c.; but, such as they were, they pitied him. A large iron collar had been placed round his neck, with a long heavy chain attached to it, which sustained two other chains made fast to his legs. Three of the prisoners were assigned to watch and guard him, one of them at night always sitting at the head of his bed, which consisted of a board like a guard-room bed, the neck-chain being fastened to a beam over his head. They were very civil and kind, helping him by carrying his chain, getting him water to wash his hands and face, &c. Two of them were murderers, and the third was in prison for biting off his father's finger. Bad, however, as they were, the Chinese authorities and Mandarins were worse, and might with propriety have been made to change places with them. The remains of the four victims to Tartar cruelty were interred with military honours in the Russian cemetery, about a quarter of a mile from the north gate of the city; and there they remain to this day, a silent yet powerful testimony against the cruelties of a government whose days are numbered, for it has been weighed in the balances, and found wanting.

The imperial palace at Pekin would have been at once destroyed, as an expression of our just horror at such atrocities; but before the facts were known, a promise of protection had been extended to the captured city, and the stroke of retribution fell on the summer-palace of Yuen-Ming-Yuen.

"At Yuen-Ming-Yuen the tablets of the dynasty were preserved, on the safety of which, in the opinion of the Chinese, the existence of the present reigning family depends. By the people the palace was held in great veneration, from its being the constant residence of the emperor, and the place where all the great princes and nobles of the empire assembled: the gardens and buildings were famed for their beauty throughout China, and immense sums were expended yearly on their maintenance. It was the scene of all the intrigues and gaieties of the court. It was there that the great receptions and levees were held; and there that the emperor had his concerts, evening parties, and private theatricals, when, it is said, he mixed on more familiar terms with those invited than we imagined could exist in the ceremonious court of Pekin, an obeisance to the emperor on his entering and leaving the hall of reception being the only ceremony performed.

"From the place that was seized by the French on the 6th of October it was at least six or seven miles before the last building of Yuen-Ming-Yuen was reached. This was at the foot of the first range of hills that bound the plain to the north of Pekin. Over this large extent of ground were gardens, palaces, temples, and pagodas, on artificial hills, some of them 300 and 400 feet in height, with forest trees of all kinds covering their sides, through the green foliage of which were seen the yellow-tiled roofs of the various imperial residences. A large lake lay buried in the midst of these wooded hills, with two or three islands on it, with picturesque buildings, joined to the mainland by quaint but beautiful stone bridges. On one side of the lake, extending upwards of two miles, winding in and out among grottos and through flower-gardens, roofed in by flowering creepers, was the favourite walk of the emperor and his court. In some places, where the palaces came to the water's edge, the walk was carried past them on a light and beautiful stone terrace overhanging the lake. The high mountains of Tartary forming the background, made it, while it certainly was one of the most curious, also one of the most beautiful of scenes."*

It was in these gardens that some of the captives, having had their hands and feet tied together behind, and water having been thrown on their bonds to tighten them, were lifted up, and carried into a court-yard, where for three days they remained in the open air, exposed to the sun and cold. Food and water were withheld from them. Hundreds came to stare upon them in the daytime, many of them men of rank, but they were more pitiless and unfeeling than the criminals in the jail at Pekin. If the poor sufferers spoke, or asked for water, they were beaten and stamped upon; if they begged some food, dirt was crammed down their throats; and there, amidst intolerable sufferings, several died. The Yuen-Ming-Yuen, the *chef-d'œuvre* of China, was not spared. On the 16th October 1860, black masses of smoke rose continually from the gardens, giving the appearance of a fearful thunderstorm impending. Every place was set on fire, and the whole was wrapped in one prodigious conflagration. We regard it as the funeral pile of the Tartar dynasty. Its power of obstruction is at an end, not merely because of a treaty of peace, securing freedom of access into the interior, and liberty to preach and profess Christianity, but because, like the blackened and mouldering ruins of the summer palace, it is tottering to its fall.

Similar instances of rapid action and decisive overthrow of political hindrances may be traced in various directions, and thus access has been afforded to places which, some few years since, were impenetrably closed against us.

But there is another difficulty which meets us in the prosecution of our work, that when entrance has been obtained, and the Gospel message is addressed to men, they will not hear. It is true, that wherever the Gospel has been preached with fidelity, there has been enough to show that it has lost nothing of its power. Sinners have been converted, and churches and congregations have been raised up. But the great body of the people remain estranged, and are either indifferent or opposed. What is to be done under such circumstances? The Gospel has hitherto advanced at a slow rate of progress, and perhaps it was preferable that it should be thus while the foundations were being laid. But now that so much of preliminary work has been accomplished, it may be the Lord's pleasure to accelerate its progress; for while the Gospel is slowly advancing, souls are perishing. To accomplish this, providential interferences of another kind appear to be in operation—afflictive dispensations are permitted to fall upon the masses of population, in order to break up their fallow-ground and prepare them to receive the seed. This process also can be traced in various quarters. In the Yoruba country the Gospel has been introduced, and some have responded. Congregations have been gathered, and, according to the ratio of increase which has hitherto marked the progress of the Missionary work, they have healthfully augmented. But the nation stands aloof. The kings, magistrates, and bulk of the people, adhere to their old superstitions, and the oppressive formalities of Oro are paraded through the streets of Abbeokuta. Civil war has been permitted to break out, and the land is afflicted. The prosecution of industrial employments and commercial intercourse, for which the people of that country display such an aptness, is interfered with, and distress and trouble are abroad. But in the midst of national calamities they are learning the vanity of idols. The king and people of Abbeokuta in particular went forth to the war, trusting in their gods to help them. They consulted the priests; they followed their directions with the most scrupulous fidelity; they offered sacrifices, loaded themselves with charms,

* "Times" Newspaper, Dec. 28, 1860.

and went forth, elated with the priestly blessing, as to assured victory. Instead of this, defeat awaited them, and they returned home full of indignation at the deceit to which they had been subjected. "These priests," they said, "are impostors; these idols nothing; these charms a vain deceit." Thus, amidst these calamities of war, which at first appeared to be so prejudicial to our work, there may be springing up a distaste to the old superstitions, and a conviction of their inutility. The shadows may deepen, and, between Dahomey on the one side and the Ibadans on the other, Abbeokuta may become increasingly imperilled, and yet the national distress may prove the downfall of the national idolatry. We have observed the progress of this people. It would seem as though for them was intended the high privilege of becoming the first of West-African countries in the recognition and profession of Christianity. But the progress of the work has not been so rapid as its first commencement promised; and, as in the case of individuals, so with respect to this people, afflictive dispensations may have been permitted to facilitate its action. One tribe professing Christianity as the national religion, and prospering in that profession, would be a beacon light on the west coast of Africa.

Let us look in another direction. India needs a change of faith. The atrocities of the late mutiny are demonstrative of this. And hopes were entertained, when the excitement had subsided and the natives had time to reflect, that they would be themselves shocked at the enormities which had been perpetrated, and have awakened to the conviction, that religions which prompted and sanctioned, or at least did not condemn, deeds so pitiless, must be evil in their nature, and ought to be abhorred and renounced. We cannot say that this expectation has been verified, or that any large movement in the direction of Christianity has been apparent amidst the populations of the North-west Provinces. On the contrary, they seemed to be rapidly subsiding into the old monotony of heathen life, contented if only they might be permitted to be as their fathers had been before them; and, provided that the old routine remained undisturbed, and they might continue to buy and sell, to build and plant, to marry and give in marriage, and the seasons, following in their usual succession, afforded them the time to sow and the time to reap, prepared to worship at the same shrines, and serve the same idols which their forefathers had served. But He who reigns on high appears resolved that it shall not be so. Three years He waited, but there was no sign of national repentance. At length He has smitten, and with a stroke to be remembered. The usual rains, of vital necessity to India, came not. Some three weeks there were during which early droppings invited the sower to go forth, but when the blade sprung up there was no moisture. On these our western lands the rain descended in unusual quantities, but the North-west Provinces of India, as well as some other districts, were left parched and dry. In vain the husbandman watched for the cloud in the far horizon not bigger than a man's hand, the harbinger of the welcome rain, but it came not. There are columns of heated air that, rising from the expanse of the Sahara, dispel the clouds, and keep that great African desert a rainless region. But in India there were reminiscences of crimes for which no remorse had been felt, no regret expressed; and all these rose on high and drove away the blessing. And now, over the very same districts where the mutiny raged, the famine rages, and they who once saw the anguish of their brother and would not hear, are themselves suppliants for mercy. Not less than two millions of people find themselves reduced to utter want. The fields that used to bear their harvests remain bare even of a blade of grass, and for eight months from the commencement of the dearth, this population remains to be fed, as children are fed who have no power of procuring for themselves the food they need, or else they must perish from off the face of the earth.

And now, like Joseph's brethren when they found themselves in unexpected trouble, and with difficulties thickening around them; when the old sin, long put aside, rose up from the grave where it had been buried, to haunt them as with spectral apparition, and they cried, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us,"—sensations, to which these people have hitherto been strangers, are beginning to be felt; and as the famine, followed by pestilence and death, lays waste the land, they make known to one another the deep-seated conviction of their hearts, that the souls of the innocents who were murdered at Cawnpore, Delhi, Shahjehanpore, and other places, have been crying out for vengeance on their murderers, and that their cries have at length been heard before the judgment-seat of God.

How changed is Delhi now! It had its time of ease and prosperity under English

rule. When, for instance, in 1820, the Company, having restored the canal and aqueduct, which, during the decline of the Mogul empire, had become neglected and choked up, the waters, as they approached the city, were greeted by the inhabitants, who threw garlands and sweetmeats into the stream, in token of welcome. Those were palmy days, when the Chandnee Chouk, with its fine canal of clear water, shaded by an avenue of trees running down the centre, was thronged by a busy crowd of all nations, some intent on business, and frequenters of the hardware, cloth, and pawn-shops, which lined on either hand the street; others, lazy and loitering, not knowing how to bestow their leisure; while ever and anon rushed by the suwarree of some nobleman, or the closely-curtained car containing some lady of the harem. Somewhat better than four years ago, a different scene was enacted there. Mutinous troops from Meerut had borne thither the torch of insurrection. The train had long been laid, and it only needed that it should be fired. The explosion was instant and terrific. An infuriated mob rushed through the streets, intent on the murder of all Feringhees. Some fell, ruthlessly butchered; others fled whither they could, without the walls and amidst the jungles, there to hide themselves from those whom they feared more than the beast of prey or venomous serpent. Some ladies fled to the imperial palace, and sought protection from the old Mogul. He might have put them into his zenana and saved them, but he did not do so; and there are to be seen the court-yard and the well, sheltered by a large tree, where they were murdered.

Lo! the scene again changes, and we have Delhi under the stroke of retribution. The horrors of the siege, and the storming of the strong high walls of masonry, defended by most formidable bastions and crenelated curtains, with a glacis covering three-fourths or more of their height, the fierce onslaught and the vain defence, these sufficed not. They were from man, the expressions of his anger. Something else was needed more solemn, because direct from God; and, lo, his dread judgments sit enthroned in the midst of Delhi! It is described with powerful and affecting reality in the following extract from the "Mofussilite" of February 26th—

"Sir Robert Montgomery visited the Relief Asylums at Delhi on Friday, the 22d, at mid-day, accompanied by the members of his staff, all the civil officers, and nearly all the members of the General Relief Committee. The Lieut.-Governor proceeded to visit the asylums, and learn with his own eyes the confirmation of the reports he had received of the deep distress abroad. There are three great asylums at Delhi, outside the city; one at the Khoodsea Bagh, the original relief house, which admits only the most aged, infirm, and feeblest objects of compassion, as well as the latest arrivals, who are committed to the civil surgeon for treatment. In this there were some 800. The second place is the great enclosure of the Eedgah, in which from 6000 to 8000 receive a meal a-day. The third refuge is outside the Delhi gate, where from 3000 to 4000 assemble daily. This was visited first. Almost, if not entirely, middle-aged women, with sickly young children, formed the assemblage, of whom half were widows. The last pinches of want were not discernible here, as timely relief had been afforded, and had begun to tell. Brigadier Brown had formed the groups into regimental dispositions with great precision: no hurry, or noise, or confusion. All received their tickets, presented them at the door, obtained their meal-flour and salt, and went on their way, poor things, into their lonely, unfriended homes, to eke out their scanty day's meal, the next morning again to congregate at the same poor-house.

"After minutely inquiring into all details connected with the first section, so excellently organized and superintended by the Brigadier, the Lieut.-Governor proceeded to the Eedgah. As he came to the gates, a crowd of miserable objects yelled outside for admittance within the precincts. These had been excluded as being fit for work. The yells outside subsided as the gates were closed; and a melancholy scene presented itself. One-half of the enormous area was completely covered by wasted files of human beings. In every direction and in every posture of apathy, disease, despair, and prostration, were lying about the hollow-eyed wretched victims of the dreadful visitation, almost too far gone even to care to creep among the long rows of rags, squalor, and half-nakedness.

"Sir Robert paced slowly down the lines in amid almost unbroken and painful silence, pausing now and then before some gaunt and wan figure, to ask whence he came, to be answered only by mute gesture, or exhausted effort at articulation. Out of more than 6000, not one could be pointed out as fit for a quarter of an hour's ordinary work. It was painful enough to reflect, after viewing the remnants of human beings whom charity had reached, upon the thousands who must have been, and must be, perishing in the

highways and byways daily. The distribution of chupatties and dall to this gathering, takes four hours a-day. Lalla Mahesh Das aids largely out of his own purse in the support of these people; and Mr. O. Wood, Assistant-Commissioner, aids zealously in the charitable, but painful business of superintending the alleviation of so much human suffering. Each of the homeless beings, as they receive into their tattered shreds of garments their food, pass out through the wicket, to lie about and nestle among the rocks and stones until the next morning; not a few perhaps to die in the interim. Each has a wooden ticket bound round his right wrist, which he is not to remove. The men's tickets are oblong, the women's square, and the children's hexagon. Thus no one can present a stolen ticket, and get double food; nor can he possess more than one, as it is tied to his wrist; and by no other way of presentation, and at no other than at the appointed time, will the bearer be entitled to food that day. They enter until twelve A.M.; doors are then shut; they are mustered and inspected at one P.M., and food is distributed until all have received. Those fit for work are daily eliminated, and sent off to work, with passes. His Honour expressed himself completely satisfied with the arrangements; and after desiring that the rule should be relaxed this once, on the occasion of his visit, in favour of the vociferous crowd outside, passed on to the third and last central asylum. This is enlarged from the original poor-house which has always been in existence in Delhi. The peculiarity of the last-mentioned asylum at the Eedgah is, that hope is afforded that many will recover after a week or a fortnight, and pass out again fit to earn sustenance by daily labour. But at the Khoodsea Bagh it is almost past hope. Here death steps in, and relieves daily from eight to nine of their sufferings. The spectacle of human woe here exhibited surpassed all that can be written about it, and adequately justified the earnest appeals for aid, as well as the munificent responses to those appeals. With their skeleton shapes just covered by skin hanging in thick wrinkles, the famished are brought in, some to struggle into life, most to die from the mere effort at eating. The hideous and repulsive aspect of these cases is utterly lost in the unbounded sympathy felt, as well as the regret that more cannot be done to arrest the scythe of the destroyer. All the arrangements are admirably conducted by the respected Assistant of the Treasury, Mr. De Gruythers."

It is an opportune moment to render good for evil, and thus avenge ourselves for the wrongs we have received. This is the revenge that is sweet, and it is the only revenge which a Christian knows—"if thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Our enemy does hunger. In the providence of God he is cast on our mercy: let us feed him. In so doing we shall best commend our Christianity, and bring it out in striking contrast with the bloodthirsty and grovelling superstitions of the people. We would have befriended them, and they hated us; they cruelly wronged us, and now we befriend them. In the season of our distress, Hinduism gave us treachery, and Mohammedanism, in its fierce bigotry and relentless hate, tore us in sunder. In the season of their distress, Christianity yields them pity and active help. This is being done largely and munificently. "Many hundred imploring beings in Delhi owe their lives to the humane and disinterested exertions of one who had to flee from the infuriated mob at the first mutiny, and for weeks suffered every privation and misery, with his family, in the jungle." Nor is this an isolated case. "In most of the places in the north-west, where, three years ago, English blood was treacherously and mercilessly shed, the poor of the land are fed and supported in thousands, at the expenditure of lacs of rupees, by the survivors of the very race whose extermination was attempted by treachery and assassination so short a time ago."

Who can estimate the importance of a crisis such as this, or the stupendous results of which it may be productive? "When Thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world shall learn righteousness." His judgments are in the earth confessedly, unmistakeably, and why should not the people, in the school of tribulation, learn God's lesson? True, the dispensation is one of extreme severity, but it is because nothing less deeply afflictive would suffice. "I spake unto thee in thy prosperity, but thou saidst I will not hear;" and then, "How gracious shalt thou be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!" Men might bear the message of God's mercy, as brought to the nations, and they will not hear. What then remains? Shall they be let alone? This would be a decision of still greater severity. Nothing can be conceived so tremendous as when God resolves to leave a man to himself, and let him take his own way. To smite, to afflict, is with a view to initiate a process of recovery; to let a sinner alone is to abandon him to his fate, and withdraw

the restraining hand that would prevent him from casting himself over the precipice into the abyss beneath. An exceedingly dangerous case comes under the attention of a physician: he sees there is but one way of saving life; it is by an operation of extreme severity. The patient must suffer keenly, but it is in this way only that life can be saved. Shall the physician forbear, and talk of mercy, and say, "I did not wish to inflict so great pain?" No; that would be cruelty. He who would so act, at a crisis when not a moment is to be lost, would be regarded not as a merciful, but a cruel man; while, on the other hand, the practitioner whose sense of duty and feelings of humanity combine to render him unflinching and determined in the fulfilment of his duty, is regarded as having saved life: his severity at such a time is concluded to be mercy, and his skill and compassion elicit the gratitude of the individual whom he has benefited.

So, then, it is with Him who, on the throne of his majesty in the heavens, administers the affairs of the church and of the world: it is in mercy that He does "his work, his strange work," and brings to "pass his act, his strange act," judgment.

We may refer again to China, as exemplifying, in its present condition, the same divine procedure. The Chinese, as a people, have met the Gospel message with profound indifference and contempt. Self-satisfied and supercilious, placed, as they consider themselves, on the apex of civilization, they have looked down on European modes of life, on our science and Christianity, and they have despised them. They are a peaceful and industrious, but an atheistic and conceited people. There is amongst them no realization of an eternal God, nor are they at all affected by considerations derivable from a future state. Their feeble perceptions in the direction of unseen things extend no further than the worship of their deceased ancestors, and even in this they have no other object in view than their prosperity on earth. As for religion, they have had that strange combination which their ancestors used, and which have been handed down to them. The speculative element, should they wish to indulge in this, is presented to them in the doctrines of Confucius, and the ceremonial of the state religion; the marvellous and subtle abounds in the tenets of Lautsz, and the sorcery and invocations of his followers; while the sensual and hypocritical element flourishes under the patronage of Buddhism. But especially the worship of their ancestors prevails with them, and how could they think of departing from the venerated exemplars whom they have deified, and under whose daily protection they consider themselves as placed? The worship of their ancestors is, after all, with the Chinese, a very business-like arrangement. They support the ghosts, and duly feed them, and, while this is done, the ghosts protect them; else, if neglected, they become vindictive and troublesome.

Thus their superstitions suit the Chinese, and they want nothing more. If they are multiplied and expensive, yet they break the monotony of life; if puerile, yet they do not interfere with them in their course of self-indulgence. A Chinese, in his prosperity and time of ease, has all the wants that he is sensible of, gratified, and looks upon a new religion, when presented to him, as an intrusion; nay, more, when its spiritual character and its vivid realization of man's responsibility becomes apparent to him, he resents and dislikes it. Many proofs of this indisposition, on the part of the Chinese, as a people, to the truths and requirements of the Gospel, lie dispersed throughout the records of Missionaries. Medhurst embodies the self-complacent feelings of a Chinese, in the time of ease, in the following soliloquy—"I felicitate myself that I was born in China; and constantly think how very different it would have been with me if born beyond the seas, in some remote part of the earth, where the people, deprived of the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, and live in holes in the earth. Though living in the world, in such a condition I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the middle kingdom; I have a house to live in; have food, drink, and elegant furniture; clothing, caps, and infinite blessings: truly the highest of felicity is mine." "We have seen your books," said one of them to a Missionary, "and neither want nor approve of them, having abundance of instruction handed down from our great sages, which are far superior to any foreign doctrines you can bring." "Your sage," was the reply, "taught you the duties of human relations, while he said nothing about the Supreme Being or the life to come; but Jesus, having descended from above, and risen from the dead, was able to give us every information about eternal and invisible things." "Nevertheless," said he, "we want not your books: there is the road: go." "You speak of Jesus as a Saviour," exclaimed another;

"pray whom does He save?" "All who believe." "You talk of forgiveness of sins: shall I obtain the forgiveness of sins by reading this book?" "If you follow its directions, and believe in the holy Saviour, you will." "What will this Saviour bestow on those who trust in Him?" "He will take them to heaven." "Have you believed?" "I hope I have." "Has He taken you to heaven?" "I trust He will when I die." "Die! oh, you have to wait till death for all this. Give me present enjoyment: who cares what will happen after death, when consciousness ceases?" Thus, as will be seen in the above extracts, the self-complacent, sceptical, and sensual elements unite in the mind of the Chinese to indispose him to Christianity. "Pray allow me," said an illiterate Chinese labourer, "to ask you where is the seat of man's soul, and whether it be larger in an infant or a grown person?" And when the answer given him did not meet his sceptical views, he propounded another. "You see this table on which I am resting my arm? Pray tell me whether the wood of which it is composed is dead or alive?" And then, from this point he proceeded to open out his sceptical views. "In a short time this table will crumble into dust, and go again towards the formation of another tree, or something else in the vegetable world; and so it is with all things, man not excepted. Man, the world, and all things, are unceasingly undergoing changes of a variety of kinds, yet never ceasing to exist, only assuming different forms: such as I am in substance now, such was I a thousand years ago, and such shall I be a thousand years hence. Hitherto I may have been a beast, a reptile, or a bird; and hereafter I may exist in one or other of those species. But whatever I may have been, or may yet become, in substance I shall always continue the same. I shall never die. There is no such thing as death." With this materialistic immortality he was contented. There was no responsibility in it, and as it involved no personal identity, each succeeding phase of life being completely isolated from all reminiscences of the one which preceded it, it was a matter of indifference to him whether he became a beast, a bird, or a reptile. One more recent instance may be introduced as throwing light upon the aspect of the Chinese mind towards Christianity. Our native catechist, Bao, located at the city of Yü-yau, about forty or fifty miles from Ningpo, had sought out one of a rich family, who had retired from business, in which he had greatly prospered, and, in a neighbouring monastery, had given himself up to the work of chanting prayers, and preparing for a future life. He addressed him on the great subject of the true religion of God, to which he desired him to direct his attention, instead of expending his time on that which could not profit. The man's reply was prompt. "It is unnecessary for you to say more on the subject: you have your doctrines, I have mine. Our religions differ." Thus saying, he resumed his chanting. Bao ventured again to solicit his attention. "The true religion, honoured Sir, is but one: the way of reaching heaven is only by believing in Jesus." Again he replied, "Please say no more on this subject: the religion that has been handed down to us for a long series of years must be true. It is unnecessary to continue our conversation. Good morning." Bao then pleaded an acquaintance with his brother, by whom he had been asked to call upon him. "If," said the impenetrable idolater, "you wish to say any thing more on the subject of religion, I must decidedly refuse to hear you; but if you have any thing else to say, I have abundance of time to devote to you." A small book was then offered him. "I'll have none of it, I'll have none of it," was his only answer.

We are quite aware that in every quarter difficulties present themselves, and that in no one instance is the human mind naturally disposed to the reception of the Gospel. We are aware, also, that there is no form of difficulty with which the Gospel of Christ is not able to contend, and thus to prove that it is "the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth." On the coast of China this has been done, although on a limited scale; and at Ningpo a band of native converts reverences the name of Jesus, and seeks to do Him service. But the field of operation is vast, time is rapidly passing, and souls are perishing. The Chinese, at his ease and in prosperity, is less accessible than in the season of trouble, when his earthly heaven is broken up, and he is drifting along on the turbid ocean of despair, not knowing whither. Then he looks for help, and knows not where to find it.

Trouble is come upon the land of Sinim! It is confounded and broken down: judgment is come upon the plain country. The Taepings first excited the solicitude of the Imperial Government in 1850. Gathering strength in Kwan-se, they burst into Hoonan, and from thence advancing, city after city falling before them, they appeared before Nankin March 8, 1853. Effecting a breach by springing a mine, they stormed the walls, and, penetrating into the inner, or imperial

city, occupied by the hereditary garrison of Tartar bannermen and their families, put them to the sword, not more than a hundred escaping out of a population of 20,000. At the end of 1853, Lord Elgin's mission found the Taepings in possession of every place of importance along the Yang-tse-kiang, from Nankin, the capital of Ngan-hwui, down to Nankin, the capital of Kiang-su. Nankin is the great centre, the heavenly capital, and the residence of the heavenly prince and his court. On this they fall back to recruit and gather force, and from this burst forth in floods of invasion on the surrounding countries. If, having once overrun a province, they permanized their conquest, and brought the population under a settled system of government, the evils of this remarkable era in the history of China would be less overwhelming. But this is not so. In the spring of 1853 they occupied Woo-chang, the capital of Hoo-peh, with the contiguous cities Han-yang and Han-kow, lying opposite it on the great river, and, after holding them for three months, retired to Nankin. About the end of 1854, the imperialist generals were enabled to announce the clearance of the two provinces, Hoo-peh and Hoo nan. Yet scarcely had the Emperor time to congratulate himself on this satisfactory intelligence, when, in February 1855, the Taepings again flooded out from Nankin, and, re-occupying Han-kow, stormed Woo-chang, the imperial governor-general falling in the conflict. These fluctuations increase immeasurably the disasters of the period. The imperialists, coming in so soon as the Taepings retire, punish the inhabitants of the districts for permitting them to be there, plundering them of every thing which the Taepings had not carried away with them, and slaughtering the unfortunate neutrals as rebels.

At length a strong imperial force was moved in the direction of Nankin, and in December 1858 the investment of that city was said to be complete, and the overthrow of the Taeping usurpation pronounced to be at hand. Imperial junks occupied the river, and a many-bannered host spread over the hills. But a year and a half passed over and no decisive blow was struck. The Taepings, although they had lost Chin-kiang, remained masters of Pu-k'au, on the north bank of the great river opposite Nankin, and their communications with their brethren in Ngan-hwui remained open. Gradually reinforced by them, in the beginning of last year they made an effectual sortie, undoing the work of several months' blockade, and inflicting fearful punishment on the people of Kú-yung and Lih-shwui, two district towns on the sources of the Tsin-hwai, for their share in the work of circumvallation. Overthrowing the imperialist generals, who in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent, they flooded over the districts of Lih-shwui, Kintan, Tanyang, and I-hing, on the east of the Tai-hu lake. Soo-chow, on the west side, now trembled. In size and riches Soo-chow surpassed Nankin. The city proper occupying an area of ten miles within the walls, with its four immense suburbs, contained a population of two millions. Situated on the islands of the great lake, it was intersected by so many canals and streams that it was difficult to say whether land or water abounded most. The environs were highly cultivated, producing cotton, silk, rice, wheat, fruits, and vegetables. In the estimation of the Chinese it was one of their most beautiful and richest cities, so that, according to the national proverb, "To be happy on earth one must be born in Soo-chow, live in Canton, and die in Liau-chau;" for in the first are the handsomest people, in the second the richest luxuries, and in the third the best coffins. The reputation was high for "the splendour of its buildings, the elegance of its tombs, the picturesque scenery of its waters and gardens, the politeness and intelligence of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its women." Its manufactures of silk and cotton fabrics, and works in iron, ivory, wood, horn, glass, lackered-ware, paper, and other articles, were the chief sources of its wealth and prosperity.

Soo-chow being threatened, defensive measures were adopted. The suburbs were ordered to be destroyed, three days being allowed to the inhabitants to remove their property: at the expiration of that time the whole of the suburban buildings were committed to the flames. But Hang-chow was to be the first smitten. This city, the capital of Che-keang, rivalled Soo-chow in public estimation, and both were extolled in the Chinese proverb, Shang yu tien tang: "Hia yu su Hang," the purport of which is, Hang-chow and Soo-chow are fully equal to paradise.* It was visited in 1858 by the Bishop of Victoria. "We were borne nearly two miles through some very fine streets, abounding with well-stored shops, into the suburb which formed the shore of the magnificent lake." On this lake, in a pleasure-barge prepared for their accommodation, the Bishop and his family passed several days. Around lay a panorama of interesting objects, "beautiful temples, dilapidated pa-

* *Vide* "C. M. Intell." Dec. 1860, p. 279.

godas, the country-houses of the wealthy, a few pack-houses and stores of the more opulent merchants, ancestral temples, ancient tombs and monumental arches, long rows of temporary resting-places for depositing the coffins containing the bodies of individuals who had died at a distance from their own native district, villages and gardens scattered over the undulating hill-sides." Hang-chow was then wholly at ease and quiet. "The city gentry and wealthy traders were continually meeting us on the shore, or passing us in their boats, attracted hither by the romantic beauty of the scenery, or influenced by a pious reverence for the tutelary deities of the various shrines." Yes, idolatry presided, and the idols received the homage that belonged to God alone: "they worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for ever." And now "in the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." The Taepings burst upon it like a thunder-storm and captured the outer city, the Tartar garrison retiring within the inner city. They remained only a few days, retreating on the approach of heavy imperialist reinforcements, but, within that brief period, the loss of life and property had been immense. For miles, before reaching the walls, isolated cases of incendiarism may be observed in the northern suburb. These become more frequent and considerable as the city is approached; while in the immediate vicinity destruction has had her perfect work, and centres of trade and opulence are left desolate. As at Soo-chow, this was probably more the work of the imperialists than of the Taepings. "On entering the eastern gate facing the lake, the scene that meets the view is no less distressing: street after street may be traversed for miles with no sign of business but some vendors of eatables on a small scale. Looking down from the top of the Pa-kua hill, within the city, the debris of the recent conflagrations are observable all around, and, where such is not the case, streets are deserted by their former tenants; the wealthy have fled for the security of life and property, and the large emporiums of commerce have closed doors. The Ching hwang meaou, and many other of the temples, have been especially devoted to destruction. The venerable Mohammedan mosque, with its conspicuous and stately tower, although visited by the insurgents, is left undamaged, probably because it contains no vestige of idolatry." The famous picturesque temples, on the borders of the lake, have been partially visited also, but destruction there has been confined to the demolition of some of the idols, which, in several instances, have been reduced to the primitive elements of clay and timber." Knocking off the noses of the idols has been a favourite pastime with the Taepings, "so that, in some of the temples, every one of the figures is deficient of that organ."

The loss of life during the few days of conflict has been from 50,000 to 70,000. The swords of the Taepings and imperialists have, no doubt, helped to cut down this harvest of death, but a large measure of it has been suicidal. No people become more reckless and desperate, under the pressure of sudden calamity, than the Chinese. They have nothing to sustain them: life becomes intolerable, and they rush to self-destruction as an escape and refuge.

The Taepings, compelled to abandon Hang-chow, next directed their steps towards Soo-chow. Already had that city grievously suffered. The defeated imperialists, flying thither before the Taepings, committed great atrocities. The committee of gentry, men of official rank, &c., attempting to protect the population, were set upon by the imperialist general, Chang-yuh-hang, and some of them put to death. Oppressed to death by these calamities, Su, the governor, destroyed himself. The panic-struck population, seeing the storm about to break upon them, hasted to escape, flying to the country districts in great numbers. From this and other threatened points an exodus commenced, the inhabitants removing, with all possible expedition, their families and furniture. About this time, when Soo-chow and the surrounding districts were in a panic at the near approach of the Taepings, H.M.S. "Nimrod," and H.I.M. gun-boat "Mitraille," visited Sung-hiang-fu, about thirty miles from Shanghae. The greater part of the shops were closed, and even the presence of foreigners was insufficient to bring together a crowd. The dejected appearance of the elder members of families, as they sat in open boats, exposed to the rain which was falling, was most painful to witness.

The Taepings, on reaching Soo-chow, met no resistance; the imperialist soldiers either joined them or fled. Ho-chun, the imperialist general, who had already been defeated before the walls of Nankin, with the loss of all his guns and stores, was at Hu-shu, an important custom-house barrier, a short distance to the north of Soo-chow, but seeing that every one was disheartened, and the situation desperate, he put an end to himself before the crisis came.

Since its occupation by the Taepings, Soochow has been frequently visited by Missionaries from Shanghae. One journal of such an expedition, and of an interview with the Kan-wang, drawn up by our Missionary, the Rev. J. S. Burdon, and dated September last, was published in our Number for December. The affliction of the population as they passed along is vividly described in that document. "It was heartrending to see the misery of the people. They spoke very earnestly against being thus treated. They said it did not matter to them who held the empire, but the struggle for it should surely be confined to the contending parties, and not be made the means of bringing such miseries on the people."

Soo-chow presented the appearance of an humbled and wasted city, on which the stroke of calamity had fallen heavily, the streets being deserted, many of the houses ruined, and broken household furniture lying about in all directions. Dead bodies offended the eye, or, if hidden under the ruined vestiges of domestic life, tainted the air.

We are glad to find that the foreign merchants at Shanghae have subscribed about ten thousand dollars for the purpose of relieving the wretched families who have been driven from their homes: a considerable number of them had reached Shanghae. People are afraid of receiving them into their houses, lest they should be suspected of harbouring suspicious characters, and thus these poor wanderers suffer much because the little sheds where they put up are not weather-proof.

Truly heavy tribulations have inundated China. The judgment stroke has fallen upon its idolatry. The Taepings desecrate the temples and break the idols, who can neither defend themselves nor those who trust in them. The judgment-stroke has fallen on the self-complacency of China. The ease and luxuriousness of the Chinese gentry are at an end: their pleasant homes are broken up, and numbers of them are wanderers, they know not whither. They find no ease, neither has the sole of their foot rest, but there has come upon them a trembling of heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind, and their life hangs in doubt before them, and they have fear day and night, and have none assurance of their life; and the judgment-stroke has fallen upon the atheism of China, for its hideous results are seen in the oft-perpetrated crime of suicide. When the troubles of life invade us, those sudden inundations to which we are all liable, sceptical opinions afford no support in the midst of such deep waters.

It is the time of China's sorrow, but it is a time in which she may be found willing, as she never was before, to give heed to the Christian evangelist. It is the opportune moment for effort. We should be found upon the spot, and that in sufficient numbers to take advantage of this crisis. Who are they that are willing to be found co-operators with God in the mighty work of China's regeneration? "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?" The Lord wants labourers for China, and that instantly. Are there none amongst us under such obligations to Him as to induce them to say, "Here am I, send me?" Are there none whose souls He has redeemed from evil, and whom He is daily keeping from the evil, and shall they hesitate to respond to the Lord's demand, that China may have succour?

We have not exhausted our subject, but we have not space. In other directions the same specialities of God's providence may be traced. Over other lands, where the testimony of the Gospel has been made known, but not honoured as it should be, dark clouds have gathered; the horizon is obscured; the thunder peal, with a crash, breaks the ominous pause, and the vivid lightning gleams forth. But we forbear. We should be led beyond the precincts of the Mission fields. But God's judgments are in the earth. A cyclone of tribulation seems to be going forth on its solemn mission among the nations. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, "Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great whirlwind shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth." Shall Europe be passed over? And if America and Europe are in trouble, shall England be spared? Let us be found doing the Lord's work, and, whatever betides, He will not fail us.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE ASSINIBOINE AND SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICTS, RED RIVER.

IN our last Number we placed before our readers a sketch of the physical features of the Red-River colony. Before we travel westward, and, in the light of the new information which has reached us, traverse the prairies and the region of the Saskatchewan, we shall dwell for a brief period on the state of religion at the Red River, and the general condition of its population. We wish to ascertain how far it is fitted to sustain without injury the altered circumstances into which it is about to be introduced, and, amidst the inrush of an emigrant population, to act as a centre of Christian light and truth. The past history is familiar to our readers, and it is not necessary we should dwell upon it.

There are three distinct elements of population—Europeans or Canadians, half-breeds, and natives. The mixed-blood element is the increasing one; the others, the two extremes of pure native or pure European blood, appear rather to decrease. That the natives have done so to a great extent is a notorious fact, although we believe that Christianity, wherever the Indian race is brought under its power, arrests the depopulating tendency, and gradually restores the original law, "increase and multiply." But the statistics of 1849 and 1856, when compared, exhibit a decrease in the European element also. The importance of the half-breed element of population, its valuable qualities, and peculiar dangers, are brought out very tangibly in the following extract from Professor Hind's narrative—

"The half-breeds of the north-west are a race endowed with some remarkable qualities, which they derive in great part from their Indian descent, but softened and improved by the admixture of the European element. It is, however, much to be regretted, that, from the singular necessities of their position, many of them are fast subsiding into the primitive Indian state: naturally improvident, and perhaps indolent, they prefer the wild life of the prairies to the tamer duties of a settled home: this is the character of many, but it belongs more to those of French descent than of Scotch or English origin.

"About the 15th of June they start for their summer hunt of the buffalo. There are now two distinct bands of buffalo-hunters, one being those of Red River, the other of the White Horse Plain, on the Assiniboine. Formerly these bands were united, but, owing to a difference which sprung up between them, they now maintain a separate organization, and proceed to different hunting-grounds. The Red-River hunters go to the Coteau de Missouri, and even as far as the Yellow Stone River; the White-Horse-Plain settlers generally hunt west of the Souris River, and between the branches of the Saskatchewan, but also over the same grounds as their Red-River brethren.

"The improvidence of many of the half-breeds is remarkable. During the winter before the last, those of the White Horse Plain camped out on the distant prairies, and killed many thousand buffalo in wanton revelry, taking only their skins and tongues, little caring that the reckless destruction of these animals must exercise a very important change for the worse in their own condition. As the buffalo diminish and go farther away towards the Rocky Mountains, the half-breeds are compelled to travel much greater distances in search of them, and consume more time in the hunt: it necessarily follows that they have less time to devote to farming, and many of them can be regarded in no other light than men slowly subjecting themselves to a process of degradation, by which they approach nearer and nearer to Indian habits and character, refusing to adopt or relinquishing the tame pursuit of agriculture, for the wild excitement and precarious independence of a hunter's life. The fascination of a camp in the high prairies, compared with the hitherto almost hopeless monotony of the farms of Red River, can easily be understood by those who have tasted the careless freedom of prairie life. I was often told that the half-breeds generally sigh for the hunting season when in the settlements, and form but a feeble attachment to a permanent home, which cannot offer to the majority a comfortable maintenance under present circumstances, or secure the consciousness of possessing a free and manly spirit, with rational aspirations and hopes.

"But few simple aids are required at Red River to ameliorate and vastly improve the condition of the more improvident and careless half-breeds. They frequently bring in a large quantity of buffalo meat or robes to the trading posts, and receive a considerable sum of money in exchange, or, if they insist upon it, a certain quantity of rum. The money is spent at once in simple necessaries, dress, and ornaments. The establishment of a savings'

bank would have an excellent effect, and doubtless become the source of much permanent good.

"There are several hundred half-breeds who, like their ancestors, pass their lives in the prairies, visiting the settlements occasionally, according as they may be in want of ammunition or clothing. It is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of their numbers, but there is no doubt that, collectively, they form a numerous and influential body.

"The half-breed hunters, with their splendid organization when on the prairies; their matchless power of providing themselves with all necessary wants for many months together, and now, since a trade with the Americans has sprung up, if they should choose, for years; their perfect knowledge of the country, and their full appreciation and enjoyment of a home in the prairie wilds during winter or summer, would render them a very formidable enemy in case of disturbance or open rebellion against constituted authorities. The half-breed hunters of Red River could pass into the open prairies at a day's notice, and find themselves perfectly at home and secure, where men, not accustomed to such a life, would soon become powerless against them, and exposed to continual peril.

"The causes which have led to the present condition and prospects of this people are truly a painful subject. It is one which cannot escape the attention and care of philanthropists. Men will inquire how it is that a race, giving evidence of admirable discipline, self-government, and courage, when in the open prairies, should subside into indifferent and indolent husbandmen when in the settlements. Considered as the native population of Red River, how is it, it will be asked, that so few among the many have succeeded, in the course of years, in acquiring comfortable homesteads, and well-stocked granaries and farm-yards? and why has the European and Canadian element disappeared? The chances of nearly all have been equal; land of admirable fertility everywhere surrounds them, with unsurpassed advantages for rearing horses, cattle, and sheep, yet little or no progress has been made; and in respect of sheep, which might soon, in a measure, supply the place of the buffalo, a serious diminution in numbers has taken place. It is true that, within the last few years, many hundred head of cattle have been driven across the prairies of Minnesota to St. Paul, and sold well there. But this new export trade should have given encouragement to raising stock; yet stock, with unlimited pasture, is diminishing. The distant hunt consumes the time which might be given to far more profitable home industry, and those who really enjoy a settled life, and know the advantages which industry confers, from experience gained in Canada or Europe, leave the country and seek their fortunes elsewhere."*

The medium position which this race occupies, of itself invests them with great importance. The affinity of the half-breeds with the native races fits them for special usefulness, provided that they retain the energy of their European parentage, and, under the controlling influence of Christian principle, know how to use it for good; otherwise, they will sink into the habits of the native races, and prove an hindrance and obstruction, rather than an advantage. They require, therefore, special attention. And the Church Missionary Society, in the occupation of St. Andrew's, is favourably situated for such an enterprise. St. Andrew's church, the largest Protestant church in the Red-River Settlement, is a substantial stone structure, capable of accommodating 1200 persons. The parish minister is a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and has under his charge a Protestant population superior to that of any of the other districts, there being 206 Protestant and only eight Romanist families. From this, then, as a centre, well-organized efforts may be put forth for the amelioration of the half-breed race.

It is singular, that in a religious point of view, as well as ethnologically, the population of the Red-River district admits of a triple classification, viz. Scriptural Christianity, Heathenism, and the hybrid Romanism. Of the latter it may with truth be said that its main element is heathenism; the apparent and surface-element, Christianity. Its converts, therefore, are only nominally Christian, the old heathen principle of an erroneous and divided religious dependence, under new forms, retaining its ascendancy over them, and excluding simplicity of faith in "one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." But under the influence of Romish teaching there is a new direction given it. It is rendered more decidedly hostile to pure Christianity; and thus the real conversion to God of these Romanized Indians is more difficult than in the case of the heathen.

The centre of Romish action in these regions is the cathedral of St. Boniface, near Fort Garry, a pretentious structure, glorying

* Hind's Narrative, &c., vol. i. pp. 179—182.

in two tin spires 100 feet high, and capable of containing 1500 persons. From this point Missions are put forth, not in the immediate vicinity of the settlement—the Indians in the neighbourhood of the white man being considered as too degraded to be benefited by Romish Missions—but in the interior. There are five points indicated—the Lake St. Anne Mission, fifty miles west of Fort Edmonton, the headquarters of the Saskatchewan district; the Mission of Nôtre Dame des Victoires, at the Red-Deer Lake; the St. John Baptist Mission at the Ile-à-la-Crosse, in the English-River district; the Mission of the Nativity, at Lake Athabasca; and that of St. Joseph, on the Great Slave Lake. The number of Missionary priests is stated to be sixteen or seventeen.

The Church Missionary Society, operating from its centre at the Red River, has, exclusive of St. Andrew's, twelve stations throughout the vast regions of Rupert's Land, occupied by fifteen Missionaries, two of whom are native, and one country-born, besides two European schoolmasters, and twenty-one native and country-born teachers. We shall introduce some notices of these as sketched by Professor Hind. And, first, the Indian Settlement between the Red River colony and Lake Winnepeg—

"The church at the Indian Settlement is a new and spacious building of stone, with a wall of the same material enclosing the churchyard, in which is a wooden schoolhouse, where I saw about fifty Ojibway Indian young men, young women, and children receiving instruction from the Rev. A. Cowley, Mrs. Cowley, and a native schoolmaster. The young Indian women read the Testament in soft, low voices, but with ease and intelligence. During service (Sunday, October 4th, 1857) the church was about three-fourths full. The congregation appeared to be exclusively Indian: in their behaviour they were most decorous and attentive. The singing was very sweet, and all the forms of the service appeared to be understood, and practised quietly and in order by the dusky worshippers. A seraphine was played by Mrs. Cowley to accompany the singers: the responses were well and exactly made, and the utmost attention was given to the sermon. The prayers were read in English, the lessons in Ojibway, and the sermon was delivered in Cree. After service, an Indian child, neatly dressed in white, was baptized. A few of the women and girls wore bonnets, but the greater number drew their shawls over their head.

"The minister and part of the congregation suffer under the mutual disadvantage of being separated by the river. The settlement is chiefly on the left, the church, school, and parsonage on the right bank of the river. A good ferry, which will probably soon be procured, would enable the congregation to cross with ease. The Rev. Mr. Cowley enjoys no sinecure; he is not only Missionary, but the doctor, magistrate, and arbitrator of the settlement. During my short visit of a day and a half he was sent for three times to visit sick children; and he says, that when the Indians require his services during the night, they come into the parsonage, the door of which is never locked, and tap gently at the stove-pipe which passes from the sitting-room into his bed-room above, to arouse him. They agreed among themselves that they would adopt this novel kind of night bell, and he has never known them endeavour to call him, after retiring to rest, in any other way: they open the outer door, and steal, without the slightest noise, in the darkest night, to the well-known stove-pipe, give two or three low Indian taps, and quietly await the result. . . . .

"Next to the Indian Settlement, Prairie Portage is the most interesting illustration of a Christian settlement, in a wilderness still inhabited by roving bands of Indians, who, as of old, occupy themselves in barbarous warfare, hunt for daily food, or submit, with abject humility, to the conjuror's malignant influence. Prairie Portage owes its existence to the untiring energy and undaunted zeal of Archdeacon Cockran. The church, at this most westerly limit of civilization in the Far West, is constructed of wood, and contains twenty-five or thirty very substantial family seats, but is capable of holding three times that number: each seat is manufactured by the owner, according to a pattern supplied by the archdeacon. The congregation was composed of Plain and Swampy Cree Indians and half-breeds: one Plain Cree woman's home was three hundred miles to the west: she was a fine specimen of the race, and neatly habited in the dress of the half-breeds. Near the door of the church, inside the building, a number of heathen Indians from the prairies stationed themselves to indulge their curiosity: they squatted on the floor, remaining quiet and grave, and conducted themselves with the utmost propriety during the service. They were Plain Crees, followers of the buffalo-hunters, with whom they had lately arrived from the high prairies: some were clothed in dressed skins, others robed in blankets, with head and neck decorations, and one young heathen girl, wild, and almost beauti-

ful, triumphed in a robe of scarlet military cloth. Who can say what benign influence the sight of Christian worshippers may have upon many of these savage children of the prairies, who saunter in during the services of the church, and, with characteristic decorum, always maintain a respectful demeanour, and a grave and earnest look?*

"Fairford is very prettily situated on the banks of Partridge-Crop River (a continuation of the Little Saskatchewan), about two miles from Lake Manitoba. The banks are here about twenty feet high, and show alluvial clay with boulders; but a short distance in the rear of the river the limestone approaches the surface, and is covered with eight or ten inches of vegetable mould. Although the appearance of the country is attractive, the shallowness of the soil will not permit of extensive agricultural operations. The dip of the rock is towards the south-west, but at so small an angle as to be almost imperceptible, except when a surface of several square yards is exposed. Fossils are few in number and obscure: the limestone breaks up into thin slabs, being very compact and hard.

"We attended evening prayers in an excellent schoolhouse, which serves the purpose of a chapel. There were forty persons present, consisting of Indians and half-breeds. The service comprised a hymn and a chapter from the New Testament, respectively sung and read in the Ojibway language, an exposition of the chapter by means of an interpreter, and a concluding prayer. The Lord's Prayer was repeated aloud, in Ojibway, by the whole congregation.

"There are one hundred and twenty Christians, adults and children, at this Mission. The houses, fifteen in number, are neat, comfortable, and in excellent order, and several new dwellings are in process of erection. The appearance of this Mission is very promising, and in every way most creditable to the unceasing labours of the zealous Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Stagg. . . . The farm at the Mission is in capital order; and although the area adapted for cultivation is not likely to induce the establishment of a large settlement, yet Fairford will become an important centre. We were supplied with potatoes, onions, turnips, fresh bread, and butter, and otherwise most hospitably entertained, by Mr. and Mrs. Stagg.†

"The Pas, or Cumberland Station, is situated at the confluence of the Saskatchewan and the Basquia River, a tributary about three chains wide at its mouth.

"Christ Church is a neat and rather imposing edifice, and it seemed like getting back to civilization again, after all our wayfaring, when, on rounding one of the majestic sweeps of the river, the pretty white church, surrounded by farmhouses and fields of waving grain, burst unexpectedly upon our view. It was on a calm summer's evening, and the spire was mirrored in the gliding river, and gilt by the last rays of the setting sun.

"The church is situated on the right or south bank of the river: near it is the parsonage, a large and commodious building, occupied by the Rev. E. A. Watkins.*

"The Nepowewin Mission is situated on the north bank of the Saskatchewan, opposite to Fort à la Corne.

"The Rev. Henry Budd, the native resident Missionary, was ordained priest in 1853, at Cumberland Station, near the mouth of the Basquia River. He had long laboured at this Missionary outpost as a catechist. So early as 1840 he set out for Red-River Settlement, to make preparations for erecting a church and establishing a station at the mouth of the Basquia. In 1852, Mr. Budd started from Christ Church, Cumberland Station, for the Nepowewin, where he commenced to clear a small piece of ground on the river bank, opposite to Fort à la Corne, for the erection of Missionary buildings. The name Nepowewin is derived from an Indian expression signifying 'the standing-place,' where the natives are accustomed to await the arrival of the Hudson's-Bay Company's boats, as they are tracked up the north side of the river. Mr. Budd's house, garden, and little farm is a pattern of neatness, order, and comfort."†

A new Mission has been formed at the Qu'appelle Valley, west of the Assiniboine, with more immediate reference to the evangelization of the Plain Crees, a race in rapid diminution, and which, unless Christianity interposes to save them, must, before another generation, disappear. On the high banks of the Qu'appelle Valley, "the remains of ancient encampments, in the form of rings of stones to hold down the skin tents, are everywhere visible, and testify to the former numbers of the Plain Crees, affording a sad evidence of the ancient power of the people who once held undisputed sway from the Missouri to the Saskatchewan."

The Plain Crees vary the monotony of

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 200—205.
† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 32—38.

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 453.
† Ibid. vol. i p. 399.

their heathen life by hunting the buffalo and in war-trails against the Sioux and Blackfeet.

A pound for entrapping buffalos is a circular fence about 120 feet broad, "constructed of the trunks of trees, laced together with withes, and braced by outside supports." From this, bushes are arranged in two diverging rows, extending some four miles into the prairie. These bushes are called "dead men," and serve to guide the buffalos in their mad career towards the fatal ring. These rows, from an intervening distance of from one to two miles, narrow to fifty paces at the entrance into the pound.

"When the skilled hunters are about to bring in a herd of buffalo from the prairie, they direct the course of the gallop of the alarmed animals by confederates stationed in hollows or small depressions, who, when the buffalo appear inclined to take a direction leading from the space marked out by the 'dead men,' show themselves for a moment and wave their robes, immediately hiding again. This serves to turn the buffalo slightly in another direction, and when the animals, having arrived between the rows of 'dead men,' endeavour to pass through them, Indians, here and there stationed behind a 'dead man,' go through the same operation, and thus keep the animals within the narrowing limits of the converging lines. At the entrance to the pound there is a strong trunk of a tree placed about one foot from the ground, and on the inner side an excavation is made sufficiently deep to prevent the buffalo from leaping back when once in the pound. As soon as the animals have taken the fatal spring they begin to gallop round and round the ring-fence, looking for a chance of escape, but, with the utmost silence, women and children on the outside hold their robes before every orifice until the whole herd is brought in: they then climb to the top of the fence, and, with the hunters who have followed closely in the rear of the buffalo, spear or shoot, with bows and arrows or fire-arms, at the bewildered animals, rapidly becoming frantic with rage and terror, within the narrow limits of the pound. A dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter then begins: the oldest and strongest animals crush and toss the weaker; the shouts and screams of the excited Indians rise above the roaring of the bulls, the bellowing of the cows, and the piteous moaning of the calves. The dying struggles of so many huge and powerful animals crowded together create a revolting and terrible scene, dreadful from the excess of its cruelty and waste of life, but with occasional displays of wonderful brute strength and rage; while man, in his savage, untutored, and heathen state, shows, both in deed and expression, how little he is superior to the noble beasts he so wantonly and cruelly destroys."*

Of the bloody strifes between Crees and Sioux, sad memorials abound throughout these regions. They may be seen in the Sioux scalps, ornamented with beads, bits of cloth, coloured ribbons, and strips of leather, which are planted beside the secluded Ojibway graves on the banks of the Red River.

"The great chief of the Plain Crees is styled 'the Fox:' he is held in high estimation by all the Plain Indians with whom he comes in contact, either in peace or war. He is dreaded by the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Bloodies, the Fall Indians, the Assiniboines, and the tribes who occasionally hunt on the Grand Coteau de Missouri and the south branch of the Saskatchewan."*

"The barbarous and cruel treatment of prisoners, so often described in narratives of Indian warfare, is common even now in the prairies south of the Qu'appelle and the Assiniboine. On that part of the Red River which lies in the State of Minnesota, Indian warfare, with all its horrors, is constantly carried on between the Ojibways and Sioux.

"Not a year passes without the loss of several Red-River half-breeds by the scalping-knife of the Sioux; and, as was the case in the autumn of 1858, quite close to the settlement of St. Joseph, near the boundary line, about thirty miles west of Red River. When a prisoner is taken, the Sioux sometimes adopt a terrible mode of death during the summer season. They have been known to strip a half-breed, tie him to a stake on the borders of a marsh in the prairie, and leave him exposed to the attacks of millions of mosquitoes, without being able to move any part of the body. When the agony of fever and the torment of thirst come upon him, they leave him to die a dreadful, lingering death with water at his feet, and buzzards hovering and circling around him in greedy expectation."†

These dark heathen are the prey of gloomy superstitions, and live in constant dread of evil spirits. Offerings to manito, or fairies, are frequently to be met, suspended on branches of trees, consisting of "cloth, strings

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 358.

† *Vide* Frontispiece.

‡ Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 126.

of beads, shreds of painted buffalo-hide, bears' teeth and claws," &c.

"There are many places on Lake Winnipeg and Manitoba which the Indians who hunt and live on the shores of those inland seas dare not visit. There is scarcely a cave or headland which has not some legend attached to it, familiar to all the wanderers on these coasts.

"On the west side of Lake Winnipeg, in the long, dark, and gloomy chambers formed by fissures in the limestone, bad spirits are supposed to dwell, according to the belief of the Indians who hunt on the coast, and he would be a powerful charmer who could induce a heathen Indian to approach, much less enter, the abodes of these imaginary manitos. . . . .

"The able and zealous Missionary at the Indian Settlement, Red River, the Rev. A. Cowley, has had sad experience of the gross superstitions which darken the intellect of the Ojibways of Lake Manitoba. In 1842 he proceeded to what appeared to be a promising station on the shores of this lake, where he had an opportunity of observing some remarkable instances of heathen faith in dreams and charms. Mr. Cowley writes—'One day I saw something hanging on a tree, and went to look at it. It consisted of twenty small rods, peeled, and painted red and black, and fastened together on a plane, with cords of bark. A piece of tobacco was placed between the tenth and eleventh rods, and the whole was suspended perpendicularly from a branch of the tree. It belonged to the old chief, who told me that when he was a young man he lay down to dream, and that in his dream the moon spoke to him, and told him to make this charm, and to renew it every new moon, that he might have a long life. He had regularly done so ever since, till the preceding summer, when he almost forgot it, and was taken so ill as to be near dying; but he remembered it, his friends did it for him, and he recovered.'

"Sacrifices and offerings are of a very frequent occurrence among the Indians of the Saskatchewan Valley. The customary offering consists of two, three, and sometimes five dogs. At the mouth of Qu'appelle River, an Indian, in June 1858, set his net and caught a large fish of a kind different to any with which he was familiar: he immediately pronounced it to be a manito, and, carefully restoring it to the water again, at once sacrificed five valuable dogs to appease the anger of the supposed fairy. On approaching Long Lake, an arm of the Qu'appelle River Valley, the Crees warned us not to visit the lake by night, as it was full of devils. They told me very extraordinary tales, which are too absurd to be worth relating, of the dimensions and power of these devils, and they appeared to live in awe and terror of them."*

It is on behalf of these unhappy and perishing tribes that Missionary efforts have been put forth by the Church Missionary Society, as well as, although on a lesser scale, by the Wesleyan Missionary Society; this latter Society having three stations in these regions, at Norway House, Oxford House, and Edmonton. But increased efforts are requisite, as the process of depopulation is advancing with great rapidity. From whence is this increased effort to come? There are some observations of the Professor's bearing on this point, which we introduce just as we find them.

"A very short stay in Red River is sufficient to create both admiration and surprise at what may not be inaptly termed, the condition of religion in Assiniboia. Admiration is aroused by the extent and design of the charities of the different Societies in England, who sustain such a large ecclesiastical corps in connexion with the Church of England as resident Missionaries in the settlement, and who have contributed very munificently to the erection of the excellent churches which are now constructed. In addition to these demands upon their liberality, the home Societies give large sums towards the maintenance of Missions in different parts of Rupert's Land, so that, at the present time, there are scattered over this immense country nineteen clergymen of the Church of England, costing between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.* sterling annually. The Church Missionary Society have expended, up to the date of their last Report, very nearly the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling upon Missionary operations in Rupert's Land.† While, however, so much is done by those in England for charity's sake, it is much to be wondered that so little is contributed by the wealthy residents of Red River, such as the retired factors of the Hudson's-Bay Company, the merchants, traders, and better class of farmers, towards the maintenance of the clergy, the support and extension of schools, and to the Christianizing of the heathen Indians, whose medicine-drum, accompanying the monotonous song of the conjuror, can almost always be heard in summer during the hours of service.

"The outward appearance of many among

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. pp. 133—135.

† In 1859-60 it was 8137*l.*

the congregation of the episcopal churches, as they come and go in neat little carriages, or on horseback, from comfortable well-furnished homes, enforces the expectation, that, in proportion to their means, they would at least endeavour to prepare the way for the spread of Christianity among the thousands of heathen who frequent the settlement: that such is not the case there is too strong ground for belief."*

* Hind's Narrative, vol. i. p. 209.

CUSTOMS OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA.

IN previous Numbers we have introduced notices of the customs of the Hindus. The same friend to whom we were indebted for those papers, has forwarded to us similar information respecting the Mussulmans of India. Our readers will mark to what a heavy yoke of ritualism those people are subjected, and what an emancipation the Gospel affords, not only from the burden of guilt and of depraved passions, but from a heavy and expensive formalism. It will be borne in mind that these notices have reference to the Hindus and Mussulmans of the North Presidency.

The customs of the Mussulmans in India are, notwithstanding their hatred of the Hindu sect, very much influenced by their residence in Hindustan, and the original rites and ceremonies very much mutilated from the same cause. I have put down what I saw and could learn of them so far as they are independent of their Hindu fellow-countrymen.

Births—The customs which are generally used at the birth of a male child are, that when the female is delivered, they send a person to the mosque for a moolla, who reads the Korán over some water to consecrate it, and they make the woman drink it. And when the infant is born, they, like the Hindus, bathe it in water, and give it the birth draught. Then the most respectable and the eldest amongst the women prepares the food, which is always of fruits and vegetables for the lady. This mode of feeding takes place till the sixth day, when the women send for the doomnees, or singing girls, or begin singing and playing themselves on various instruments At night all the women go to the top of the house, or into the court-yard, and the woman who has just been confined is desired by the eldest amongst them to count the stars; and they throw into her lap fruits and sweetmeats, and touch her feet as a mark of respect. Then the eldest woman says, "May your child for ever live in peace; and may you always have your husband alive with you!" She then says, or as they express it, reads the Kulmu, which is *La illah il lillah Mohammed russool illah*, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God." After forty days are expired the women come again, dressed in their holiday apparel, and they sing and play. Some time before this period the father or protector of the child has its name given to it. This name is from that time never changed. The names of the Mussulmans are usually those of their prophet, or of his family, ended with some title of honour, as *peer*, "a saint;" *buksh*, "a benefactor;" *shah*, "a king;" *khan*, "a chief;" and so forth. The most common I have met with are *Khoda Buksh*, *Shaik Khan*, *Hossein Peer*, *Meer Buksh*, *Mohammed Shah*. Very often they are high-flown and poetical, agreeable to the genius of the Persian language, as *Noor Mohammed*, "the light of Mohammed;" *Roshun-ood-dowlah*, "the light of prosperity." For females the name is generally a compliment, as *Muhboob jan*, "the darling of existence;" *Ahoo-chusm*, "the deer eyed;" *Hyduuree khanum*, "the lady of rank." The birth of a female is not celebrated with such ceremony as that of a male.

The ceremony of circumcision, which takes place when the boy is eight years old, is performed by a barber, the child being first made intoxicated, or nearly so, with bhang or opium. The boy is then sent to school, or, if he be of rank, is put under tutors, and is never again allowed to enter the zenana, or Mussulman seraglio.

Marriages—The ceremonies, processions and observances which occur at the weddings of Mussulmans I have also had opportunities of witnessing. They generally take place when the boy is about thirteen and the girl about ten. The couple commence living and keeping house together about three years after these have been performed. Choice is generally made from among their relatives, and this choice is made by the parents, nor have the young people the least option in the matter. When there is a desirable alliance amongst relatives, the boy's father chooses a bride from among the best families. Upon some day which is considered propitious, the father of the boy sends to the girl's father's house a sort of mash composed of perfumes for rubbing over the body, which is called *ooptun*. Again, on the next

propitious day the girl's father sends to the other party's house a present of mayndic clothes and money, according to their means, from one to a hundred rupees in price. On the day which follows this there is a large assembly convened in the boy's father's house, and the women of his family also send an invitation to great numbers of their friends, all females of course. The men invest the boy with the wedding turban, which is much larger than the usual one, and, making him mount a horse they lead him in procession and in great state, with fireworks, music, &c. to the girl's house. When he has arrived there, the mother of the bride throws flowers at her door. She then makes a religious offering by circling round the boy's head barley and silver. When these fall to the ground they become the property of the washerman or the sweeper, or else are given to beggars. Then the kazee, or judge, is called into the assembly, and there are three men appointed to conduct the ceremony, one vakeel, or deputy, and two servants. These people go to the door of the bride's chamber, and ask her if she is willing to be married to such a person. She always assents, though she has never seen the youth, and consequently one person is the same to her as another, she being always led to suppose that she must marry. The question, however, although it be but a matter of form, is asked her three times, and always answered in the affirmative. Then the vakeel goes to the kazee, and informs him thereof. The kazee goes through the form of questioning again the bridegroom and the bride, and in the presence of the bridegroom's father and his marriage father, who is a person appointed for the time being, he desires the bridegroom to make out his agreement. The boy then agrees "that if he divorce his wife he will pay a lac of rupees either here or in the next world." This sum is much beyond his means. After this the kazee reads a passage from the Korán, and gives an order for the bridegroom's people to make the *sherbet*. Of this beverage the bridegroom having drank, he sends it to his bride. The kazee then gets paid for his trouble, and the whole of the night is dedicated to pleasure, dancing, laughing, music, &c. The next day all his friends give presents according to their means. The bride's mother, as well as others of her relatives, give him different presents, consisting of servants, horses, jewels, slaves, money, &c. After these have been distributed they mount the girl in a litter, and send her away to her new lord's mansion with all the conveyable goods. This day of her being first seen by the lover is called the *jhillwa*, it being a Persian word which means "appearance."

The immense sums which are expended by both Mussulmans and Hindus at their marriages are astonishing. They are also considered as one of the chief sources of the misery and crime prevalent in the country. The unprovided and hapless state in which a widow, on the death of her husband, is left, is another. Of the very great sumptuousness and splendour of the Mussulman marriages I was myself a witness It was a marriage between a grandson of the ex-vizier of Oude and the daughter of an ameer. The place which was appropriated for the processions, the dances, the fireworks, the crowds of spectators, and the private tents belonging to the parties principally concerned, was divided into walks and plains, which were defined by rows of bamboos in rails, and covered the circumference of about a mile and a half. When the night came on, every square of the latticed bamboo contained a lamp, and the illumination consequent upon such a number was such as to render it nearly as light as day. The walks were crowded with processions, which kept moving during the whole of the night, being composed of people carrying native toys, torch-bearers, friends, men of rank mounted on elephants, in dresses and armour of the richest and most dazzling description. The large beasts themselves had housings, caparisoned most magnificently, some with bells jingling as they moved along. Some of them had howdahs, or lofty seats, on their backs, in which the men of rank sat. There were countless musicians, whose noise and shouting deafened the air, garland bearers and buffoons, jugglers and dancing girls. All these formed crowds of innumerable thousands. Then there was a very long array of foot soldiers, and these were followed by squadrons of horse, with their loose dresses, long matchlock guns, slovenly saddles, and capering horses. Then, on the plains, were numbers of immense tents, with nautches of the first description going on in them. The business of the wedding ceremony was in progress during all this tumult, but half of the immense mass congregated did not, or indeed could not, see any of it. The processions and the dances were carried on during the night: by day there was a sort of holiday for the principal part of the actors, and, with the exception of the increasing discord of the hoarse drummers, there was not much clamour. The tumult and the assemblage lasted seven days, and on the eighth, at night, the bridegroom distributed amongst the English and people of rank the bars or necklaces of silver, which, from the immense num-

ber that he gave, must have cost an enormous sum. These are generally given at the large assemblies of the Mussulmans, and are a proof of the ridiculous practice prevalent amongst them of spending immense sums of money for no object. This marriage cost the bridegroom about 300,000 rupees (30,000*l.*).

Deaths—The practices which are observed by Mussulmans previous to the death of any relative are—When the party becomes very ill the rest of his relatives who are present assemble round his bed, and commence saying the Kulma. They believe that if he himself repeat, at the time of the breath leaving his body, "La illah il lillah—Mohammed Russool illah!" then at once his soul will go straight to paradise, and his name will always be called great by his family. Then when he dies, all his family, both men and women, begin weeping, and making a great clamour, dashing their heads against stones. This continues about two hours, at the expiration of which they send for hot water, and, after having let it stand till it becomes lukewarm, wash the body with the same. They then put on a small white vest, and the body is bound round with a very white sheet, and then all, even the most distant relatives, assemble and send for a Mussulman's coffin, which is a machine like a lengthened barrow without a wheel, and with bamboos both before and behind, projecting so as to allow of its being carried upon men's shoulders. Over this they place a white sheet, and on that the body is laid. Then there is another white sheet laid over it, and the two cloths are well bound both at the head and the feet. They then send for a moollah, as they call the doctors of divinity in Moslem creeds, and place over the upper cloth, ittur, flowers, and a perfume called chooa. The family of the deceased then take up the taboot, and, repeating the word *bismillah* as they walk, they take it to the musjid (mosque). When they arrive there, the moollah says two or three sentences out of the Korán, and they take up the taboot again, and go to the burial-place. On their way thither the moollah does not permit them to say any thing or to weep, nor does he allow a female to accompany the procession to the burying-ground. There are some labourers employed to dig the grave. This is made very wide at the top, so that two men can stand in it, but it is dug narrow below, so as merely to enclose the taboot. Then the moollah and the family put the taboot therein, repeating *bismillah*. Then the moollah stretches his hand over the grave, and repeats another sentence of the Korán, and all the followers retreat ten or twelve paces to give leave to the two angels Moonker and Nykeer to ask the deceased the three questions. This they allow a quarter of an hour for, and at the end of that time they come to the grave, and deposit a lump of earth. Those who place it there are four or five of his nearest relatives, who also throw a little clay over the coffin, and the labourers cover up the grave. If the person be rich or noble, or extremely pious, they conceive it necessary to build a very large tomb over his remains, which the mausoleums and large burying-grounds, so numerous in the vicinity of all Asiatic cities, abundantly testify; and the moollah remains at the place reading the Korán. On the teeja, or third day, his friends come and throw flowers over his grave, and repeat the Koránic sentences. Some have the Korán read by the moollah for forty days' and some have it read only for three. On the fortieth day they bring sweetmeats, and say some words from the Korán over them, and give the sweetmeats either to syuds or the moollah, and this last functionary gets from five to twenty rupees for his trouble; and if the person be a holy man, on every Thursday night his tomb is covered with a white cloth, and lit up, and there are flowers thrown over it, and sweetmeats, upon which the moorsya has been read, are given to the moollah. These are called the fatiha sweetmeats. There are some of the Mussulmans that believe that the two angels who question the dead, Moonker and Nykeer are always, though invisible, present with the living, one standing on the right and the other on hte left hand.

Periodical festivals—With respect to the most remarkable customs which are observed by the Mussulmans in India, the first which may be noticed takes place in the first Arabic month, and it is called, after the name of that month, the *Mohurram*. This is apparently not observed by the Soonnee sect of Mussulmans, except by such of them as by a long residence in Hindustan have come into the ways of the Sheeas. The former sect of Mussulmans respect the four successors of Mohammed, who are called the Charearee, under whose government the youths Hoseyn and Hossain were murdered. The latter respect the two youths as the grandchildren of the prophet, and they keep this time as appropriated for mourning over their death, and the murder also of the daughter of Mohammed, called Fatima, and her betrothed husband called Abbas Ali. The creeds of the two sects will show how materially they differ. The Sheeas' is as follows—"There is no God but God: Mohammed is the prophet of God. Cursed be all that worship any but the prophet and the one God." The Soonnees' is the following—"There is no God but the

one God: He is the God: Mohammed is the prophet of God. God is the overseer of all things. Praised be the name of Mohammed, and peace at the last will be to all true believers. God is one: Mohammed is for the truth: the four eyars are certain: there is no God but God."

But to proceed with the account of the Mohurram. The whole of the story of the procession or march of Ali, Fatima, and the two sons, and the murder of their followers, even to the circumstance of the water-carrier's bag being pierced with arrows, and the horse of Hoseyn, are represented in every town of Hindustan where there are Mussulmans enough to enact the characters. The performance is like that of most of the other traditional customs observed in the country, partly religious and partly theatrical.

The commencement of the ceremony is when the moon of the first month is first seen. Then such of the Mussulmans as wish to observe it evince their pious remembrance of the course of mourning, as it is called in their language, by sounding drums and all manner of instruments, and shortly afterwards they construct the subbeel. This is a platform generally formed at the corner of each cross-road in a city or town. It is constructed by simply joining some planks together to the height of six or seven feet. These are laid across one another at right angles, at every angle of which they place a red flag, and at each of the internal squares, which are formed by the planks of wood, they place a very large pitcher filled either with water or sherbet. Some persons are left there who remain at their posts all day, and keep calling out at the highest pitch of their voices to the people as they pass, *Nuzzur Hoseyn peeasa ne jaeeo*—"Pass not thirsty the free gift of Hoseyn." They are provided with small leathern cups, out of which they give all the Mussulmans who pass and ask for it as much as they wish to drink, and they never receive any thing for it. This must contribute very forcibly to keep alive the remembrance of the martyrs who, situated as they were in the plains of Kurbala, were nearly at death's door from the effects of parching thirst in the sandy deserts of Arabia. After these subbeels are completed, they commence making what is called the tazia, and they light up their houses with the different sorts of lamps which are so common in the country. They also line the walls of their houses with cloth, and the tazias are placed in the most respectable room or recess in the house. They are usually formed of a sort of talc, which, having been dissolved, is flattened out and adapted for forming fragile structures or for ornaments. It is called in Hindustan ubruk. These are festooned with artificial leaves, coloured paper, and all sorts of paltry bedizening, and they are large or small according to the means of the parties who make them. The poorer classes have them made of clay and wood, but I have seen them ten yards square, and very lofty. They have a beautiful effect when illuminated by night. Near the tazia is placed the figure of a hand, made of brass, silver, or iron. This symbol, at the time of the Mohurram, is also carried by every orthodox Sheea. It is called the "Allum of Hoozrut Abbas Ali." It is held as a memorial of Abbas Ali, or, as he is sometimes called, Assan. He was married, say the Sheeas, to the granddaughter of Mohammed, Fatima. At the marriage, when, as is usual, the mayndie was put on his hands and those of his beautiful bride, before the mixture was well dried the murderers came in, and, having cut off his right hand first, cruelly killed him along with her. In the room near the tazia there is then a pulpit, or meembur, constructed, upon which the mursyakwan, or chanter of the Mohurram verses, stands. It is fixed near the threshold. Both it and the hand, or allum, are covered with the finest cloth. The room is kept constantly lighted, and is adorned with numbers of pictures and looking-glasses. On the third day the mursyakwans arrive, and begin chanting at the highest pitch of their voices, in the most melancholy tone, the verses relative to the martyrdom, which have been previously written by poets.

On every road, and at almost all the hours of the day, during the nine days of the Mohurram, processions are to be met with, generally groups of about forty men, nearly all of them carrying green flags, and accompanied by all sorts of musicians. Those who do not carry the flags are incessant in calling out Hossain, Hoseyn, and beating their breasts. On the eighth day, in commemoration of the prince's marriage, they take out the allums and cover them with mayndie, and go out of their houses with much noise and music, the mursyakwans singing and reading from their bards. On the ninth day they send for a horse, which ought to be of the purest Arab blood, and put on it all the necessary harness, and, over all, a cloth stained with red earth, so as to look like blood, which horse is walked several hundred yards distance from their doors, all the people following, beating their breasts, and calling out the usual words. Next they return, and sit in concourse, hearing the chanting of the mursyakwans. On the night of the

ninth day they take the tazias out into some plain in the vicinity of the town or city in which they reside. The allums are placed upon the tazias. In a large Mussulman city these would be made by nearly every householder, and the effect of bringing them out, illuminated as they are, is very fine. They look like castles in miniature. The groups near them, some fencing, some dancing, in their partially-coloured dresses, the crowds of spectators, the number of grandees moving about on elephants, the wild cry of innumerable troops of weepers, the shouts of the rabble, and the fireworks, make a most varied spectacle, and the scene is continued during the whole of the night. The next day at sunrise, the people having tazias get a board, and spread a cloth over it; over this they lay a bound turban and a vest, which they colour, so as to make them appear like clothes stained with blood. All the men who form the procession, having taken their shoes off, lift up the tazia, and having laden it on the shoulders of a chosen party, they proceed along with them in the direction of Kurballa. When they have gone far enough, if the tazia be a small one, they bury it, but if not, they put part of it in the earth, and take the rest back with them. This portion is laid by for celebrating the next Mohurram. Some of the Mussulman families, ten days after the burial of the tazia, assemble at its place of burial, and laugh and jump (strange to say) over the place where it was buried, and their old men recite stories of the death of the two brothers. Also, on the fortieth day after the first of the Mohurram, it is customary for some of the Mussulmans to proceed on a sort of pilgrimage to the place where the tazia was buried, with musicians, the mursyakwans singing and chanting; and in a very large house, occupied by wealthy ameers, who are Mussulmans, there is a building, constructed with great magnificence, set apart solely for the Mohurram ceremonies. This is called an eemdumbarah. The finest one which I have seen in the country is at Lucknow. The next remarkable ceremony which the Mussulmans observe is called the *Bukra Eed*, a festival, or observance, very similar to our one of Easter as to its time, or the Jewish one of the passover, as to its character. It does not occur every year at the same time, but is sure to happen upon some day either in March or April. On the morning of the day fixed by the moollas, the Mussulmans all put on their best clothes, and repair at about ten o'clock to the musjids. On their way thither, and during the day, they are in the habit of giving largely, according to their means, to the beggars who, on this day, throng the streets and bazaars in expectation of such donations. When they return to their houses, they commence the sacrifice of the sheep, which is called in this country a doomba. The Arabic name for the feast is *Eed eol quorban*, which means the holiday of sacrifice. They continue repeating the *allah ho ukbur*, which they say at their prayers, and, whilst saying so, they slay the animal, cut it into pieces, and send the different divisions to their friends and relatives.

The following is the story which they cite as the origin of this practice. In the first place they insist that Ishmael is the true son of Abraham—that Isaac was the son of the bondwoman. As Ishmael, according to our Scripture, was the founder of the nation of Arabs, we may cease to be surprised at their repudiating the idea of being descended from a collateral branch. However, the Korán version of the story which gives rise to the observance is evidently copied from the account of Abraham's sacrifice in the Pentateuch. They state then that Ibraheem received an order from the angel, Gabriel, that he should sacrifice his son; that on hearing this his grief was intense, but, nevertheless, he hastened to obey the mandate which came from God by the mouth of his angel; that his wife, Ishmael's mother, begged that he might be at least spared the pain of seeing his own son while he killed him, and asked him to let her put a bandage to his eyes; that he permitted her; that she then quickly embraced the son, and, letting him escape, tied up a doomba in his place. That the father then, being guided by her to the place where the doomba was bound, cut its throat. They assert, also, that all this took place at the Caaba, near Mecca. There is another Eed, which takes place at the close of the Ramazan, or thirty days' fast. The Eed day is the 27th of the month, and the most joyful day in the year to the Mussulmans. The fast preceding it, the Ramazan, is peculiarly mournful. It is celebrated throughout the East—

"Just at the season, Ramazani's fast,
Through the long day its penance doth maintain;
But when the lingering twilight hour has past,
Revel and feast assume the rule again."

and so it is also in India, for the days are set apart wholly for prayer and fasting, and at night they may eat and drink. But the reason that they look upon the second Eed, or, as it is called properly by the books, the *Eed ool fittur*, as peculiarly a happy day, is, that they suppose that on this day the Korán came down from heaven. They believe that all prayers offered up on this day will be heard in heaven.

THE FAMINE AT DELHI.

THE following article, from the "Overland Friend of India" contains the most recent intelligence as to the state of Delhi—

"Every circumstance has tended to aggravate the present visitation. The city and district can hardly be said to have recovered in any fair degree from the effects of the insurrection in the retributive measures of pillage, fine, and confiscation, which awaited the inhabitants at the end of 1857. Besides retail trade to the amount of perhaps fifty lacs per annum having been extinguished with the Mogul emperor and his family, as week after week of the last autumn passed by with less and less hope of rain, and prices fell at last to eight seers of wheat per rupee, actual disease and emaciation from poor living began to spread with terrible rapidity. The people generally seemed to cherish no hope that a large measure of relief could proceed from the representatives of the nation towards whom they had been so immediately and so lately antagonistic. Hence many laid themselves down literally to die in the apathy of want and despair. The city streets and suburban roads became more and more crowded with ragged vagrants, and the swelling numbers of those prostrate and half-dead on the sides of the ways betokened that the worst was coming. Much indirect relief was daily afforded by benevolent natives and society generally. Finally, when the original poor-house of Delhi was found to be stocked to overflowing, and when it was known that all ordinary resources would be soon expended, successful measures were speedily organized for obtaining and applying general and extensive relief. In Togluckabad, the Commissioner fed some 4000 famished human beings, who tore at their food with a fierceness, and an abandonment of all distinction of age, sex, or caste, which belied imposture. We could record the morning walks through the city of the Rev. James Smith, and, subsequently, of the Rev. Thomas Evans, filling cart-loads of exhausted creatures, and conveying them to the asylums. Many respectable people have got rid of their wretched lives by flinging themselves down wells. The depopulation of the district proceeds apace, and exceeds that of the city and suburbs. The peasant clings as long as he can to his home. Mr. Brunton, late chief engineer of the Punjab railway, who has been appointed to superintend relief works on a large and remunerative scale, proceeded to Togluckabad in February last. In December, there were 300 able-bodied men and women: on the 6th of February 150 had decamped, forty had perished of hunger, and forty only could lift a basket of earth from the ground. The rest were too weak to move. At a village called Arungpore, in former times overlooking a fine lake, and the scene of thriving plenty, of 200 inhabitants, eighty only could lift hand and foot to work. When told there was work for the able and food for the weak, they looked upon it as a release of their community from gradual but certain extinction. The neighbouring country is a vast desert, the vivid patches of green near the scattered wells serving to show more sadly the barrenness around. In the district of Bullubgurh, no less than 2800 men, women, and children have died of sheer want. In the Southern Pergunnah, where the distress is quite as bad, the same number at least must have perished. Close upon 5000 have emigrated from Bullubgurh, and certainly that number must have left other parts in search of labour and food. All this bespeaks a fearful extent of human suffering. Where there is no irrigation, numbers of wayfarers and travellers must have perished uncared for. A marked contrast is presented by the Northern Pergunnah, through the length of which runs the Jumna canal. Here but two deaths occurred, and these possibly in isolated villages. The Zemindars, at present prices, are amassing fortunes. The high rate of food has resulted from the want of the full complement of rain for two consecutive seasons. At this moment we ought to see the reapers in the fields, all chance of rain absent, and the garners replenishing; whereas, there are clouds overhead, and every appearance of inclement rain, which, if mingled—as is not uncommon at this season—with wind and hail, will do damage to the little there is to reap.

"Messrs. Brandreth and F. Cooper, the Commissioner and Deputy-commissioner of the district, have been equal to the crisis. They have endeavoured to convey assistance into the most retired places, associating in the good work all classes and grades of society. The native community, besides donations, subscribe nearly 1200 Rs. per month. Near the tomb of Nizamodeen, a famous resort of saintly pilgrimage, is the residence of Mirza Elihu Buksh, the last representative of the house of Timur. The Mirza, who himself contributed a donation of 560 Rs. per month, superintends personally the distribution of 20 Rs. worth of food a-day to the descendants of families dependent for centuries on the fortunes of his house. The members of the Baptist Mission

Society also each personally superintend, in various out-places, crowds fed with sums varying from 10 Rs. to 20 Rs. a-day. So, at Merowlie, famous for the Kootub Minar, a distribution of 30 Rs. has to be made to some 1500. Nor are forgotten the numbers of decent people who suffer and make no sign; who prefer and will meet death rather than exposure; who have known comfort and affluence in former days. These are supplied with one meal a-day at their homes, and receive it with grateful hearts. There was no point on which the native gentry of influence were more anxious than the preservation of the purdanushinee. The principle laid down and strictly followed is, that no one shall go away even half fed. Half-starved people die as surely, though at slightly prolonged periods, as those wholly starved. Hundreds of people who have gone in famished, have, after two or three days' feeding, been drafted thankfully to work. The appearance of the poor children is most deplorable. It was at one time considered possible to secure a number of deserted children and orphans, and transport them to various foundling asylums under the superintendence of the clergy of various Christian persuasions. But the idea was, upon consideration, abandoned. It was felt to be impolitic to link any measure—and especially one which, however charitable in itself, might be open to misconstruction by the designing or suspicious native—to the general scheme of relief, and so mar the moral effect of the large-minded charity of the Christian public, and alienate what little there is of the scarcely-awakened sympathy of the people.

"Foreseeing the difficulty that may hereafter ensue from demoralizing a people, by indiscriminate feeding in total idleness what may turn out to be a sturdy beggar population, every rupee of the local funds has been expended on all varieties of works that can feed those fit to labour, and conduce to the healthiness and welfare of the community at large. Wells are being sunk or repaired in every village in which they are required, care being taken that no village shall be without one well at least. Old bunds and tanks are being built up and excavated. The zeal and will with which all the neighbourhood turn out to the works is remarkable, and, it is to be hoped, will be well repaid by the benefit which they have learnt, by tradition, these structures conferred on their ancestors, and which they confidently anticipate are to gladden them once more. And it will be satisfactory for the benevolent public to have testimony to the fact, that when some hope s been expressed by occasional visitors to distant places, where the humane work is going on, that no cheating or embezzlement was taking place, one and all have met with an energetic denial of the possibility of such an outrage in such a duty. The supervision exercised is the best available. Asiatic officials, who think ordinary peculation, and worse, fair pickings of the office to which they are attached, will hardly embezzle part of remittances for an object which they themselves have been the first to commiserate and subscribe for. Meanwhile, aid on a gigantic scale is afforded. Some nineteen thousand, who must have died, are being fed at the rate of nearly twelve hundred rupees per day. As much as thirty-six thousand rupees a month have been, and will have to be, distributed for the next six months, and yet such confidence is there in public liberality, that no fears are entertained, that, even if more is wanted, it will not be forthcoming. Should the drought last one year more, as Colonel Baird Smith considers more than problematical, and should all local funds have been exhausted, there is still the earthwork of the Punjab railway, in the event of the line being sanctioned, which will afford relief to thousands. The works of the East-Indian railway, immediately opposite the Palace, employ, and will employ for years, a mass of labourers. The propinquity of engineering constructions of such magnitude affords the best solace for the future, even under the melancholy anticipation of continued drought.

"But there is a scheme on foot for reviving the once imperial system of bund irrigation in large undulating tracts of country around old Delhi, which will, if carried out in its integrity, effectually remove the jeopardy into which a drought of a couple of years can fling the lives and property of hundreds of thousands. 'Has India,' writes Mr. Brunton, 'been always in such a position that a year's scanty crop could produce such terrible results? Certainly not. It is undeniable that irrigation was the foundation of the vast riches of India in ancient times. The mineral resources could not have produced it. To the fruits of the soil alone must be attributed its former splendour. To prove this, we need only to examine the vicinity of Delhi. The capacious intelligence of former rulers appreciated the uncertainty of the periodical supply of rain, and devised methods of distributing and husbanding, by canals and bunds, the rain that did fall. That these devices answered, the most casual observer cannot fail to detect, as he sees the proofs of former prosperity, and listens to the traditions of the village people."

BAY OF SIMODA, JAPAN.

THE SLAVE-TRADE DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

It is now nearly forty years since the European Powers pledged themselves by solemn covenant to labour for the suppression of the slave-trade. The battle of Waterloo had wrested from the hand of the first Napoleon the bloody scourge of aggressive war, and given peace to the long-troubled nations. To England they were under unspeakable obligations. When other kingdoms—their power broken upon the field of battle—had succumbed, and humiliated monarchs crouched before the throne of the new dynasty, which had so ominously risen out of the deep pit of the French revolution, England, providentially endued with unconquerable resolution, refused to yield, and afforded time to the prostrate nations to rally their energies, and recover their independence. In the settlement of European affairs which ensued on the chaining of the imperial eagle to the rock of St. Helena, her influence was great, and she used it for no selfish purpose. Detestation of the slave-trade and its enormities had been gaining strength in the national mind. Eight years before the conclusion of the long-protracted warfare with the French emperor, the royal assent had been given to the Bill, which, having passed both Houses of Parliament, had decreed—so far as England was concerned—the abolition of the slave-trade; and in the important conferences which followed the restoration of peace, the efforts of her representatives were zealously used to induce the other European nations to come to a similar determination, and unite with her in efforts for the extinction of the slave-trade. At the conference held in London, attended by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia (Dec. 1817), stringent laws against the trade were decided upon, and the expediency of a mutual right of search admitted; and eventually, at the congress of Verona, held Nov. 1822, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, pledged their respective cabinets to every thing which might secure and accelerate the complete and final abolition of the slave-traffic.

From that great compact England has never swerved. Others have acted disloyally, and in bad faith; but with her there has been no tergiversation. With unalterable perseverance and with large expenditure of treasure and of life, she has continued to befriend the African. Her cruisers on the coast, and her expostulations with other Powers, when they have endeavoured to evade the obligations of a just policy, have so far coerced the slave-trade as to keep it within certain limits, and afford to Christian Missionaries the opportunity of penetrating among the coast natives, and introducing amongst them that wholesome leaven of Christian truth which will eventually destroy the slave-trade, by teaching the African to hate it, and assimilating his mind on this point with the national mind of England.

There is no doubt that in these efforts great progress has been made. The number of slaves exported from Africa has fallen from 135,000, the average number exported annually from 1835 to 1840, to 25,000 or 30,000, the number estimated to have been exported during the past year.* In proportion as this virulent traffic, which perverts to evil purposes the energies of man, and indisposes him to peaceful and industrious pursuits, has diminished, there has been a corresponding increase of "lawful commerce, until the value of the exports from the west coast of Africa now amounts to nearly three millions sterling annually. From the Bight of Benin alone, where, twenty years ago, not a single puncheon of palm-oil was exported, during the past year the exportation of oil was estimated at nearly 17,000 tons, and the value at between 700,000*l.* and 800,000*l.*"† "From Lagos, which, until its slave-trading operations were broken up by the British squadron, had been one of the greatest slave-markets on the west coast of Africa, the exportation during last year of palm-oil, ivory, and cotton, amounted in value to about 220,000*l.*" Nor is this the only valuable produce that Africa is yielding for our use: "Cotton from Abbeokuta has been an article of export to British markets for about eight years. In the first year only 235 pounds could be procured; but since then the export has more than doubled every year, until, in 1859, the quantity reached about 6000 bales, or 720,000 pounds."

As time advances, and African improvement advances also, it will become more and more clearly seen, that in the injuries which they have inflicted upon Africa, the nations have grievously injured themselves. Had that great and rich continent been humanely

* Lord John Russell to Earl Cowley, July 11, 1860.

† Ibid.

dealt with, she would have enriched the world. Her sons, violently transported to other lands, have been constrained by coercive labour to the cultivation of plants which they would have grown in far greater abundance on their own land. "One of the first things that attracts the attention of a new comer to Africa is the greenness and density of the vegetation. A person who has never been in the tropics can form no just conception of its luxuriance. The hill sides and the banks of streams often present the appearance of solid walls of leaves and flowers." Cotton, indigo, tobacco, sugar-cane, ginger, oils of various kinds, are indigenous products of the Yoruba territory. Barth, in his explorations southward of Bornu, traces the same capabilities. These regions, to which access will eventually be had by the river Benue, are rich in cotton, indigo, vegetable butter, ground nuts, ivory, rhinoceros horns, wax, hides, and many other articles. Well-cultivated tracts presented themselves, and densely-inhabited, village succeeding village, large trees, mostly of the ngabbore and karage kind, enveloping the whole in the finest vegetation. Wherever tropical heat and facilities for irrigation, in the presence of large rivers and accumulations of fresh water, unite, *there* there will be exuberance; and such is the condition of large portions of the African continent. Well, then, might Lord Palmerston state (Feb. 26), that if the slave-trade could be extinguished, "the coast of Africa would be the source of such wealth to its inhabitants, and to the rest of the world, as the imagination of man can hardly compass. The amount of valuable productions which might be drawn from that country, as well as the amount of consumption which might be found there for the productions of other regions, would give a scope to industry and civilization which would reflect the highest credit upon all the nations engaged in so glorious an achievement."

We have stated that there has been, during the last twenty years, a decided decrease in the action of the slave-trade, and an increase of those improving influences in which consists the true hope of Africa's regeneration. The results which we should have been enabled to present would have been still more satisfactory, but for the experience of the last two years. During this period the progress of improvement has not been sustained, the slave-trade having decidedly increased, and lawful trade having proportionately suffered. In the year 1857 it was estimated that not quite 8000 slaves had been landed in Cuba;* during the year 1859, upwards of 30,000 were introduced; and in 1860 the total was still larger, amounting to between 40,000 and 50,000, besides Chinese.

The prime movers in this great increase of criminality are the Cuban planters, who, increasing, as they are, to a very great extent, their sugar plantations, require a proportionate supply of slaves to do the work. In 1817 there were 780 sugar plantations in Cuba; in 1850 they exceeded 1750. How much they have increased during the last ten years we are not prepared to state; but the last crop of sugar is estimated at more than half a million tons. The annual production of the island now reaches about 20,000,000*l.*, and requires a proportionate supply of labour. The coloured population of the island is estimated at about 550,000, of whom 400,000 are slaves." Now ten per cent., less two per cent. for reproduction, is considered to be a moderate estimate of the mortality that exists amongst the slave population. When it is remembered how the slave population is dealt with, the above estimate of mortality will be regarded as moderate.

"During the manufacturing season, a large, well-managed sugar plantation exhibits a scene of the utmost activity and unremitting labour. The planter must 'make hay while the sun shines;' and when the cane is ripe, no time must be lost in expressing the juice. Where oxen are employed, they often die of over-work before the close of the season, and the slaves are allowed but five hours for sleep, though, during the rest of the year, the task of the negroes is comparatively light, and they may sleep ten hours if they choose."†

With such facts before us, eight per cent. must be regarded as a moderate estimate of the rate of mortality amongst the slave population of Cuba. It requires, therefore, "32,000 labouring hands to make up the annual deficiency, without taking into consideration the useless from age and from infirmity, or the requirements for extended cultivation. It is very evident, that unless this deficiency was made up by fresh supplies from Africa, slavery in Cuba would die out of itself in a very few years."

But how is it that the planters of Cuba have been so successful in the trans-shipment of so large a proportion of slaves, and that despite the efforts of the British cruisers? We regret to say that the calamitous result must be attributed, first, to the bad faith of Spain, and, secondly, to the fact that the

* Blue Book, 1858. Class A., p. 43.

† Ballon's "History of Cuba," p. 146.

American flag has been used to an immense extent to protect slave ships from the inspection of the British cruisers. And, first, the bad faith of Spain, a subject on which it will not be necessary to dwell at any length, for it is notorious, and patent to the world. In 1817 Spain covenanted to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. Mixed courts of justice were appointed, one at Sierra Leone, the other at the Havana, and a mutual right of visit conceded, the Spanish Government accepting from England 400,000*l.* as compensation to those who might be sufferers by this change of policy. The original compact was confirmed by the Clarendon treaty concluded at Madrid in 1835, the provisions of which were framed with a special view to the personal good treatment of the liberated negroes, and their full and complete emancipation. Yet from that moment to the present, Spain has had but one object in view —to evade her just engagements, and permit, year by year, the importation of African slaves into Cuba. Her disloyal proceedings in this respect have continued to be the subject of repeated expostulations on the part of Her Britannic Majesty's Government. So late as September of last year, we find a note addressed by the Foreign Office to the Spanish Minister, in which the continued prosecution of the slave-trade between Africa and Cuba is complained of, and the conduct of Spain in this respect is pointedly contrasted with that of Brazil, which has faithfully, honourably, and completely effected her treaty-engagements with Great Britain. The blue-books, however, exhibit no answer to these remonstrances; nor has the "Government of Her Catholic Majesty displayed any anxiety to relieve Spain from a heavy reproach, and to render an honourable service to the cause of humanity, by adopting efficient measures for the suppression of the Cuban slave-trade."

Let us next point out the extent to which the American flag has been used to cover this traffic. A list, acknowledged to be incomplete, has been forwarded by the British officials at the Havana, of seventy-three vessels reported to have sailed from that port, or to be fitting out, for the coast of Africa, during the year ending September 30, 1860; of these, thirty-four are American, twenty-eight Spanish, five Mexican, four Chilian, one French, and one under Uraguay colours. It appears that, in 1838, nineteen American vessels engaged in the Cuban slave-trade, and protected by the American flag, had entered, in that one year, the same port which is alone considered in these estimates, the other parts of the island being left out of the account. In twelve years, therefore, the vessels prosecuting the slave-trade from that port, under American colours, have nearly doubled. By the treaty of Ghent, the United States and Great Britain are mutually engaged to each other, that they would use their utmost endeavours to promote the entire abolition of the slave-trade; and yet the action of the American Government has unhappily been far otherwise than promotive of that end. If British commanders board a ship sailing under American colours, and that ship is found to have American papers, they are then considered as having infringed on the dignity and independence of the national flag, and the transaction is complained of, and becomes a matter of correspondence between the two Governments. Even although it be that the suspicions of the British officer are well-founded, and the ship be a slaver, still it is insisted upon that the American flag ought to have protected her from British interference. The difficulty, however, of convicting such a vessel is very great, when it is remembered that the exhibition of American papers precludes all right of search, and the hatches remain unclosed, although the mere opening of them would suffice to show in what traffic the vessel was engaged.

Thus our officers are grievously obstructed in the discharge of their duty, and are mocked by the slavers, who, hoisting the American flag, and exhibiting American papers which cannot be disproved on the spot, however strong the suspicions may be which are entertained of them, set our cruisers at defiance. An officer of the British squadron, from a variety of circumstances, may have the strongest conviction of the true character of a craft; but she is sailing under American colours, and even to visit her is to expose himself to unpleasantness and recrimination, as his doing so will be resented and reported to the United-States' Government, who have hitherto been too ready to accept as trustworthy the evidence of such interested parties as the master and crew of the suspected vessel. But when the vessel has been boarded, and American papers are exhibited, the British officer is debarred from all right of search: he may not ascertain by personal observation the nature of her fittings, whether she be designed for legitimate traffic or otherwise: all that he can do is to keep by the vessel until he may chance to meet a stray ship of the American squadron, whose commander can institute a search, and examine the papers as to their accuracy. It may be observed, that it is only as regards vessels sailing under

the American flag that the American squadron has power to act, the laws of the United States not affording any means of bringing to justice a foreigner carrying on the slave-trade in a foreign vessel, even when he is taken *in flagrante delicto.*"* And even with respect to vessels claiming to be American, American officers are greatly embarrassed as to their action; for should they send a vessel home under the impression that its papers are not authentic, and they are found on examination and proof to be genuine papers, the officer who adopted such a step in the discharge of, as he believed it to be, his duty, has to defray all expenses. Sometimes it happens that the master of the suspected vessel, finding it to be the determination of the British cruiser to stay by him until he be remanded to the scrutiny of an American cruiser, and knowing his papers to be forgeries, takes the first opportunity of destroying them; and having thus, by his own act, denationalized himself, becomes the prize of the British vessel. Yet in such cases British officers have been subjected to very unjust accusations by the United States authorities, as though, from interested motives, they had compelled the master against his will to destroy his papers, so that, in doing so, he had only yielded to threats and to superior force.

The difficulties in which our officers have found themselves involved, by complications such as we have sketched, come out very clearly in the case of the "Rufus Soulé," captured and destroyed by Her Majesty's ship "Viper," off the African coast, in October 1858. Lieutenant Hodgkinson fell in with this vessel off the Killoo river on the 19th September. His suspicions being excited, he visited her, and required to see her papers, which, after some demur, the captain produced. She was then allowed to proceed. Some three weeks subsequently, the "Viper" again fell in with the "Rufus Soulé," and Lieutenant Hodgkinson having in the interim obtained additional information as to her true character, again boarded her, and came to the determination to remain by her until he had the opportunity of transferring her to the scrutiny of an American cruiser, when, search being instituted, it might be ascertained whether the "Rufus Soulé" was guilty or otherwise of slave-trading transactions. On hearing this determination, the master threw overboard his American colours and papers. His doing so was evidently an acknowledgment of their falsity. Had they been correct, he would have carefully retained them as the means of his being set free from the interference of the British. But he destroyed them because he knew them to be forged; and in doing so he chose the lesser of two evils. On the American side, he and his crew were obnoxious to the penalties of piracy; but by falling into the hands of the British as a slave-prize, the vessel indeed would be destroyed, but himself and his crew would be landed on the coast and set at liberty. Nothing could be more clear and easy to be understood than this case, yet the American statesmen made it the subject of a lengthened and almost angry remonstrance. Some paragraphs from this document will render intelligible to our readers the peculiar rights claimed by the American Government, and the increased facilities which are thus afforded to the slave-dealer in the prosecution of his villany. General Cass, writing to Mr. Dallas (March 31, 1860), thus forcibly expresses himself—

"With regard to the 'Rufus Soulé.' Lord John Russell has incorporated into his communication a narrative of the cruise and capture of that vessel, almost exclusively compiled from the report of Lieutenant Hodgkinson, of the British navy, who boarded and burnt her. And his lordship subjoins to this summary the expression of his conviction, that the statements thus made will satisfy the Government of the United States that the information on which the commander of Her Majesty's ship 'Viper' acted was well-founded, and that the 'Rufus Soulé' was, at the time of her capture, engaged in the slave-trade, and that she was not entitled to the protection of the United-States' flag. Whether this vessel was then engaged in the slave-trade is one thing, but whether she was entitled to the protection of the flag of the United States is another and quite a different thing, and depends not upon the nature of her employment, legal or illegal, but upon her national character. Certainly there are strong grounds of suspicion that she was engaged in that nefarious traffic; and were the question of her condemnation, or of the guilt of her crew, depending before a judicial tribunal possessing the necessary jurisdiction, the object of the voyage would be a paramount subject of inquiry. But that consideration does not touch the question now at issue between the Government of this country and that of Great Britain. That question, I repeat, is, not what the vessel was doing, but whether she belonged to the

* Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell, May 26, 1860.

United States. Neither her national character, nor the immunity it brings with it, could be affected by the purposes to which shew as destined. The police over their own vessels upon the ocean is an attribute of sovereignty which belongs to all independent States, and is not now questioned by any of them. Many severe lessons in their own history have taught the United States the value of this principle, and have brought with them the determination to maintain their right to it under all circumstances. While the Government of Great Britain has avowed its adhesion to this doctrine, the British naval officers appear too often to be ignorant of its existence, or indifferent to its obligations. Repeated occurrences upon the coast of Africa, both formerly, and quite recently, as well as the objectionable proceedings in this case of the 'Soulé,' too clearly indicate with what facility an unlawful jurisdiction is assumed, and abused, and defended. The United States have a right to expect that the British Government will make known to its officers that no such pretension is advanced by Great Britain, and that it will take efficient measures to put a stop to a practice which is equally irritating and unjustifiable. This country is desirous of the extinction of the slave-trade, and is employing a larger force for that purpose in proportion to its naval means than any other Power whatever. But it has other great interests upon the ocean—the immunity of its flag, the protection of its citizens, and the security of its commerce, which it does not intend to put to hazard by permitting the exercise of any foreign jurisdiction over its merchant vessels." *

The American statesman refuses to believe it possible that "United-States' capital has been more and more employed in this traffic," and refers to the assertion of the American Consul-General at the Havana, "that within the past year no American capital has been invested in this trade, either in the purchase or fitting-out of vessels from Cuba; and that, with one exception, there had been no fraudulent sale, or transfer of American vessels, and their masters and crews, for slave-trading purposes, since the year 1858.

The reply of Lord John Russell is brief and dignified. "The reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government subsequently to the capture and destruction of the 'Rufus Soulé,' strongly confirm the information which had reached them in the first instance with regard to this vessel, and which was to the effect, that, previously to the voyage on which she was engaged when captured, the 'Rufus Soulé' had been sold to a Spanish slave-trader, and was not entitled to American protection; and this information is confirmed by the report of the United-States' Consul-General at the Havana. It would answer no practical purpose, therefore, to continue a controversial correspondence with regard to this case; and the more so, because Her Majesty's Government are ready to do full justice to the sincere desire of the United-States' Government to employ officially all the means at its disposal to put a stop to that prostitution of the United-States' flag by slave-traders, which has of late been so notorious and extensive, and which is calculated to transfer unjustly, to citizens of the United States, the discredit which more properly attaches to persons belonging to other States." *

The great increase of slavers under the American flag is in truth a matter of public notoriety. It is not only British officials who announce these unpleasant truths, but the newspaper press of the United States. The Boston papers published a list of vessels sailing under the American flag, which, during the eighteen months preceding July 1860, had landed their cargoes on the island of Cuba. There are twenty-six vessels specified by name, with the American ports whence they were fitted out—the greatest number from New York and New Orleans—together with the names of fourteen others captured by British and American cruisers.

We may feel well assured that these vessels were not transferred, nor these ventures made, without adequate payment; and it may be well, in the next place, to consider how the pecuniary means were obtained which set all this machinery in motion.

A company has been formed in Cuba for the more active and extended prosecution of the slave-trade, having its members in America and Europe. The formidable character of this company and the magnitude of its resources may be estimated from the statements contained in the following despatch from Consul-General Crawford, at the Havana, to Lord John Russell, dated May 14, 1860—

"The company, which was originated in this city, has interested agents in most of the ports on the north side of Cuba, for the introduction of slaves.

"They are owners at present of thirty-seven vessels, which number is to be increased to eighty.

"The business is to be conducted on a

* Blue Book, p. 159.

* Blue Book, Class B., 1860, p. 168.

grand scale, and it is calculated that it will succeed, some of the conditions being as follows—

"The masters, officers, and crews are to be engaged (as it were) on shares of the adventure; and their remuneration is guaranteed to be paid to them previous to the landing of a single negro from any of the expeditions that arrive in safety.

"The captains are to receive 10,000 dollars, the chief mates 2000 dollars, other mates and carpenters 1500 dollars, and to each of the crew 1000 dollars.

"The vessels are to be despatched from this harbour and the outposts in regular succession, one to sail every fifteen days or oftener, and to be capable of carrying 400 or 450 or more slaves.

"I understand they fully expect that many of their fleet will be captured; but they reckon on being able to introduce 150,000 to 160,000 bozals before the association is broken up, which, unless something unforeseen occurs, they will easily do.

"It will be obvious to your lordship, that, to purchase and equip eighty vessels, the capital subscribed must be large. I had heard previously that it was 600,000 dollars, and probably this was correct, giving 16,000 dollars for each of the thirty-seven vessels: but as it is proposed to increase the fleet to eighty, the subscribed capital must exceed 1,250,000 dollars, which amount, large as it is, would, for such a purpose, be easily obtained here, especially as it is said, and I have no doubt truly, that a great number of the wealthiest Spaniards are subscribers. They have doubtless been allured by the prospect of enormous gains, and the almost certainty of success, knowing, as they do, that all will be safe if they can only elude the vigilance of our cruisers on the coast of Africa; that money will buy their successful disembarkation; and that we have for some time past withdrawn our cruisers from these waters.

"Every Spaniard being imbued with the idea that the prosperity of Cuba depends on the slave-trade being continued, the pressure on the Government at Madrid, as well as here, is such, that they are apprehensive that disorder would ensue did they not tolerate its being carried on, and they dare not make any efforts for its suppression. It is hopeless, therefore, to expect any thing from them."*

If the slave-ships succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the cruisers on the African shore, they had little to fear in the Cuban waters. There were no British ships there—why, we shall state by-and-by; only a weak American squadron, totally insufficient to guard the extended shores; and therefore cargoes of negroes arrived thick and fast. Mr. Crawford, in a dispatch to Lord John Russell, dated September 30, 1860, presents the following summary of information—

"I have the honour of laying before your lordship a statement of the number of slaves landed in Cuba during the first nine months of the present year, amounting to 12,060, of whom 771 have been seized by the Spanish authorities.

	Negroes.
"If to this number	12,060,
Are added, the usual third, . .	4,020,
The three cargoes which were captured by the United-States' cruisers, ...	1,433,
And the cargo of the schooner which was taken to Nassau, .	364,
We have a total of . . .	17,877.

"This statement, however, only includes the cargoes of which we have any positive knowledge, and must not be considered as showing any thing like the exact number of slaves which has been actually imported, for it is calculated that at least 30,000 have been landed since the 1st of January last.

"The system which has been adopted of late, of transferring cargoes to coasting craft at Anguilla and other places of rendezvous, from whence the negroes are taken direct to the wharves of the sugar plantations, and to different parts of the island, renders it extremely difficult to obtain any information whatever. For instance, the Vice-Consul at Nuevitas reports that over 2000 slaves have been landed there, in small lots, from coasting-schooners, but no trace can be found of the vessels which brought them from Africa. Even here, at Havana, the same thing is constantly occurring; but as the slaves are invariably furnished with passes, the local authorities cannot meddle with them.

"It will be sufficiently evident, however, that the slave-trade is again in the ascendancy. There never was a time, since the celebration of the treaty with Spain, when the preparations for the continuance of that hateful traffic were more formidable. There exist throughout the island numerous joint-stock companies, with immense capital, and with extensive ramifications in the United States and in Europe, whose plans are so judiciously arranged that they cannot fail to be successful. Out of the large number of vessels they despatch from hence, from the

* Blue Book, pp. 107, 108.

United States, and from Europe, they can safely count upon running at least three in every twelve, or twenty-five per cent., the proceeds of which will cover the loss of all the rest and leave a handsome profit besides. These transactions, however, are kept very private. There is no such thing as quoting the shares on the Exchange; no documents are passed which can in any way compromise the partners: and although it is generally pretty well known what persons are engaged in the slave-trade, it would be quite impossible to establish any proof against them in law. Thus it is that the slavers which are taken by our cruisers on the coast of Africa throw their papers and colours overboard, and it is only occasionally that the vessels can be identified.

"Most of the numerous contrivances which are made use of by the slave-traders to deceive Her Majesty's officers, and even to cheat each other (for there may be honour among thieves, but there appears to be none amongst these men-stealers), are now very generally known.

"The substitution of closely-fitting iron water-tanks instead of casks is now quite common. Several of the vessels which have lately sailed hence have cleared out openly for Ambriz, St. Thomas, Loanda, or the river Zaire, as if they were bound on a legal voyage. They are provided with a charter-party, and have all their papers apparently in order; but these documents are feigned; and if any boarding-officer was to insist upon opening the hatches, and comparing the cargo with the clearance, the villany would be at once discovered; in fact, both flag and papers would immediately disappear.

"It is greatly to be regretted that the Government of the United States will not come to some understanding with that of Great Britain for the better prevention of the abuse of the American flag.

"It is true that the United States' gunboats stationed in these waters have rendered good service, as will be seen by the return of the slave-vessels they have captured; but could a systematic plan of cruising be arranged, combining the services of our ships with theirs, the slave-trade would be very soon put down. Nor is it alone the flag of the United States which is thus prostituted. I have been informed that the slave-traders now appear to think that there is more safety in that of France, and that it is likely to be most extensively used."*

* Blue Book, Class A., p. 19.

To meet the increased stimulus thus given to the slave-trade, increased efforts on the part of those who have engaged in its suppression had become necessary.

It had indeed become evident, that unless the efforts so long, and, on the whole, so successfully pursued, were to be altogether abandoned, some new measures, adapted to the new complications which had arisen, required to be originated. The Government, therefore, of Her Britannic Majesty proposed to the United-States' Government an arrangement comprehensive of three distinct provisions: 1st, A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States; 2dly, Laws of registration and inspection on the island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by the Spanish authorities; and, 3dly, a plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.

Three years previously, British cruisers had been stationed in the Cuban waters, under the conviction, that not only "ought there be an intercepting force on the coast of Africa, but that a similar one on the coast of Cuba would be useful." "Difficulties immediately arose. American citizens engaged in the slave-trade got up a great clamour against our cruisers, asserting that they were intercepting the legitimate commerce of the United States. The United-States' Government took the matter up; and, owing to the complication of circumstances, the British Government were obliged to withdraw their cruisers from that station."* It was thought, perhaps, that the proposal of joint cruising would be more acceptable to them, and our ambassador, Lord Lyons, was authorized to place this new proposal before the American Government. The President, however, declined to give his assent to any of the three propositions, for the following reasons—

"1st, A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States. To accede to this proposition would involve the necessity of a treaty with Spain, to enable the cruisers of the United States to enter the waters of Cuba within a marine league from shore. The Spanish Government, so far from having given any intimation that a violation of its sovereignty to this extent would

* Lord Palmerston, February 26.

be acceptable, has only recently made the strongest complaints to this Government against the cruisers of the United States, upon the alleged ground that they had captured slavers within Cuban waters. While, therefore, Great Britain has already acquired this right by treaty, the United States does not possess it, and their cruisers would consequently be arrested in the pursuit of slavers as soon as they entered Spanish jurisdiction, whilst the cruisers of Great Britain and Spain could not only continue the pursuit until the slavers had landed, but could follow the slaves into the interior of the island. It is but proper, however, to say, that while the President does not suppose that the Government of Spain would enter into an arrangement with the United States similar to its treaty with Great Britain, he could not consent to any such arrangement, for it would violate the well-established policy of this country, not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations, nor to enter into alliances with foreign Governments. This Government has maintained, and will continue to maintain, a naval force in the neighbourhood of Cuba for the execution of its own laws. It will, to the utmost extent of its power, put down this abominable traffic, and capture all American vessels, and punish all American citizens engaged in it. The success which has already attended our efforts near the coasts of Cuba prove that we have done our duty in this respect, and this at an enormous expense, for the support of the captured Africans, for their transportation back to Africa, and for their liberal maintenance there during the period of a year after their return.

"2ndly, Laws of registration and inspection in the island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities. After what has just been said, it is necessary to state that the Government of the United States could not ask Spain to pass such laws of registration. But if this were otherwise, it is quite certain that such laws would have no practical effect; for if Her Majesty's Government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labour afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities, whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises; and if joint-stock companies are established at the Havana for the purpose of prosecuting the African slave-trade, under the eye of the highest officials of the island, and with perfect impunity, it would be vain to expect that registrars throughout the country would counteract the policy of their superiors by faithfully performing their duty.

"3rdly, A plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities. It is not probable that Lord John Russell expected this Government to unite in forming such a plan of emigration from China; for if he had entertained this idea, he would scarcely have omitted the agents of the United States from any participation in its regulation. Nor can the President share in the anticipation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, that the coolie-trade can be put on any such footing as will relieve it of those features of fraud and violence which render the details of its prosecution scarcely less horrible than those of the middle passage. And he is of opinion that it would exert a most deleterious influence upon every portion of this country, to import into it Chinese coolies as labourers. In the States where the institution of domestic slavery exists, these heathen coolies would demoralize the peaceful, contented, and orderly slaves, very many of whom are sincere Christians. And in the Free States they would be brought into competition with our respectable and industrious labourers, whether of native or foreign birth, who constitute so large a portion of our best citizens."*

It is impossible to read this extract without feeling surprised at the description given of the "domestic institution," and the condition of slaves under its yoke, as peaceful, contented, and orderly. The justice of such a description, on a future opportunity, we may consider, and take our readers on an investigatory tour through the Southern States, in order that they may form a judgment for themselves.

Lord John Russell, while expressing his regret that the proposals made by him had not met with the assent of the President, still expresses the hope that some measures would be adopted by the United-States' Government to prevent the slave-trade being carried on in United-States' vessels, and under the United-States' flag. Having referred to lists recently published in the United-States' newspapers—one containing the names of eighty-five vessels fitted out, and sailing from American ports, for slave-trading purposes, within the previous eighteen months, and the other the names of twenty-six vessels which had landed their cargoes in Cuba, he proceeds to say—

* Blue Book, Class B., p. 170.

"Her Majesty's Government have every reason to believe, that so far from the above lists being exaggerated, the number of vessels actually engaged in the slave-trade under the American flag considerably exceeds that given in the lists in question, and a large proportion of the vessels named have been actually met with by British cruisers on the African coast, under circumstances that left no doubt as to the illegal traffic in which they were about to be engaged.

"Her Majesty's Government do not press the proposition, that cruisers of Great Britain and the United States should cruise in couples, or indeed any special mode of cruising; but it appears to them that two such powers as Great Britain and the United States ought to be able to prevent the landing of two-thirds or three-fourths of the slaves that are imported into Cuba, and thus cause the slave-dealers to abandon the traffic. The want of a slave-trade suppression treaty between the United States and Spain no doubt weakens the action of United-States' cruisers; while, on the other hand, though Great Britain has a slave-trade suppression treaty with Spain, yet the free use of the American flag by the slavers equally paralyzes the action of British cruisers; and on this point Her Majesty's Government wish to submit to the enlightened judgment of the President and General Cass, that if the national regard of the United States for the honour of their flag is so great as to prevent an effectual destruction of the slave-trade by British cruisers, it is incumbent on the United States to take measures of their own which, if vigorously pursued, may extirpate a traffic condemned many years ago by the legislation of the Republic, and repugnant to every feeling of humanity."*

This honest language did not please. The American statesmen appeared to think, that in thus frankly avowing his convictions, the British minister was not altogether unlike the captain of a British cruiser who should unceremoniously intrude himself on the deck of a suspected vessel, instead of recognising the protection of the stars and stripes, and permitting her in dignified isolation to pursue her own way. The difficulty with the British sailor is to believe that so noble a flag can be justly used to cover so base a traffic. He cannot, in his own mind, identify the flag of liberty with a slaver; and, in his honest refusal to acknowledge, if he can by possibility avoid it, the American "stars and stripes," when unhappily placed in so anomalous a position, instead of showing any slight, he is doing honour to the flag of the United States. For the same reasons it was exceedingly difficult for British statesmen to persuade themselves that the high American officials of 1859 and 1860 could have any intention of evading the plain duty of putting forth efforts for the suppression of so barbarous a traffic, and therefore, by remonstrances and new proposals of every possible variety, they endeavoured to overcome the reluctance of the American Government; until at length unmistakeable symptoms of impatience manifested themselves, and a peremptory letter from General Cass (Oct. 27th, 1860) summoned the British minister to withdraw his foot from the protected deck of American affairs.

"Mr. Irvine, the Chargé d'Affaires of Her Britannic Majesty, has read to me, agreeably to the instructions of Lord John Russell, a despatch from his lordship to Lord Lyons, dated September 10, 1860, and has left a copy of it at this department.

"This despatch relates to the African slave-trade, and presents to this government some general considerations connected with it, which more than once have been brought to its attention. I do not propose to renew a discussion which it is not probable would change the views of either of the parties. But there are some statements and remarks which I am unwilling to pass by without observation, and to which I shall briefly refer.

"I request you would remind Lord John Russell of what indeed has been heretofore made known to the British Government, that while the United States are anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade, and are taking efficient measures to prevent their citizens from engaging in it, they have great national rights, essential attributes of their independence, in the exercise of which they will not suffer any other power to participate, and among these is the jurisdiction over their own vessels upon the ocean. A divided sovereignty, territorial or maritime, in its use or abuse, may be fraught with consequences which their history teaches them to avoid. . . .

"The right of Great Britain to make representations to the Government of the United States at any time it may be believed that the American squadron is not kept up, or employed agreeably to the requisitions of the treaty, is fully conceded; but, with our conventional duties, the right of interference ceases. What our moral duties demand of us is a subject for our own exclusive consideration. Very different opinions will often be formed by different nations of the policy they ought to adopt under given circumstances. But if each of them should assume the right

* Blue Book, Class B, p. 171.

to pass judgment upon the proceedings of the other, and to make its own views the subject of diplomatic representations, it is not difficult to foresee the unfortunate consequences which would result from such intervention.

"I beg you would call the special attention of Lord John Russell to this matter, and to assure him, as the Foreign Office has been assured more than once before, that these diplomatic suggestions are as unnecessary as they are unacceptable, and to express the hope this Government entertains that similar appeals will not again be repeated. And, in connection with this topic, you will please also reiterate to his lordship the assurance heretofore given that, while the United States are at all times ready to receive and consider any proper suggestions connected with this traffic, not already sufficiently discussed, yet it is felt that the subject, with its extensive ramifications, is pressed too often upon the attention of the Government, as though it needed these repeated representations to stimulate its action, or to teach it its duty."*

Lord John Russell's reply (December 15th, 1860) to this unceremonious mandate to hold his tongue, is pointed and dignified.

"Mr. Dallas has read to me a despatch from General Cass, dated the 27th of October last, taking exception to the communications which Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty lately to address to the Cabinet of Washington on the subject of the abuse of the American flag for slave-trade purposes.

"I confess that I heard this despatch with some surprise.

"Mr. Dallas is requested to remind me, 'that while the United States are anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade, and are taking efficient measures to prevent their citizens from engaging in it, they have great national rights, essential attributes of their independence, in the exercise of which they will not suffer any other power to participate, and among these is the jurisdiction over their own vessels upon the ocean.'

"Now, as Great Britain has never pretended to deny this right, or to set up a jurisdiction over the vessels of the United States, which the Government of the United States were not willing to concede, this assertion seems to Her Majesty's Government unnecessary.

"But when General Cass seems desirous, as he appears to be in the latter part of this despatch, to impose silence on the British Government upon a subject in which the cause of humanity is closely interested, he proposes a state of relations which Great Britain cannot sanction by her consent.

"In 1806 Great Britain abolished her own slave-trade.

"In 1814, and at subsequent periods, she has urged the consideration of this subject upon the Powers of Europe collectively and separately. They have all admitted, both in word and deed, that it is a fair subject for international representation and international treaty.

"Her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa observe vessels sailing under the American flag, fitted up for the conveyance of slaves from Africa to Cuba. Our Consuls in the United States report on the sailing of vessels intended for slave-trade for Africa and the Havana, and Her Majesty's Consul-General at Havana reports the arrival at the island of Cuba of numerous vessels, under the American flag, laden with slaves.

"In these circumstances Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to the condition of perpetual silence which General Cass wishes to impose upon them. They hold it to be a duty to speak the truth to the United States, even though it prove unpalatable. Whenever, therefore, they think it necessary to make representations, they will do so, but they will do so in that tone of respect for a great, free, and friendly nation, which they sincerely feel.

"You will read this despatch to General Cass, and give him a copy of it."*

At the close, then, of last year, our prospects, with respect to the slave-trade and its suppression, were of a dark and lowering character. Cuban gold, American private enterprise, and the impracticability of American statesmen, threatened us with an alarming extension of that old evil. The minds of our own statesmen seemed to incline to what is called the free emigration of Chinese coolies into Cuba. That is a wide subject on which we cannot now write. This only we would say, that, except carried out under the stringent regulations of the British Government itself, this free emigration will only be another form of the slave-trade. As prosecuted by other Governments, or in the hands of private enterprise, we should have no confidence in it.

This aspect of affairs, however, has been marvellously altered since the beginning of 1861. The great Cuban conspiracy cannot now be persevered in: the American disruption has paralyzed its action and sealed

* Blue Book, Class B, pp. 177, 179.

* Blue Book, Class B, pp. 176, 177.

the doom of the slave-trade. These state papers and state reluctance, to which we referred, were the exponents, not of the free North, but they were in sympathy with the slaveholding predilections of the South. We cannot be surprised at the disruption which has taken place. Men holding opinions the most diametrically opposed to each other on a question of intense vitality, the practical bearings and difficulties of which were to be met with in the transactions of every-day life, were placed under the headship of a Government which, from its very position, was necessarily weak and uncertain in its action. The free convictions of the North were continually compromised, and violence done to the national conscience, in order to conciliate the South; and, as might be expected, the more this principle of conciliation was acted upon, the more exorbitant and grasping the South became. Free States, which abhorred slavery, were compelled by law to assist the slaveholder in the recovery of his fugitive slave, who, by flight, was using the only means in his power to recover that which his master unjustly withheld from him—his liberty. The flag of America was compelled to the anomalous position of protecting slavery. With such extremes of opinion on so vital a question we do not see how the Union could be perpetuated without a continued sacrifice of principle. The South has separated, and now the North is free. The Palmetto flag has been hoisted, and the stars and stripes need no longer be dishonoured to the protection of the slave-trade, either by sea or land. The North can do without the South: better, indeed, it is to be without the South than to purchase its adherence by a degrading compromise with slavery and its institutions. But the South cannot be without the North. There is a heavy weight appended to the Southern States which must have sunk them long ago, but that they have been upheld by the strong arm of the North; and so long as the powerful North was contented to be used as a prop to sustain the slave system of the South, and thus to be so compromised with slavery as to be incapable of acting vigorously against it in other parts of the world, we saw no solution to the difficulty. But now that the North, having shaken off the trammels of expediency, stands forth free, slavery is doomed, and its extinction is not distant.

JAPAN.

JAPAN has re-opened to intercourse with foreign nations, and has resumed the policy which once prevailed in this island-kingdom: for be it remembered "that the seclusion of Japan is a comparatively modern policy, and that there was a time when that country was fully accessible to Europeans." Not only so, but the Japanese themselves, in large numbers, visited foreign countries, Japan being then a sea-faring and even piratical nation. "Throughout the Indian archipelago, Japanese adventurers were wont to hire their services as armed mercenaries to the petty native sovereigns, or to the governors of the rival European settlements. Siam, Gambodia, Amboyna, Java, and even the shores of India, witnessed the presence of her fleets and the indomitable enterprise of her mariners."*

The first Europeans who reached these islands were the Portuguese, in 1542 or 1543. They soon introduced their priests. Xavier himself led on the mission. No system of exclusion then existed, and such was the spirit of toleration, that the Government made no objection to the teaching of the corrupted Christianity which was introduced. The work of proselytism advanced, and converts multiplied to such an extent, that if the Epistolæ Japanicæ are to be credited, there were, in 1587, 200 churches, and converts to the number of 200,000, including some of the great princes.

But the "prosperity of fools shall destroy them." If a work, nominally a Christian one, be unsound, nothing so powerfully brings its defects to the surface as a season of prosperity, and simply because it calls for the exercise of tempers and qualifications which are foreign to the fallen nature of man, and which nothing but genuine Christianity can supply. The Romish Missionaries and their proselytes soon made it manifest that they had not these qualifications. The former, in particular, became inflated and arrogant. "They treated with open contempt the institutions and customs of the country, and insulted the highest officials of the Government by studied indignities."* "A circumstance is related to have

* "Ten Weeks in Japan," by the Bishop of Victoria, p. 5.

* United-States' Japan Expedition.

occurred in 1596, which is said to have been the immediate cause of the great persecution. A Portuguese bishop was met on the high road by one of the highest officers of state on his way to court. Each was in his sedan. The usage of the country required that in such case the conveyance of the bishop should be stopped, and that he should alight and pay his respects to the nobleman. Instead of conforming to this established act of courtesy, the ecclesiastic took not the least notice of the Japanese dignitary, but, turning his head away from him, ordered his bearers to carry him on." Hence there was mortal offence, and implacable resentment. It was believed, with what foundation of truth we know not, that the Romish ecclesiastics were intriguing to establish on the islands the supremacy of the Portuguese, and that the native Christians were implicated in the plot. War broke out, and, as the arms of the heathen authorities became successful, issued in an embittered persecution; the foreign ecclesiastics were banished; the native converts put to death; and over the vast common place of sepulture in which the slain were buried, the following inscription was placed—"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the king of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if He violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."* From that time the exclusive policy was adopted, and Japan shut up. Severe proclamations prohibited any Japanese ship, or any native of Japan, visiting foreign lands, under penalty of death. Any Japanese returning home from a foreign country; any person presuming to bring a letter home from abroad; any nobleman or soldier purchasing any thing from a foreigner; any person bearing the name of Christian, or propagating Christian doctrines, were to suffer death.

In this transaction Romanism has had much to answer for. What her sin has been is soon made intelligible. A physician of great eminence devises a medicine calculated to arrest the ravages of a prevailing epidemic. It is found to be so efficacious as in every instance, where it is faithfully used, to effect a cure. Another individual, jealous of its influence, concocts some deleterious mixture, and labels it with the name of the genuine medicine. Many persons receive it and make use of it as such. But so far from arresting the malady, it is found to exasperate its symptoms. Men know not they have been using a counterfeit; but supposing that it has been the genuine medicine which has so grievously failed on trial, they transfer to this all their indignation, and repudiate it. The result is that the epidemic has uncontrolled sway, and multitudes perish. Who must be held responsible for those deaths? The malignant person who, by the substitution of a counterfeit, misrepresented the genuine medicine, and excited against it so groundless a prejudice. In consequence of the criminal action of the Romish Church, Japan, for upwards of 200 years, has denounced Christianity as a hateful and pernicious system, and forbidden it all access to her shores; a long period of time, during which many generations have lived and died in utter darkness and ignorance of God. But for the church of Rome, it might have been otherwise. Nor is this aversion yet removed; for although Japan has opened to intercourse with foreigners, no open action on the part of a Christian Missionary, with a view to sowing the seed of the Gospel, would for an instant be permitted.

During this long period various attempts were made by the English to participate in the advantages of a trade which was now exclusively in the hands of the Dutch at Nagasaki and the governor of the Philippine islands. The Russians, in 1792, commenced a series of similar attempts, and the Americans appeared at the barrier in 1837. On March 31, 1854, a treaty was signed between Japan and the United States. It opened the port of Simoda, in the principality of Idsa, and the port of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsmai, for the reception of American ships, and purposes of commerce. But this was all which could be obtained from them. The Japanese would not consent to the residence of American families on shore. The only permanent residence permitted, and that reluctantly, was that of a consul. Temporary residence was allowed to those who went on commercial business to Simoda or Hakodadi. On landing, they might visit, without restriction, shops and temples, make purchases, walk about within the limits of seven miles into the interior, resort to a temple assigned to them as a resting-place, but were not permitted to enter military establishments or private houses without leave.

This first treaty was followed by a convention (Oct. 1855) effected by Sir James Sterling, between the British Sovereign and the Emperor of Japan, which opened the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodadi to British ships, for the purposes of repair, or obtaining water and provisions. The right of British ships

* Bishop of Victoria's "Ten Weeks in Japan," p. 206.

of war to enter the ports of Japan, in the discharge of public duties, was also recognised.

The way was thus prepared for a more full and satisfactory arrangement, effected through the ability of Lord Elgin, and signed Aug. 26, 1858. It purports to be a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce, between Her Britannic Majesty and the Tycoon of Japan, and their respective dominions and subjects. A diplomatic agent might reside at the city of Yeddo, and consular agents at any or all the ports of Japan opened for British commerce by this treaty, the Consul-General having the special privilege of travelling freely to any part of the empire. The ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki are open to British subjects; also Nee-e-gata, or some other suitable harbour on the west coast of Niphon and Hiogo, the latter being deferred to the 1st of January 1863. In these towns and ports British subjects have the right of permanent residence; they may lease grounds and purchase buildings thereon, and may erect dwellings and warehouses. Certain limits also are defined in the vicinity of the open ports, where British subjects are free to go where they please.

These privileges have been largely taken advantage of, and our knowledge of this populous and semi-civilized insular empire is rapidly increasing. Its physical aspect is beautiful. Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, in his narrative of Lord Elgin's visit, sketches with a descriptive pencil the Bay of Nagasaki, in the island of Kewsew, about 450 miles north-west from Shanghae—"The high green islands of Iwosima conceal from view the entrance to the bay until you round the westernmost point: even then, other islands and projecting promontories make it somewhat uncertain. Fortunately the ship's pilotage does not rest with us, and we can bestow our attention unreservedly on the scenery, which is indeed of a character to rivet it, whether we will or no. The islands on our right rise abruptly out of the water. The overhanging promontory above us is crowned by a battery of guns, round which a few soldiers are grouped, gazing curiously; beyond it, more batteries appear on sundry other projections of the shore, which is here and there indented with bays, from which deep-wooded valleys run up into the island. They seem thickly populated, for the cottages, with their high thatched roofs, cluster up the hill-side, and peep out from under the dark foliage. In places the islands are precipitous, and masses of towering rock deny, even to the hardiest shrubs, holding ground.

"The scenery on the opposite shore is of the same character, but on a grander scale. It trends away in a series of deep bays and beetling cliffs, upon the rugged base of which the waves wage an incessant war, and surge and moan fretfully in deep caves and fissures, as though lamenting their fruitless efforts to undermine them. In charming contrast with these sterner features are grassy slopes and rice-fields rising in terraces on the green hill-sides, and shady groves, with blue smoke curling above them, denoting the existence of snug hamlets. Securely moored in secluded creeks, or hauled up on little patches of sandy beach, are quaint-shaped native craft; others are glancing about these calm inland waters, ferrying across, from islands to the main, passengers and cargo, or lying motionless, as though asleep, on the water, their sails 'folded like thoughts in a dream,' while the occupants are fishing. These sails are composed either of strips of matting or of cloth. These are generally black and white alternately, each strip not being above two feet wide, and hoisted perpendicularly."

The Bishop of Victoria's description of the city of Nagasaki, where he spent a portion of his six weeks' residence in the islands, may not be omitted—

"The first feelings excited by a visit to a Japanese city are a sense of bewilderment and awe, caused by the very novelty of the situation, and the remembrance that the scenes, habits, and customs, so new, are but the reflection of above two thousand years of continuous national life, without any great change in the physical or moral aspect of the country. Those overhanging hills, covered with the rich foliage of perennial green, among whose shadows the city of Nagasaki lies embosomed in the sheltered valley 2000 feet below, looked down, in ages long lost in the deep oblivion of the past, on scenes and occurrences in no important particular differing from those of the present hour. The ordinary appearances and incidents which we witnessed in the city of Nagasaki were probably also a correct picture of similar scenes in every part of Japan. The busy crowd of population was borne onward through the city thoroughfares, each individual intent on his own object, and every man pursuing his separate vocation. In one part a confectioner's shop attracted its eager company of old and young engaged in the purchase of sweetmeats, or endeavouring to appease hunger by the more homely fare of rice-dum-

plings and rye-cakes. In another part a fishmonger's stall, covered with conger-eels, mackerel, soles, lobsters, and cray-fish, or with sliced cutlets of star-fish and cuttle-fish, invited the more affluent to purchase the materials of a feast. Occasionally a butcher's shambles were the scene of attraction, where a whale, lately stranded on a neighbouring beach, or harpooned by an adventurous fleet of fishing-boats, furnished an over-abundant and cheap supply of coarse red meat, resembling raw beef, and gave for some days an impulse to the carnivorous tastes of the lower classes. Next we come to fruiterers' shops, well supplied with the fruits of the season; greengrocers' stalls, decked out with bunches of turnips, carrots, sweet potatoes, egg-plants, and the usual horticultural produce of a semi-tropical vegetation. We pass next in succession numerous flower-shops, exhibiting their tastefully-arranged garlands, miniature shrubs, and dwarfed trees, resembling, in all the fantastic imitation of an artificially-stunted growth of a few inches high, the spreading boughs and gnarled trunks of the giants of the forest. Sellers of dried fruits and candied preserves, grain-dealers, poulterers, egg-merchants, weavers, cotton-cleaners, tailors, and umbrella-makers, now in their turn fill up either side of the way. Soon again we pass the spacious warehouses of the dealers in sauces, condiments, and soys, where large jars lie filled with decoctions of pulse and rice, and are left to ferment and become mellow with exposure and age. Wine-taverns and spirit-shops occupy no inconsiderable space, displaying their numerous rows of sakee-jars, and plying a successful trade among the alcohol-loving natives. In another part, silk-mercers display their glossy wares and gorgeous folds hanging from the ceiling, and forming a little labyrinth of bright-flowered festoons and embroidered drapery. Further on, book-stalls and picture-shops, exhibiting every variety of native costume, and exposing for sale some grotesque caricatures of European visitors, foreign vessels, and Dutch uniforms, attracted the more idle class of gazers. Again we pass the usual assemblage of money-changers, glass-blowers, incense-stick manufacturers, idol-makers, shoe-makers, lantern-makers, braziers, old-clothes dealers, needle-makers, tobacco-leaf cutters, druggists and herb-sellers, doctors' shops and vendors of quack-medicines, stationers and pen-and-ink manufacturers, opticians and spectacle-makers. In another quarter, pipes, toys, spinning-tops, knives, swords, scissors, metal head-pins and female ornaments, Chinese mariners' compasses and clumsy imitations of Dutch telescopes, are exposed to view. Soon again we reach shops of a higher class, where porcelain ware of exquisite quality, and surpassing in delicate transparency and thin substance the egg-shell, from which it sometimes derives its name; lacquered cabinets and household furniture, richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl figures; tortoiseshell ornaments worked into every conceivable device and pattern; and antique vases of bronze metal, boasting an almost mythological period of origin, and bearing a proportionably fabulous price; invite the more wealthy class of native purchasers, or (as is now becoming more generally the case) command increasingly high prices from the European frequenters of Japanese curiosity-shops. And I may here state, that after visiting this medley throng of Japanese traders, shopkeepers, and artisans, the first impression generally borne away is a sense of tawdriness and want of finish in the products of native industry and skill; a feeling, that if here there are no commonly-observable signs of extreme destitution and want, there are also, on the other hand, no generally-prevailing indications of great wealth or luxurious and expensive tastes. The forms of misery, too, are not wholly absent from the scene, and the newly-arrived European stranger has to banish from his mind some of the more highly-coloured views and over-drawn pictures which have enlisted his prepossessions in favour of the Japanese race. Cutaneous eruptions, loathsome sores, and a multitude of bodily ailments, disfiguring the personal appearance and bearing the hereditary taint of parental disease, are frequently observable in the streets; and yet there is something peculiarly striking in the universal neatness of their private dwellings, and the graceful appearance of their dress. The fine loose flowing robe and capacious dependent sleeves which form their ordinary outer dress, each individual bearing on his breast and shoulders the neatly emblazoned figures of his family armorial bearings, give a semblance of dignity to their exterior bearing and address, as they pass onward and exchange the frequent salutation of a low formal bow and mutual greeting. A person unfamiliar with this striking oriental garb might picture to himself a whole nation clad in the every-day costume of the Roman toga, or attired in the academic gown of an English graduate in Arts. The large number of public bathing-rooms, and the frequency of their bodily ablutions, have also earned for the

Japanese the character of personal cleanliness as a nation. Few wants, simple habits, prescriptive usage, settled forms, and a rigid subdivision and mutual separation of classes, all combine in withdrawing many of the usual incentives to exertion, and imparting a dull unvarying uniformity to their pursuits. Order, tranquillity, subjection to rule, and obedience to authority, are the natural results of a widely-diffused system of police-agents and Government spies, and are deeply-seated principles of conduct in the national character."*

Some excursions to the surrounding districts introduce us to the interior of this island home. One was in the direction of Tokitz, a large village ten miles from Nagasaki, and facing southward to the sea.

"We rode through the central parts of the city (which is entirely destitute of fortified walls or a fosse) into the suburbs, and thence, turning a little to the left, skirted for some time the northern part of the harbour, until we met a stream of water flowing into it. For three or four miles our way lay along the banks or in the stony bed of this rivulet, leading through a series of villages, and crossing flights of steps, which, in any other country, would be deemed impassable on horseback. As we proceeded further into the country, the view changed from the bold scenery of mountain and sea landscape to a rich and verdant panorama of fertile valleys, teeming with agricultural produce, and covered with growing crops of rice, wheat, rye, and rape-seed, extending from the low level over the gradually rising acclivities to the summits of hills of moderate height. Coppices of cedar and fir were interspersed like emeralds of fairest setting amid the smiling beauty of Nature's golden aspect. Camellias, roses, and evergreens, of every variety, hung in drooping festoons over our pathway, which widened, in this more frequented part, into the broad dimensions of a well-paved road. The villagers welcomed us in every direction, interchanging signs of goodwill and offering us sweetmeats, hot tea, or cold water. On our return, many of the women and boys were standing outside their cottages, offering flowers to ourselves, and holding out bunches of green fodder for our horses. Some asked us if it were our Zondag (Sunday); others proffered their importunate request for the much-prized ornament of a gilt button. In the narrower parts of the road the females whom we met sometimes hastily leaped aside out of our way, apparently through fear of our restive horses more than of the riders, and giving way to loud laughter amid their manifestations of alarm. Sometimes we met the family retinue of a two-sworded gentleman on his travel, and our little cavalcade mingled with his carriers of luggage and chair-bearers. Interspersed throughout these lovely sequestered valleys there was the usual assemblage of village homesteads, temples, shrines, wells, and a few shops. We passed under one well-wooded hill, on the summit of which a remarkable boulder-stone of immense size looked like an ancient tower built by giant hands, quivering on its narrow base, and threatening every moment to slide from its delicately-poised foundations, and to carry crushing desolation and destruction into the valley below. We entered the populous village or small town of Tokitz, and were an object of some exciting attraction to its crowds of idle gazers. On some former occasions the towns-people had shown their dislike of foreigners breaking bounds, and extending their rambles so far, by throwing a few missiles, and otherwise marking their displeasure at foreign audacity. At this time we were fortunate in meeting with nothing calculated to mingle any unpleasant associations with the reminiscences of the trip. Two of our party remained to bathe in the sea-water at a jetty which stretched out into the bay, amid a little fleet of native trading-boats and fishing-vessels, the stench from which was the least agreeable sensation of our visit. The people took care of their horses while they bathed, and half an hour afterwards our companions rejoined us at a small village two miles nearer Nagasaki, where we halted on our return, and made preparations for our dinner. The proprietor of a house on the wayside lent us his principal room, and assisted our Japanese coolies in cooking our meal. He readily furnished us with whatever we wanted, without pecuniary reward, receiving two empty bottles as his chief perquisite. A native doctor, and one or two other neighbours, joined our party, and the gift of a cigar from an Englishman present soon brought them to terms of friendly companionship. The wife also made her appearance and superintended the boiling of the kettle, which was suspended, by a neat and clever contrivance of sliding rods, in any position and at any distance over the charcoal fire, from one of the rafters in the roof, regularly-built flues and chimney-stacks being as yet a luxurious invention unknown in Japan. The scenery through which we passed would be considered

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan," pp. 26—30.

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan," pp. 180—184.

landscape of the highest order in any part of the world, and exceeds any thing ordinarily accessible in the British islands, in the rich abundance of evergreen trees and the products of a semi-tropical vegetation, intermingled with many of the more prominent beauties of a temperate region. The people seemed everywhere to possess a fair amount of material comfort, and the signs of prosperity and contentment generally prevailed. Stout limbs and moderate strength of physical frame were the preponderating characteristics in their appearance, and told no tale of want of food in sufficient quantity to preserve health and sustain bodily labour."

We shall now pass on to Yeddo and its bay, on the east side of Niphon, "the largest and principal island of the kingdom, which gives its name to the whole of Japan, according to the softened mode of pronunciation of this name prevailing both in the Japanese and the Chinese languages."

Near the mouth of the lower Bay of Yeddo, lat. 30° 39′ 49″, long. 138° 57′ 50″ E., the town of Simoda, occupying the southern termination of the principality of Idzu, stands on a plain at the opening of a fertile valley. "The surrounding country is picturesque and varied, undulating hills: covered with trees and verdure, rise from the water's-edge, and extend back into the lofty mountains, rock-ribbed and bare. Valleys divide the mountain-ranges, with their richly-cultivated fields and gardens stretching up to the very summits of the hill-sides. Streams of water, shaded with groves, wind through the level bottoms, and beautify and enrich the land."

"The town is compactly built, and regularly laid out. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and most of them are guarded by light wooden gates, with the names of the streets marked upon their hollow posts, within which are the stations of watchmen. Through the town a small stream passes, the sides of which are walled with stone, and across it are thrown four small wooden bridges. The streets are about twenty feet in breadth, and are partly macadamized and partly paved. The shops and dwellings are but slightly built, many of them being merely thatched huts. A few of the houses of the better class are of stone, but most constructed of a framework of bamboo or laths and then covered over with a tenacious mud. This latter, when dry, is again covered with a coat of plaster, which is either painted or becomes black by exposure. Mouldings are afterwards arranged in diagonal lines over the surface of the building, and these, being painted white, and contrasting with the dark ground behind, give the houses a curious piebald look. The roofs are often of tiles coloured alternately black and white, and their eaves extend low down in front of the walls, and protect the inmates from the sun, and the oiled paper windows from the effects of the rain. On the tops of some of the houses wires are stretched in various directions to keep off the crows, it is said; but whether on account of their being birds of ill omen, or only in consequence of their bad habits, was not very apparent. These houses have no chimneys, and there being occasional fires for cooking and other purposes, the smoke is left to force its way through the various crannies and cracks which may chance to exist, unless, as is sometimes the case, there are certain holes in the upper part of the walls prudently left for the purpose. The buildings are generally but a single story in height, though many of the houses and shops have attics for the storage of goods and refuse articles.

"Some of the residences stand back from the front of the streets, with yards before them, although generally the latter are in the rear, and are variously appropriated, some for kitchen-gardens, and others for pleasure-gardens, with flowering shrubs, ponds for gold fish, and other ornamental appliances. There are a few buildings fronted with stone, while the main structure is of dried mud or adobe: these are used for the storage of valuable goods, as they are supposed to be better protected against fire. The fronts of the shops and houses have moveable shutters, which at night are fastened to the posts which support the projecting roofs. Behind these are sliding panels of oiled paper, which are closed when privacy is sought, and opened for the purpose of seeing in the houses what may be passing, or displaying the goods in the inside of the shops. In lieu of the paper-windows there are occasional lattices of bamboo. The title of the shop is displayed over the door or window, generally in some fanciful device significant of the kind of business carried on. There are but few signs distinctly recording the trade or occupation, although there was one shop which bore on its front, in the Dutch language, the name in full of a Dutch nostrum, which seemed to be a popular remedy in Japan, for the same was observed in Kanagawa. The finer goods were generally kept secluded from view in boxes and drawers, and seemed to be of a kind which indicated no great affluence on the part of the community.

"The internal arrangements of the houses and shops of Simoda is simple and uniform, though somewhat modified according to the

position and business of the inmates. The door is on the left of right side, and is protected by the overhanging roof, under which the coarser goods are sheltered, and the customers when driving a bargain. From the front door a pathway leads directly to the rear, where there are various dwellings and outhouses, among which there is often the shrine for private worship. In the shops this passage-way is crowded with baskets, stands, and trays, laden with various merchandize, and the walls on either side are provided with shelves, upon which goods are also heaped. In the best establishments, articles for sale are seldom displayed beyond turning the opened ends of the boxes which contain them towards the street.

"In the interior of the houses there is a large framework, raised two feet above the ground. It is spread with stuffed mats, and is divided into several compartments by means of sliding panels. This house within a house may be applied to all the various purposes of trading, eating, sleeping, and receiving company, according to the pleasures or necessities of the proprietors. This cage, or platform, is used as the workshop by some of the various handicraftsmen, as, for example, the carpenters and lacquer-varnishers: the blacksmiths and stonecutters perform, however, their heavier work upon the ground.

"The houses intended for lodgers are generally clean and neatly spread with the usual soft and thick mats, which serve the double purpose of seats by day and beds by night. The names of the guests are recorded as with us, but somewhat more publicly, as they are affixed to the door-posts on the street. The aristocratic gentry have their coats-of-arms emblazoned in full, and displayed upon wide banners, stretched in front of their stopping-places. The interiors of these hotels are by no means very magnificent in appearance, or complete in appointment. The entire absence of tables, chairs, sofas, lamps, and other essentials to comfort, interfere very seriously with a guest taking his ease at his Japanese inn. Moreover, the want of pictures, looking-glasses, and other pleasing appeals to the eye, gives to the establishment a very naked cold look."*

The entrance to the upper bay of Yeddo lies through the narrow straits of Uraga, about six miles across. At the entrance of the bay the shores are observed to rise in precipitous cliffs, which connect landward with undulating hills. Deep ravines, rich with green verdure, divide the steep slopes, and open into small expanses of alluvial land, washed by the waters of the bay into the form of islets, about the borders of which are grouped various Japanese villages. The uplands are beautifully varied with cultivated fields and tufted woods, while far behind rise the mountains, height after height, in the inland distance. Above them all towers the lofty cone of Fusi, estimated to be 14,000 feet in height, "begirt with a white covering of snow descending half-way from the summit to the base."

On the west side of the Bay of Yeddo opens out a small armlet, about three miles across. Kanagawa, one of the consular ports opened by treaty, is a small town of about 5000 inhabitants, lying on the northern side of this little bay; Yokuhama, one of the numerous and populous villages which range along the western side of the Bay of Yeddo, and now the new settlement of the European residents, on the southern. A resident at Kanagawa thus writes of the aspect of the country in May 1860—

"Spring has opened upon us in all its bloom and beauty. Too much can hardly be said in praise of this land of evergreens, even in winter; much less, at this season of the year, is one likely to exaggerate in commendation of Japanese summer scenery. The country about this bay is charmingly diversified with hill and dale, woodland and fields, and no lover of nature can fail to be delighted with the view which presents itself, as he comes in to the anchorage. One can scarcely speak of a dead of winter in Japan, because of the great variety of evergreens that enliven the landscape at the coldest season of the year. For many miles inland the country is broken into low hills and flat lands, backed by a noble range of mountains in the distance, which are in turn overtopped by the lofty snow-capped cone of Fusiyama, the finest mountain in the world. I do not wonder that the Japanese paint it in every picture, and emboss it upon all thin-lacquered work. It is an unrivalled beauty of its kind. The people venerate as well as admire it. They say that pilgrimages are made to a temple on its summit, in mid-summer time, but that no bad man can ascend to its top. Halfway up he stops, and begins to paw like a horse, while his wicked legs refuse to carry him any further.

"At this season the lower grounds in the neighbouring country are covered with the growing crops of wheat, barley, beans, peas, and the so-called *na*, or oil-plant, a species of Brassica, which is extensively cultivated here, and, though now passing out of flower,

* Perry's "United-States' Expedition," pp. 404, 405.

still here and there spreads a carpet of gold in the midst of the general green. The tinting of the scenery reminds one of the peculiar colouring given to a landscape by the Claude Lorraine mirror.

"The hills are mostly covered with trees, all of which it is said have been planted and trained by men's hands. In many instances this is evidently true, where the tall forest trees stand in rows as regular as those of an orchard. Another charm of the country is its profusion of flowers, from the meek blue-eyed violet to the garish moutan and lotus. If our paths here are not strewn with roses, we certainly have walked upon carpets of Japonica petals. Every day we find some new floral specimens, either in our rambles into the country, or by the favour of some Japanese who wishes to show his goodwill by a present. The flora of this country is superb, and the botanist and landscape-painter would here find a rare field for their pursuits.

"The farm-houses of the Japanese are mostly thatched cottages one story high, and covering a large space of ground. The occupants display much taste in the cultivation of trees and flowers. They are no Vandals, who cut down all the trees on the spot where they propose to erect a dwelling, and so let the sun stare down upon it all the day long. On the contrary, they select a place for a site, either within a clump of trees, or, if there are no shade trees, plant them. Besides, they usually plant an evergreen hedge, or screen of shrubbery, around the premises. These hedges are composed of the holly, the bamboo, or the wild orange that bristles with thorns, or, more frequently, of the *Cryptomeria Japonica*, and are kept clipped in the nicest order by a semi-annual shearing. Many pretty devices are adopted in training shrubs to grow in grotesque shapes, as in circles, cones, and hemispheres, or in the form of a chair, a turtle, or a pheasant. For the last-mentioned forms the larch, or American hackmatack, is commonly selected. That dear little epiphyte, the ivy, so suggestive of home and affection, of ruined castles, and ancient churches, grows abundantly here; and here, as everywhere else, it clasps the trunks of the great trees with an embrace that seems to give rather than to get life from that to which it clings."*

Kanagawa "has experienced its full share of the desolating ravages of earthquakes; and six or seven years ago several hundreds of the people were buried by a land-slip from the extremity of the little hill, which, at the height of above 100 feet, hangs over one portion of the town, and was violently convulsed by an earthquake." But, "if the violent convulsions of nature are sometimes fatal to the inhabitants of the country, the vast catastrophic disruptions in the outward crust of our planet have apparently tended to render the geological conformation of the soil eminently conducive to fertility and the increase of the agricultural capabilities of these parts. The whole neighbouring district is one great garden, luxuriant with vegetable produce, and teeming with verdant beauty. We occasionally rode on horseback a few miles into the country to the north and west of Kanagawa, passing through scenes unsurpassed in picturesque loveliness in any part of the world. Crops of wheat, barley, and rice occupied every rood of ground. A deep rich black loamy soil prevails throughout the neighbouring district. Not a spot is uncultivated, nor any portion left in fallow. An endless and uninterrupted succession of cereal crops seems to produce no prejudical effects on the inexhaustible fruitfulness of the soil, favoured with a genial temperature, and watered by frequent showers of fertilizing rain. Every little knoll and eminence is covered with topes of fir or coppices of cedar, while along the borders of the villages, or the enclosures of their farm homesteads, a line of gracefully-drooping bamboos fringes with its verdant colours the variegated landscape. Trees of finest timber and richest foilage are dotted in regularly-planted rows on the hill-sides in every spot less adapted for tillage or remote from irrigation. The Japanese are among the best and most skilled arboriculturists in the world, and every rising undulation of surface bears testimony to their taste in planting trees. The cedar and cypress tribes were peculiarly beautiful, but among them all the *Cryptomeria Japonica* stood forth pre-eminently conspicuous for its stately height and wide-spreading arms. Whole avenues of these noble trees sometimes suddenly burst upon our view, lining each side of the rural pathway. Long deep lanes intersect the valleys, or run around the bases of the hills, luxuriant with foliage, and almost blocking up the way with creepers and honeysuckles. Cottages and refreshment-houses succeed each other at short intervals, indicating, by their general appearance, the prevalence of contentment and moderate plenty among the inmates. Flowers, too, lent their charm in cheering the poor man's dwelling, and diffusing abroad the poetry of nature.

* "North China Herald," June 9, 1860.

The ridges of their houses were often seen formed into a parterre on the summit of the sloping thatched roof, in which irises displayed their purple hue, and evidenced the taste of the humble owners. Rivulets and meandering streams poured along their gurgling waters, furnishing a ready supply for irrigating the level rice-grounds in the lowest valleys, and refreshing the wearied traveller with their still and gentle murmur."*

We shall avail ourselves of an early opportunity of placing before our readers further particulars respecting Japan and its people.

* Bishop of Victoria's "Japan, pp. 264—266.

THE TUNG-HAE-PEEN, OR EASTERN SEA-SHORE PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

The treaty between the Emperors of China and Russia, concluded in the year 1858, and ratified by a convention made at Pekin, November 14, 1860, has considerably altered the Asiatic frontier of Russia, and added to that empire new and valuable territories. The western boundary of China is to be deflected from its original course, so as to add in that direction to the Russian empire. The long-established Chinese posts, from Kiachta westwards, and the marks put down in the sixth year of Yung-Ching's reign (1728), are to be followed as far as Shapeen Ta-paha, in the vicinity of Tarbagatai, and then, at the point where these marks terminate, "the western boundaries, not yet laid down, shall commence." We shall not now, therefore, refer to Russian encroachments and Chinese retrocession in the direction of Tartary, but confine ourselves in this brief paper to the far east, and the regions of Amoor. There the direction of the frontier has completely changed, and instead of running from west to east along the course of the Amoor, so far as the sinuosities of the great river permitted it, it now dips with a sudden bend from north to south, so as to cut off almost the entire sea-board of Manchooria from the Chinese empire, and add it to that of Russia.

The territories on which we are about to touch are but little known. Their isolation has been such as to divest them in our eyes of all political importance, and thus the vast regions of Mongolia and Manchooria have attracted but little attention. Yet this ought not to be so. The Missionary command is, that the Gospel should be preached to every creature; and in order to the fulfilment of that essential law of Christianity, man must be searched out. We must investigate the various quarters of the earth, and make ourselves acquainted with all that concerns the inhabitants of these regions. The most isolated fragment of the human race is not excluded from an interest in the rich bequest of the great Testator, and, as the executors of that will and testament, Christians are bound to take all pains that all nations may know of those great blessings which, under its comprehensive provisions, they are free to enjoy.

We propose, therefore, that our readers should accompany us on an exploratory voyage down the Amoor; and, as we pursue the course of the river, trace out with us the events of frontier history, the aggressions of Russia, the resistance and eventual submission of China, and the territorial changes which have resulted from this.

Irkutsk, on the Angara, not far from its embouchure into Lake Baikal, shall be our starting-point, in lat. 52° 40′ N. and lat. 104° 20′ E. It has a population of 20,000, and the tea-trade between China and Russia has enriched many. The road winding along the valley of the Angara, conducts the traveller to the Great Baikal, with its precipitous shores rising 800 or 900 feet in height, and in some places 1200 feet. Crossing the lake in a steamer, he lands at Posolksky, on the south-western shore. Advancing across the Kounderenskoi steppe, he reaches Selanginsk on the Selinga, and, surmounting the Khingan mountains, strikes the Shilka. This river is formed by the confluence of the Onon and Ingoda. In lat. 51° 58′ N. and long. 116° 40′ E. stands Nertchinsk, on the left bank of the Nertche, about three miles from its junction with the Shilka. "To European travellers, the view of Nertchinsk, with its churches, must have a pleasing effect, as it recals home views, and for the moment creates a forgetfulness of the various Asiatic tribes through which he has wandered to reach this distant spot." "The churches, the hospital, and a few houses, are built of brick and stone; the others are of wood, and the population is about 5000, many of whom are engaged in trade, purchasing and bartering furs for tea, powder, lead, and other necessaries required by hunters. Some of them are engaged in the Chinese trade, and convey their merchandize to the fair at Irbit, where they exchange it for European produce." The name of Nertchinsk "is known, and has been the dread of almost every peasant. It was not,

however, the peasant alone that had felt a dread of it: many a noble has shuddered when its name has reached his ear. The convicts from every part of the empire are marched towards this spot, and have ample time for reflection during their journey of eleven months."* Mines of silver and lead in the vicinity had been worked by convicts for many years; but, in 1848, when the annexation of the Amoor was decided upon, these mining operations suddenly ceased, in consequence of the greater part of the Trans-Baikal population being made Cossacks.

The Shilka below Nertchinsk increases considerably, as numerous streams pour into it from the Yablonoi mountains to the north. Amongst these is the Gorbitza, formerly the boundary between Russia and China. In lat. 53° 19′ 45″ N. and long. 121° 50′ 7″ E., the Shilka is joined by the Argoun from the south-west, and both together form the Amoor. The Argoun is the prolongation of the Keroulun, the longest affluent of the Amoor, and by some regarded as the main river, whose source lies on the eastern face of the Khingan chain. On issuing from the Koulun lake it changes its name to the Argoun. Together these streams have a course of about 1000 miles, the Onon and the Shilka not exceeding 750. At the confluence of the two great arteries, the Shilka and the Argoun, stands the town of Oust-Strelkoi Karaoul, which, from 1689 to 1854, constituted the most easterly point of the Russian empire. But the interval of 165 years was marked by continual attempts on the part of the Cossacks to break bounds, and occupy territory beyond the recognised frontier, and by efforts on the part of the Manchoos to prevent them.

One hundred and three miles down the course of the stream from Oust-Strelkoi Karaoul, is Albazin, "the first Russian fortress and settlement on the Amoor." In 1643, "a party of Cossack hunters crossed the Yablonoi, reached the Amoor, and descended to the sea. After their success, and the reported wealth of the region, it was decided that a settlement should be made on the Amoor." In the year 1650, Albazin was chosen as possessing wood, water, and good pastures, and there the Cossacks fortified themselves. They were besieged by the Chinese in 1657, and, after a defence of two years, their provisions failing, they were compelled to surrender. "They marched out, however, with their arms, and returned into Siberia, the Chinese army attending them across the frontier, and Albazin was destroyed. All the prisoners taken during the siege were sent to Pekin, and hence, in after years, Russia stipulated to send a Mission to give spiritual instruction to the Cossacks of Albazin."*

The energetic spirit of the Cossack race was not, however, to be thus repressed. The prospect of valuable furs tempted the hunters beyond the frontier, and, in 1665, the old habitations were restored, and Albazin again fortified. The Chinese again attacked Albazin in June 1685, but it was not until the winter of 1688 that, the Cossacks having retreated, they found themselves once more in the possession of it. "On the 27th of August 1689 a treaty was concluded at Nertchinsk between the Russians and Chinese, by which Russia was compelled to surrender all her settlements in Manchooria." It was stipulated that neither power should occupy Albazin, and a boundary was defined from the Baikal to the Sea of Okhotsk; and when the Siberian hunters were still found to trespass beyond the prescribed limits, "a second treaty was concluded, from Chinese dictation, in June 1728."†

Time passed on, and Russia grew stronger and China weaker. In 1848 it was decided to explore the Amoor, and an officer, with four Cossacks, duly provisioned and equipped, was sent down the river in a boat. The officer was enjoined to avoid the Chinese authorities as much as possible, examining their towns and villages, but without entering them. Nine months were assigned as the period of absence, but on its expiration they returned not. Inquiries were urged at the various Yermaks, where the Cossacks met the Orotchons, Tongous, and other wild tribes, but without result: they were never again heard of.

In 1854 the Governor-General of Oriental Siberia organized, for the accomplishment of this object, an expedition on a grand scale, so that the Chinese "could neither check his progress, nor prevent him taking possession of the whole north bank of the river. In less than six weeks the whole of this vast region, including the country between the Amoor and the Russian frontier to the north of the Yablonoi, had changed masters." The strong points were rapidly seized and strengthened, and the new possession placed beyond the power of the Chinese to recover it. But this immense addition to her territory has not been enough for Russia. She coveted more, and has accomplished a fur-

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," p. 394.

* Atkinson, p. 424.
† Ibid. p. 427.

ther annexation. This new territory will open out to us as we pursue our course down the river.

Not long after passing Albazin, at the junction of the Gerbel-yak, the river bends decidedly towards the south-west. The distance between its course and the Yablonoi is thus increased, and the portion of Manchooria transferred to Russia is proportionably enlarged. The tributaries flowing in through this expanded territory become more powerful and important. The aspect of the country changes. "The mountains are no longer covered with dense forests: here is a fertile region of vast extent, on which groups of elms, birches, maples, and acacias are dotted, giving it an appearance very pleasant to the eye." Of this country it may with truth be said, that it "has charms for every class: the agriculturist and the grazier would look upon it with delight, in anticipation of the crops and herds of fat cattle it would produce; the horticulturist would view its sloping hills, and think of the clusters hanging on its vines, and the vintage which would ensue in a country where the grape is indigenous; and the florist would be charmed with the beauty and variety of its flora: the miner would scan the mountains, and think of the mineral wealth they contain; and the sportsman could indulge in his favourite pursuit of almost every kind of feathered and large game, from a woodcock to a tiger; while the lover of nature would gaze on the great stream and its accompanying scenes with admiration." In this broad tract the Zeya has its outlet, "affording a good means of communication into a vast region in the north-east. This is by far the largest affluent that falls into the upper Amoor, and, from its course, in the Yablonoi mountains to its mouth, it has a course of more than 700 miles. A river flowing over such a distance presents varied aspects: the lower and middle regions are capable of sustaining a great population, with vast herds of horses and cattle, while the upper valleys are clothed with immense forests, abounding in wild animals, and here the hunter obtains valuable skins." On the Chinese side of the Amoor, after the junction of the Zeya, the country becomes thickly populated: villages and dwellings may be observed nestling under woods and clumps of trees as far as the eye can reach, while cattle and horses are seen grazing on the pastures. These people live in a fine climate and a fertile region." Twenty miles below the mouth of the Zeya is Saghalian-Oula-Khoton, or Ai-goon, the headquarters of the Chinese Amoor fleet, "consisting of thirty-six boats of various sizes, some of them able to carry five tons, the others considerably smaller;" and the seat of the government for the whole of the upper Amoor, so far as these regions yet belong to China. "The town stands on a flat piece of land, which stretches along the bank of the Amoor for a considerable distance, and the buildings occupy a space of about two miles in length and 600 yards in breadth. A large space, enclosed in the centre of the town, forms the fortress: within this enclosure stands the amban, or governor's house, several government offices, the courts of justice, and numerous small temples."

Receiving on its left a large tributary, the Numan, the river enters the gorge of the Khingan mountains, in which its bed is reduced to about half a mile in width, its pent-up flood attaining a depth of seventy feet, and rushing on with great rapidity. Beyond this gorge its spreads out into a broad expanse, studded over with a vast multitude of islands. "These masses are so thickly strewn over the flood, that the water seems to be encircling them in a net-work of silver."

"On both sides of the river a vast steppe stretches out till the sky and the horizon seem blended into one. The plains commence from the south-eastern slopes of the Khingan chain, forming an immense area of country, which appears never to have been cultivated. The soil is composed of sand and clay, with a stratum of rich dark mould above, created during a succession of ages by decayed vegetable matter, that has produced a crop of the most luxuriant grass and plants, only to be cut down by the frost, and add their portion to the earth. The bend of the river on this plain is the most southern point of the Amoor; it is in lat. 47° 42′ 18″ N.: under this parallel it runs about sixty miles to the mouth of the Soungaria, and, beyond it, turns to the north-east. The temperature on these plains is sufficiently warm to produce almost any vegetation. On the 25th of June the thermometer stood in the tent at 31° Reau. (102° Fahr.); out in the open air, in the shade, 27° Reau. (93° Fahr.); and in the sun at 41° Reau. (125° Fahr.). On these plains many birds are found, which come from Java, Sumatra, and the neighbouring islands."*

The Soungaria has its source in the Tchaubo-shau, the great white mountain, the Chinese name for the southern portion of the Shih-hih-teh mountains, which extend from the boundary of Corea, lat. 40°, in a north-eastern direction along the sea coast, rising on an average 4500 feet, and covered with forests.

* Atkinson, pp. 446, 447.

The Tchau-bo-shau, called by the Manchoos, Kolmin-shanguin-alin, extend across Liau-tung to the north of the Liau-ho, and other rivers. On their north-western delivity the Soungaria rises. Flowing in a north-westerly direction, as far as Patoone, in lat. 45°, it receives there a large tributary, the Nouni, having its source on the south-eastern side of the Eke-gou-kooda mountains, and to the eastward of the Argoun. Strengthened by this contribution, the Soungaria runs E.N.E., receiving on its way the Hourha, a large affluent, which carries off the surplus waters of the valley of Ningouta, the original territory of the Manchoos, and pursuing the same direction until it joins the Amoor.

The Tchau-bo-shau, and contiguous portions of the Shih-hih-teh mountains appear to constitute a great water-shed. On the south-west face of the Tchau-bo-shau rises the Toumen, which, flowing in a direction north by east between the mountain ranges, bends to the west, and falls into the sea of Japan, opposite the island of Jesso, about lat. 43° N. Again, on the north-eastern side of the central group rises the Ossouri, Lake Hinkai, or Kinka, about forty miles long, being situated near its head-water; and issuing from its northern extremity, the Ossouri pursues a northerly course of 400 miles, receiving on its way many tributaries, until it falls into the Amoor near Hirma, where as the great river approaches the mountain chain which interposes between it and the sea-coast, it branches more decidedly to the north.

It is to the Ossouri our attention needs to be directed, as this constitutes the new boundary between Russia and China. The Art. 1st of the Convention of Nov. 1860, confirmatory of the treaty between Russia and China, bearing date, June 1858, runs as follows—

"ART. 1.—In accordance with the First article of the treaty concluded at Gae-hwan (Ay-Kom, on the Amoor) on the 2d of June 1858, and the ninth article of the treaty concluded at Tientsin on the 13th of June of the same year, it is agreed that the eastern boundaries, separating Russian from Chinese territory, shall be as follows:—From the junction of the rivers Shih-lih-ngih-urh (Songaria river) and Koo-na—that is to say, down the Amoor to its junction with the Usuri—the country to the north belongs to Russia, and that to the south, as far as the mouth of the Usuri, to China: from the mouth of the Usuri, southwards, to lake Hinka, the rivers Usuri and Songatchan shall be the boundaries; that is to say, the tract of country east of the said rivers belongs to Russia, and that west of the same to China: from the source of the Songatchan the boundary shall traverse lake Hinka in a right line from the Songatchan to the Pih-ling; and from the mouth of the Pih-ling it shall follow the range of mountains to the Houptou's mouth, from which it shall pass to the mouth of the Toumen, running along the Houchun and the Hae-chung-heen range; that is to say, the country east of the boundary-line thus indicated (from lake Hinka to the mouth of the Toumen) belongs to Russia, and that lying to the west thereof to China. From the point at which the frontiers of the two countries meet at the Toumen to the mouth of the said river, there shall be neutral territory, separating the Russian from the Chinese possessions, 20 li in width. Further, in accordance with the ninth article of the Tientsin treaty, it is agreed that a chart shall be made in which the portion coloured red shall indicate the frontiers, and on which shall be written the Russian words—'A-pa-wa-kih-ta-yay-jene-keae-e-yih-gih-la-ma-na wo-pa-la-sa-too-woo,' in order to facilitate accurate reference; and the said charts shall be duly authenticated by the seals and signatures of the high ministers of the two countries."

A new frontier line is here laid down. From the mouth of the Ossouri it advances along the course of that river until it traverses Lake Hinka in a right line, thence, crossing the mountains, it runs along the Houchun and the Hae-chung-heen range to the mouth of the Toumen. "This is the new boundary: the country on the east of it belongs to Russia, and that lying to the west thereof to China." The country to the east belongs to Russia; that is, the whole of the sea-coast districts, as far as the mouth of Toumen. The Amoor is the boundary between the two empires as far as the junction of the Amoor with the Ossouri, the territories to the north belonging to Russia, and to the south to China. But the mouth of the Ossouri being reached, the Amoor ceases to be the boundary; the Ossouri, &c., becomes the boundary, the territories to the westward remaining with China, but all the commanding maritime portions to the east of the river being transferred to Russia, to which empire belongs, at the present moment, nearly the entire sea-board of Manchooria.

Speaking of Nicholaiofsk, the great Russian fortress at the mouth of the Amoor, and its power to arrest any ships which might attempt to enter, Atkinson observes—"The long winter here is a great detriment, and the place can never become a first-rate commercial port, as the ships will always be obliged to leave early. Frost approaches at

the end of October, or the first few days in November, and seals up the river, which for six long months is one vast sheet of ice, and during a great part of the seventh it is impossible for vessels to move from their moorings on account of the floating masses; so that five months is the only period during the year when this part of the Amoor can be used for commercial purposes. Bad as it is for ships to be frozen in at Cronstadt, it would be much worse at Nicholaiofsk, and this will ever remain a serious disadvantage, and check the development of the various resources of the country." He then expresses his conviction that Castries Bay would "ultimately be the port of the Amoor. It is only for three months in the winter that vessels would be sealed up there, even if caught in the ice, a circumstance that would rarely happen, as sailing a degree or two south would take the ship into a genial climate." At least eight additional degrees of coast are now at the disposal of Russia, an extended line, amidst whose curves and indentations, with her usual enterprise, she will not fail to find valuable harbours where winter exercises a moderated influence.

Of the capabilities of this new acquisition we know nothing. "The region between the Soungaria and the sea of Japan," observes one writer, "is almost as much unknown to Europeans as the centre of Africa." In the convention between Russia and China, already referred to, it is described as "unoccupied waste land." It may be so, and yet prove most valuable; and we doubt not it will be so under Russian enterprise and management. Atkinson, in his book, gives us glimpses of the Amoor regions in the vicinity of the Ossouri, which, however they may be unoccupied, prove they are not barren lands. "Beyond the mouth of the Gai-djen, the Amoor runs at the foot of rocky cliffs, where there is no vegetation. These extend for many miles, through a branch of a small mountain-chain, and in some parts they rise into rugged summits, overhanging the water, by which deep ravines have been cut, giving them the appearance of huge forts placed to defend the river. At the eastern end of this chain a great plain stretches out to the south-east, and ends in a valley that seems to run far up into the mountains which form the water-shed between the Amoor and the Ossouri. Here is another vast space on which thousands might be settled, where, by a moderate share of industry, the soil could be made to supply not only the necessaries of life, but many of its luxuries." Advancing down the great river, the same prospects present themselves.—"The country becomes highly interesting; on the north, several valleys run far up among wooded hills, which extend towards the Kingan mountains, whose summits are so distant that they appear almost like clouds in the horizon. To the south, the mountains of Kouk-tcherkhoorene are seen stretching far beyond the Ossouri, and into the supposed Manchoorian El Dorado. Fertile plains extend along the bank of the river, watered by numerous rivulets that descend from distant hills."

The possession of the Ossouri has long been a desideratum with the Russians. So early as 1651 they erected a fort near its mouth, and from thence proceeded on a predatory excursion up the river. Provoked at their audacity, the Chinese collected a vast armament, and attacked them in their fort, compelling such as survived to retreat to Albazin, and thus securing to themselves the undisturbed possession of the river for 200 years. The mountainous province, of which it constitutes the western boundary, has now become the property of Russia. It is said to abound in mineral wealth. Should it, like the maritime provinces on the other side of the Pacific, be found to contain gold deposits, it will soon become densely populated, and the foundation of a populous kingdom be laid.

The Pekin convention provides, that "from the time of setting up the boundary-marks there shall never be any changes made; and Russia engages not to encroach upon the Chinese territory in the vicinity of the frontier, nor will ground be seized in any other part of China." Undoubtedly Russia has grasped enough to content her for the present; but this affords no security as to the future. The sated boa is quiescent until appetite recurs: then he is in action. Just so, when the new acquisition has lost its novelty, Russian aggression will recommence, and the territory it has acquired be used as a stepping-stone to something more. The position is a commanding one: it overawes China. Moukden, Kinchau, and the gulf of Leatang, are not far distant; and Shingking, at some future period, will be absorbed after the fashion of Kirin. Chili, with Pekin, lies beyond. According to the foreshadowings of events, the Manchoos will come under the rule of Russia, and the Yang-tze-keang serve as the southern boundary of the Asiatic branch of that great empire.

The wandering tribes of these regions remain to be noticed, as well as the territorial alterations accomplished on the frontier of Tartary. But this must be reserved for another opportunity.

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.

(From the "Friend of India.")

IN their influence on education, and their popularity with the natives, the Universities of Calcutta and Madras have been as remarkable a success as that of Bombay has been an unfortunate failure. The last as yet exists but in name. The Presidency that was loudest in its boast of the superiority of the students of its colleges in a knowledge of English literature and a mastery over the English tongue, to the first-class men of Oxford and Cambridge, has failed to turn out one graduate, has been able to send up for an examination, which an English schoolboy of ten would be ashamed to undergo, not fifty youths. This state of things is inexplicable in a place which has a capital as wealthy as Calcutta, which has a community of Parsees supposed to be more industrious, more ambitious, more public-spirited, more English-like in the power of their intellect and the greatness of their energy, than any other race in the peninsula. The Director of Public Instruction should be able to afford an explanation of this. He has been eager to exclude proper school-books on the ground that their pages were polluted with the name of the one true and living God, or were poisoned by allusions to that Christianity which alone reveals his will. He has declared war against the Grant-in-Aid system, which has accomplished such great results in England and in the other Presidencies. He has joyfully given in his adhesion to the principles of a letter by Lord Ellenborough and a minute by Sir George Clerk, which were rashly written in the panic created by the mutinies, were scouted by the most secular of educationists all over India, and are a blot on the reputation of men otherwise distinguished. Is the total failure of education in Bombay the result of this? We cannot otherwise account for it.

The University of Madras held its first examination of candidates for matriculation in 1857, and for graduates in 1858. It consists of sixteen affiliated schools and colleges, all of which profess to educate their pupils up to its standard for bachelor of arts. Of these sixteen, nine are unconnected with Government, being conducted by the American, Church, London, and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. Up to the end of last year the University passed ten native bachelors of arts and one East-Indian doctor of medicine, and admitted to its rolls, after a matriculation-examination twenty-eight youths in the first, and forty-six in the second class. The examination papers published in the University calendar for 1860 show that the standard for both matriculation and degree is nearly as high as in the London University, while it is somewhat lower than that of Calcutta.

The University of Calcutta has been as unexpected a success, and has exercised as healthy an influence in Bengal as the East-Indian railway. It consists of eighteen affiliated institutions, of which eight have no connexion with Government. The first examinations were held in 1857, and, since then, 4 students have graduated as bachelors of laws, 23 have passed the law examination and await only the arts' test, 9 have passed the bachelors of arts examination in the first-class and 12 in the second. There are 61 under-graduates in medicine, 292 in the first class of arts, and 542 in the second. The examination for the under-graduate candidates this year finished a few days ago. Their number has steadily increased from 240 in 1857 to 811 on the last occasion. So large a number is worth analysis. Of the whole, 526 were from Government schools, 50 from aided schools, 182 from non-government schools, 28 were private students, and 25 schoolmasters. Their average age was 17·78, the minimum age at which candidates are allowed to come up being 16. As to creed, 716 were Hindu, 28 Mohammedan, and 67 Christians. All were examined in English. In the various languages there were—

Bengali,	682
Urdu,	48
Latin,	48
Sanscrit,	11
Oorya,	10
Persian,	7
Hindi,	3
Greek,	1

There could be no clearer proof of the extent to which the Mohammedans despise a knowledge of English, and to which the study of the learned Eastern tongues is dying out. Not one candidate in Arabic, only 7 in Persian, only 11 in Sanscrit! As boys are unfortunately allowed the option of being examined in either Greek or Latin, this is the first case in which there has been a Grecian. Instead of two Latin text-books the examiners should be allowed to appoint one Latin and one Greek. A classical scholar without Greek is a worse barbarian than Scipio, for even he learned it in his old age.

PORT SEYMOUR, RUSSIAN TARTARY. (*Vide* page 176.)

THE REGIONS OF MANCHOURIA.

In our last Number we placed before our readers a sketch of those districts on the eastern shores of Asia over which Russian dominion has recently been extended. In the convention between Russia and China, they are described as "unoccupied waste land." Their capabilities are, however, considerable, neither are they wholly destitute of inhabitants. In 1787 the sea of Tartary was visited by Perouse, and the coast of the continent, as well as the opposite coast of the island of Saghalien, were carefully examined by him. The first point touched was the Bay of Ternay on the Tartarian coast, situated, as laid down by him, in 45° 13′ north latitude, and 135° 9′ east longitude. The season of the year was the month of May, and his description invests the country with most pleasing features. "Never did France, in the freshest spring, offer gradations of colour of so varied and strong a green. The same plants which grow in our climate, carpetted the whole soil; the greater part were in flower. Roses, red and yellow lilies, lilies of the valley, and all our meadow flowers in general, were met with at every step. Pine-trees covered the tops of the mountains; oaks began only half way down, and diminished in strength and size as they came near the sea; the banks of the river and rivulets were bordered with willow, birch, and maple-trees, and on the skirts of the forests we saw apple and medlar-trees in flower, with clumps of hazel-nut trees, the fruit of which already made its appearance. Our surprise was redoubled, when we reflected on the population which over burdens the extensive empire of China; so that the laws do not punish fathers barbarous enough to drown and destroy their children, and that this people, whose policy is so highly boasted of, dares not extend itself beyond its wall, to draw its subsistence from a land, the vegetation of which it would be necessary to check, rather than encourage." Traces of inhabitants, were, however, found. "Several trees, cut with sharp-edged instruments, the remains of ravages of fire, some sheds, small baskets made of the bark of birch-trees sewed with thread, rackets for walking on snow," and a Tartarian tomb, placed at the side of a small house in ruins, and almost buried in the grass. This was opened, and two persons were found in it, placed side by side. "Their heads were covered with an under cap of taffeta; their bodies, wrapped up in a bear's-skin, had a girdle of the same, from which hung some small Chinese coins and different copper trinkets. Blue beads were spread, and, as it were, sown in this tomb. We found there, also, ten or twelve kinds of silver bracelets, of the weight of ten penny-weights each, which we afterwards learned were pendants for the ears, an iron hatchet, a knife of the same metal, a wooden spoon, a comb, and a small bag of blue nankeen, full of rice." On the opposite side of the narrow sea, on the Saghalien coast, occurred their first interview with the natives of these regions. Some were dressed in cloth made of the bark of trees, after the fashion of Madagascar; others had "dresses of blue nankeen quilting, and the form of their dress differed but little from that of the Chinese; others wore only a long robe, closed by a girdle. Their heads were bare, or bound round simply with a bandeau of bear's-skin. They had the crown of their head and faces shaved, the hair behind being left long. Their boots were made of seal-skin, their bows, pikes, and arrows were tipped with iron, and their pipes and steels made to strike fire, seemed to be of Chinese or Japanese mafacture. Pointing with their hand to the west, they intimated that the blue nankeen, the beads and steels came from the country of the Manchour Tartars, on the banks of the Saghalien river, or Amoor, with which they were acquainted. Some Tartars were found amongst these islanders, having crossed over from their own homes, which they stated to be eight days' journey up the Amoor, for the purposes of trade. They were dressed in grey nankeen, the hat being made of bark, and pointed.

The houses of this people, of wood, covered with the bark of birch-trees, and surmounted by a timber-work, thatched with dry straw, were built with much skill, and with every precaution against cold. The hearth was in the middle, under an opening in the roof; little banks, or floors, eight or ten inches high, were raised round the walls, and covered with mats.

On the opposite coast, at the Bay of Castries, they found a kindred people, a wooden bench, like that in the cabins of the Saghaliens, compassing the interior of the house; their tombs, of better construction than their dwellings, enclosing three, four, or five biers, of a neat workmanship, ornamented with Chinese stuffs and pieces of brocade. In the interior of these monuments were suspended bows, arrows, and other articles, which they

considered as most valuable. They called themselves Orotchys, and trafficked with the Manchours of the Amoor, receiving grain and nankeen in exchange for oil, dried fish, and bear-skins.

These seas were visited by Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Barracouta" in the years 1854-56. On May 9, 1855, just sixty-eight years after the exploration of Perouse, the prominent mountain of Spenberg, on the island of Saghalien, and the bold coast on either side of it, were visible, and on the same day, before sunset, the coast of Tartary was sighted, which, by the charts, ought to have been ninety miles distant. Suffrein Bay was their first anchorage. The tints of Mr. Tronson's descriptions are not so vivid as those of Perouse. Along a coast, rather low, although hilly in the background, ranged northward, as far as the eye could reach, an extensive forest. Many striking headlands met the view, with high mountains in the distance, covered with snow, the pine-forests stretching down to the sea-shore. At a bay, lying about 49° N. lat., natives were found. They called themselves "Ghiliacks, a nomadic race, dwelling on these coasts as far as the north-western extremity of Saghalien. They are low in stature, stout, and rather broad inproportion to their height; shape of the head round; cheek-bones prominent; eyes oblique; well-defined eyebrows, more arched han those of the Chinese; hair coarse, black, and bound into a tail; hands small and extremely delicate, with well-shaped nails; complexion fair and ruddy; with well-cut lips and even teeth; scanty moustache; and occasionally one meets with a Ghiliack having a coarse black beard. They wear very large ear-rings, each shaped as a circle, with a small circular appendage.

"The women are small; their features broad, complexion sallow, with small eyes; and there is no trace of animation in their countenances, as they sit nursing their babes or sewing on their dress some newly-acquired bauble. They are a little vain of personal appearance: necklaces and bracelets of beads are called into requisition to adorn their necks and arms; whilst nose and ear-rings of brass, silver, or copper, depend as ornaments from the respective organs. A long loose robe of blue cotton or deer-skin, overlapping the chest and confined around the waist by a girdle, reaches to the feet, on which mocassins of birch bark are worn, the hem of the long garment being studded with Manchoo coins and small white shells. The dress of the male sex is of a rough material, made from coarse cotton cloth, or, failing this, of dog or deer-skin; a loose coat of either material reaches to the knees, fastened across the chest, and bound round the waist by a girdle, which also confines a knife, pipe, and tobacco-pouch; breeches of skin of deer, with shoes and leggings of birch bark, the latter bound round by strings of raw hide: a fur ruff around the neck, and a head-dress of the same warm substance, complete the attire.

"The diet of this people appeared to consist of fish and oil; a large quantity of flat-fish was hung up to dry on stakes without the huts, and seal-oil in the stomach of some animal was suspended from the same stakes. Some sleigh dogs tied to the young stems of trees, closely resembled those of Kamschatka."*

On the 11th a new bay was reached, which was called Barracouta Harbour, in lat. about 49° N. There were evident traces of recent Russian occupation. Two batteries had been erected, and various huts strongly but roughly put together. "None others can exceed the Russians in their ready power of making a home for themselves upon the shortest notice: fir-trees cut down from the forest, trimmed and smoothed with the axe, and laid upon one another in horizontal rows—the side log being dove-tailed into the end one—form the four walls; moss forced in between the logs, rendering the seams air-tight and the hut comfortable." Atkinson makes the same remark on the Russian peasant, "than whom no man can better adapt himself to circumstances. He is ingenious, can turn his hand to any occupation: indeed, by the aid of his axe and saw alone he will build his dwelling, and be his own cabinet-maker. He is his own tailor and shoemaker, grows his flax, and his wife and children spin and weave their linen. In short, there are few necessaries which these people cannot prepare. Generally he is a good hunter, and understands the use of his rifle: he can thus procure food wherever game is found. This gives him confidence in his new position, and makes him formidable to an enemy if molested." It is the possession of such qualifications which peculiarly fits this people to be the pioneers of the Russian empire. The frontier line in Asia is occupied with Cossack stations, and from these points, as opportunity presents itself, picquets are being thrown forward, and new spots seized upon, which, in due time, become the stepping-stones to somewhat more. The hardships which these little bodies of men endure, and the intrepidity with

* "Narrative of a Voyage to Japan," &c., by J. M. Tronson, R.N., 1859, pp. 268—270.

which they are surmounted, are almost incredible.

The planting of Kopal, the most southerly fort Russia has as yet formed in Chinese Tartary, situated about 43° N. lat. and 82° E. long., and only three days' journey from the Chinese city Kulja, exemplifies this perseverance, "The fort is in the region belonging to the great horde of the Kirghis, and is significant of the fate which awaits these warlike tribes." The spot selected was eighteen days' journey from Ayagus, the basis of the movement, and separated only by the mountains of the Alatau from legions of Chinese convicts occupying the region round about Kulja. To this wild region a little party was thrown forward, consisting of one hundred men, with six guns. Delayed on their way by the difficulties of the march, they did not reach their destination until the season was advanced and winter was fast approaching. With the rough stones strewed over the bottom of the gorge the men erected huts for their winter dwellings. "Trunks of trees and branches formed the flat roofs; over these was thrown a covering of earth about nine inches thick. Glass they had none: Chinese silk, strained on to small frames, formed the windows, and rough doors were made out of bark. Logs of wood were their seats, and dried ferns their beds." Wood had then to be gathered for winter fuel; for food they had to depend on their rifles, and both venison and wild mutton were soon in store. At the end of October winter came; their stony dwellings were covered with snow, and their usual occupations stopped. In November the bourans began to blow. These storms rage over the vast steppes and amidst the mountain ranges of Central Asia with a violence unknown in Europe. The yourts of the nomades are blown down, the voilock coverings rent asunder and carried away, and the household goods strewn over the plain. When they occur in the night, the fur-wrappers are blown from the children, and, hurled into the snow, they perish; nay, if men or women wander from the aoul they can seldom return, and thus they are often frozen to death within fifty paces of their friends." The bouran which fell on the advanced party in the gorge of the Alatau mountains raged for eleven days. It was intermitted only to be followed by others, and their fatal effects on man and animal were soon visible, for, before the middle of February, "thirteen men had died, and fifty-seven horses had perished in the snow."

Such was the commencement of Kopal, a town containing at present "11,000 inhabitants, and which will gradually increase as commerce extends into these regions." A considerable number of Tartar merchants are established there, who carry on a most profitable trade with the nomade tribes, as well as with China.

The entire Russian frontier is pervaded with a like energy. Full of enterprise, the Cossack is ever ready to push forward, and thus the frontier, with astonishing strides, is advancing southward. The life and activity which prevail on the Russian side contrast strongly with the listlessness and inability to effort which are to be found on the Chinese side of the frontier. Let us see to it, that, in a higher cause, and in advancing the frontier of a better kingdom, we imitate not the inertness of the Chinese, but the vigour of the Russian. "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

To return to the "Barracouta" and its cruise on the coast of Tartary: as they advanced south from Barracouta Bay the aspect of the country improved. On the hill sides, dwarf oak, birch, and elm were thinly scattered; the wild gooseberry, azalea, and rhododendron were in bloom, with many other flowering shrubs. Lilies and violets, and the more humble but graceful ferns, adorned many shady spots. Birds poured forth strange and pleasing sounds, round and full as the bullfinch, and the clear note of the cuckoo was for the first time heard. Tartars were found along the coast owning herds of cattle, and growing, in the gardens around their houses, rice, potatoes, and onions.

At Bullock Bay, in lat. 50° 2′ N., the country was found to be rich and diversified. "We ascended a woody hill which rose from a wide plain of rich and soft young grass, above which the cotton-rush showed its white silky plume; between the trees the orange-lily bloomed; and, on the sunny side of the bank, the wild strawberry, yellow and white ranunculus, and a plant resembling the heliotrope in flower and perfume; the peony and the red dog-rose were in profusion. Here also we found the pale blue geranium, meadow-sweet, and the well-known hawthorn. Grasshoppers, blue dragon-flies, beetles, and mosquitoes, were seen in numbers."*

On July 5th Sybille Bay was reached, the country being as diversified and picturesque as can well be imagined. High-peaked mountains appeared in the distance; nearer, wooded hills and winding valleys; and, nearer still, broad park land, with gentle hillocks,

* Tronson, p. 326.

birch and oak being thinly scattered over them. Here Tartars were again met. They were true Manchours, wearing "deer-skin coats, and breeches of the same material, with short round hats; their heads were unshorn, but gathered behind into two short tails. They had mocassins of birch-bark, bound round with thongs of untanned hide. Before putting on thes they envelop the feet in soft grass in lieu of stockings." "They smoked incessantly: their pipes were similar to those of China, but had valuable mouth-pieces of jade stone."

Through a pretty well cultivated garden, having a good crop of potatoes, turnips, onions, beans, and garlic, a Tartar house was approached. The owners being absent, a large round stone rolled against the door kept it shut, there being no place for lock or bolt. "The house resembled those in the north of China proper. It was built of stockades, with mud-plaster, and thatched with dry sedge. A large window, framed and papered, on either side of an ordinary door, admitted a dim light. . . . . Some written inscriptions, in Chinese character, were posted on the lintels of the gateway and door of the house. . . . . A fire was smouldering in the centre of a clay floor, and no exit for the smoke was perceptible. . . . . Square raised bed-places occupied corners on either side of the door: they were covered with thick mats, on which were piled some skins, which answered the purpose of bedclothes. The rafters were supported by wooden pillars, around which hung bows and arrows, matchlocks, quivers, hunting-knives, and their pipes and tobacco pouches. Here were also clumsy wooden saddles covered with skins, unwieldy bridles, and rather weighty stirrup-irons. In this dark and dismal dwelling there was but one apartment, and in a retired corner was a small place set aside for the worship of their gods. A representation of one was painted on the background of a small temple, his godship being characterized by a very red face, with scanty moustaches, eyes which appeared to take opposite views at the same time Before the picture the usual offerings of fruit lay untasted; joss-sticks and joss-papers, and a saucer of rancid oil, with rush-light, cumbered the little altar, which was otherwise filthy."* Thus religion, left in the hands and to the conceptions of man, becomes degraded, and, with its degradation, sinks the worshipper still lower. A wretched image occupies the place of Him who is glorious in holiness. The man regards the God as having wants and necessities like himself, and bribes Him to be gracious by gifts and offerings of a worthless and vulgar kind. What multitudes are lying in this ignorance, dishonouring to God, and hurtful to themselves! How long shall this night continue, and when shall the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, be beautiful upon the mountains of Manchouria?

Port Seymour, a safe anchorage, where plenty of wood and water can be procured, lies in lat. 43° 46′ N., and long. 135° 19′ E. Here excursions were made into the country, and, at no great distance, were found many Tartar houses, with fields of cultivated land around them. Within a small bark hut, too small for any one to enter, even on hands and knees, were placed a bowl with chopsticks, a small fan and basket. A mound of fresh earth was piled up before the door. It was a grave, and these objects were the food and drink, placed there after the superstitious fashion of the Chinese, for the use of the souls of the departed.

The land around was well cultivated: there was barley nearly ripe, in rich crops; sweet potatoes and pumpkins, and potatoes in blossom, and plains of high grass ready for the scythe.

On August 8th the "Barracouta" sailed from Port Seymour for Victoria Bay. As they advanced southward the country became more thickly peopled; in many creeks Tartar houses could be discerned, with a few boats or canoes drawn up on shore. Approaching Termination Island, at the entrance to Victoria Bay and Napoleon Gulf, many canoes were seen under sail, the sails of some of the latter being made of blue calico.

"Victoria Bay extends 130° 28′ to 132° 3′ E. long., and from 42° 30′ to 43° 26′ N. lat. In it there are three gulfs—Napoleon, Guerin, and D'Anville. The Eugénie Archipelago is named after the Empress of the French." Some of the islands are large, hilly, and covered with verdure, affording capacious and sheltered anchorages, are partly inhabited by Manchours. Port Dundas, situated in a large island forming the southern side of Hamelin Straits, is a fine anchorage, stretching in a south-easterly direction for five miles, and terminating in a cul-de-sac. Small coves, prettily situated, with strands of granite sand, present themselves here and there. They are the terminations of wooded valleys, where grow the oak, walnut, ash, sycamore, birch, and elm, also the vine, wild raspberry, currant, and hazel, pear and apple-trees. The hills are covered with rich long

* Tronson, pp. 337, 338.

grass, peonies, orange lilies, convolvulus, vine, and orchids. Oak of a superior quality, and of fair average diameter, grows on the open hill sides.

Some large canoes were drawn up in a row in front of a Tartar house. "They were capable of carrying sails, and each was made from the stem of a large tree, rudely constructed, and fitted with rudders. Some were laden with sea-weed closely packed, others with tobacco. . . . . The crews of the canoes were enjoying their supper in the open air: it consisted of fish, soup, potatoes, and rice. Perfect adepts in the use of chopsticks, they squatted around small fires, occasionally ceasing for a little to enjoy a pipe, and then attack the viands with renewed vigour. Fresh supplies were being cooked in shallow pans, suspended over fires from a tripod. They were a gipsy-looking lot, their faces swarthy from smoke and exposure to all weathers; some hardy fellows, strongly built, broad-shouldered, and muscular; others thin and tall. Their heads were unshorn, with the exception of one man, who was well dressed, and had his head shaved, and wore a tail. He appeared to exercise some authority over the rest, and could read and write. He was presented with a Manchoo Testament, and was greatly pleased with the gift. The heads of these Tartars were much compressed above the cheek-bones in the region of the temples, and the head receded from the brows and occipital protuberance to the vertex of the head, which was rather pointed."*

Such is a brief sketch of the coast line of that important territory which has been ceded to Russia by the Emperor of China.

Let us look a little into the interior, and more especially with reference to its inhabitants. The Ghiliacks have been already referred to, as being found on the shore, in the vicinity of Barracouta Bay and northward. They extend into the interior, on the banks of the Amoor and the Ossouri.

They are noticed by Atkinson, as a people among whom Shamanism is more strongly rooted than in any other race in Asia, their fanaticism being of the deepest cast, and the practice of sorcery prevalent amongst them. In their country is the seat of "the Arch-Shaman," whose priests delude the people by their pretended enchantments and jugglery, and exert over their minds an unlimited sway." To this is attributed the death of two Romish Missionaries, "De la Bruniere and Venault, who, after a residence of some years in different parts of China, had found their way into Manchouria. They visited many towns in this portion of the celestial empire, and exercised their vocation wherever there was an opportunity of making converts. It is said that among the settlers in the upper part of the Ossouri they were successful, and remained with their proselytes some time. From the Manchourian merchants they acquired information about the different tribes inhabiting the banks of the Amoor, and learned that the whole population were Shaman. Intent on attacking Shamanism in its stronghold, they made their way down the Ossouri, and exercised their calling at all the towns in their route, most of the inhabitants being followers of Confucius. Having spent the winter of 1845 at a town in the lower part of the river, "so soon as the ice broke up they prepared to continue their journey, and arranged with some Manchour merchants for a passage in their boats as far as the villages of the Goldi."

The Goldi, Tongouz, and Mangoors, are semi-civilized and kindred races inhabiting the countries on the lower Amoor and its affluents. They show great taste and judgment in selecting the sites for their dwellings, many of the villages being placed in lovely and romantic spots. Their settlements are to be seen dotted down on the banks of the Amoor, some nestling at the edge of a dark forest, and looking gay with gardens around them; others placed under clumps of trees, on the verge of great tracts of pasture land that extend far into the interior. Attracted by gay colours, they paint all their household goods and portions of their dwellings with the most vivid tints. They carry on "a considerable trade in skins with the Chinese, who arrive with their well-laden boats in the early part of summer, and then commence the barter of sable-skins for brandy." "The Chinese trader penetrates to every inhabited spot with tea and various articles of clothing, but the greatest portion of his cargo is brandy, and here, as elsewhere, he soon strips the people of their valuable skins for one-tenth part of their value, paid in this most disagreeable composition. His customers are then compelled to make over to him a portion of the next year's produce, to procure the few necessaries they require, which are only to be obtained at an enormous price."* The Soungaria appears to be the great highway by which the Chinese trader penetrates into these districts of Manchouria. With these tribes, as with the

* Tronson, p. 376.

* Atkinson's "Amoor," p. 474.

Ghiliacks, the Shaman is all-powerful, and "nothing of importance is undertaken without consulting him." Besides being the spiritual adviser, he is the family physician, and by the influence which he acquires in the two characters, he moulds the people to his will and directs many of their actions.

To confront these priests, and attack their superstitions, was no slight undertaking. Yet on this errand the Romish Missionaries went forward fearlessly. Nothing is more calculated to excite commiseration than the position of such men, going forth amidst so many dangers to preach that which they consider to be Christianity, but which, after all, is a system of man's devising, in which the truth of God is changed into a lie. Happy for themselves, happy for others, did they know in its purity and simplicity that message of mercy in Christ Jesus, which is alone effectual to convert souls to God. Yet it is impossible not to admire the intrepidity of these men, and their devotion to the cause which they have in hand. Why should they be the first to penetrate into unknown countries, and visit strange races? It is painful in the extreme when in any instance it happens to be so. They who have the truth should be foremost. Their superiority of principle ought to prompt them to superiority of action. The Missionary of the cross ought to be fearless, and as enterprising as the scientific explorer or the Romish priest. We want in our Protestant Missions of the present day more of the spirit of holy enterprise and ready self-denial: men are needed who will be ready to forego their right to lead about a sister or a wife, that, thus disembarassed, they may be more fitted to act as pioneers, and introduce the Gospel wherever a door of opportunity presents itself.

Amongst the Goldi these two strangers remained "for a considerable period, travelling from one village to another, disputing with their Shamans, and assuring them that the god whom their priest called upon in his song could neither hear nor answer his prayer, and that he had no power to do them good or evil. They told him of the true God what they knew — "that He created the world; that without Him not only the sun would not shine, but that it would be constant winter and darkness;" but they could not speak clearly of Him, whom they themselves saw but imperfectly, who had come "as a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not abide in darkness, but should have the light of life;" and without whose illuminating influence it must continue to be the winter and darkness of the human soul. Thus they laboured strenuously, but in vain; and at length, leaving the Goldi, reached the Mangours. Here again "they travelled from village to village, using every argument at their disposal to shake the belief of the people in the power of the Shaman, which so enraged the priests, that their position became critical. The Mangours are a quiet and inoffensive race, not easily roused to acts of violence." The Missionaries were indeed compelled to retire, yet without personal injury. But amongst the Ghiliacks it was otherwise. There they were murdered at the instigation of the Shamans, whose malignant feelings had been aroused by the way in which their tricks had been exposed.

Amongst all these tribes, as among the Chinese, the custom prevails of providing their deceased friends with such things as they think will be necessary for them in the spirit-world where they have entered. Unless this be done, the spirit is supposed to wander for ever through dark and dismal forests, where it can find no rest. The custom varies among different tribes: "the Kirghis chief has his favourite horses buried with him, that he may not be compelled to walk in his ghostly state, a thing he abhors when living. The Kalmucks and Kalkas have their weapons, clothes, and implements placed in their graves, that they may appear suitably appareled before their friends, and able to engage in their ordinary pursuits. But the Tongouz races have similar articles placed in their grave, to be ready for service the moment they awake from what they consider to be their temporary repose."*

Atkinson gives a striking description of the funeral rites of a Kirghis chief—

"A celebrated sultan, Darma Syrym, died at his pastures near Nor-Zaisan, within the Chinese frontier. He was an aged man, greatly esteemed by the people, and feared by other tribes. In early life his power had been recognised far into the country of the Kalkas, and into the region of the Gobi. The owl's feather which he wore was not the only badge that marked him a descendant of Genghiz. He was a warrior too, and had made his influence felt on the banks of the Jaxartes. His illness was not of long duration, but his mulla had perceived in its early stage that it would be fatal. This was announced to his people, and caused a deep and painful sensation. As he drew towards his end, many came from afar to witness the last

* Atkinson's "Amoor," p. 483.

moments of the great man. The moment he had ceased to breathe, Kirghis were despatched to the nearest Aouls to announce the event. Swift horses were used, and they were ridden to the utmost of their speed. When the messenger reached his destination, and delivered his sad tidings, another man was despatched to convey the intelligence to others. Thus, within the space of a few hours, the news of the Sultan's death had spread over an area of near 200 miles in diameter. The sultans, chiefs, or elders of each tribe immediately repaired to Darma Syrym's Aoul to assist at the funeral rites, and before evening a vast number came pouring in. A spear and a black flag were mounted at the door of the yourt, and the deceased was laid out dressed in his best attire. The chair of state, the emblem of his greatness, was placed at his head; his saddle, horse-trapping, arms, and clothing were arranged in piles on each side; and Chinese silk curtains were suspended from the ribs of his yourt, while his wives, daughters, and other females of his tribe, knelt with their faces towards him, chanting the funeral dirge. The effect of this music as they sang, swaying their bodies to and fro, was solemn and pathetic. Groups of men entered, and, instantly kneeling, joined in the funeral chorus, swelling the mournful harmony with their deep-toned voices. There were no shrieks, tearing of hair, or funeral wails used by this people; their's was really a musical service. While this was being performed, another part of the ceremony was preparing. In the rear of the Sultan's yourt, men were engaged slaughtering ten horses and one hundred sheep for the funeral feast; near these, numerous iron cauldrons were boiling over fires in the ground, attended by men stripped naked to the waist, who, with wooden ladles in their hands, were employed skimming the boiling contents. Groups of men with crimsoned arms and hands were engaged in the slaughter, while others dragged up the victims for sacrifice, and near were the swarthy forms of those occupied about the cauldrons. At times the whole group might be seen, some with uplifted arms pursuing the work of death, then a shriek and plunge, and a horse fell, having received the fatal thrust; in another moment all was obscured; then suddenly the figures were dimly visible, appearing, as the steam was wafted past, like demons engaged in some unholy rites. It was a savage scene; and, when coupled with the mournful sounds issuing from the dwelling, produced a saddening and a sickening effect. When a sufficient portion of the animals was cooked, the guests assembled, and seated themselves in a circle on the ground in front of the yourt—the sultans and elders in the centre, those of less degree around them; beyond these were the women.

"The festival continued for seven days, during which other Sultans and Kirghis were constantly arriving. It was supposed that near 2000 people assembled to assist at the funeral. On the eighth day the Sultan was interred. His body was taken from the yourt in the clothing in which it had lain; another cloth was wrapped around it, and then it was placed on a camel, by which he was carried to the tomb. The chair of state was borne before him on another camel, and two of the Sultan's favourite horses formed part of the procession, being led immediately after the body. After these came his wives, daughters, and the women of his tribe, chanting the funeral hymn, in which the mullas and a vast number of men joined, swelling the mournful strain into a mighty chorus, which was heard far over the plain. On reaching the tomb the body was placed in the grave, when the mullas recited prayers, and told of the great deeds of the departed. While this was performing, the two horses were killed and interred on each side of their late master; after which the graves were filled up, and the procession returned to the Aoul, to partake of another grand funeral banquet. One hundred horses and one thousand sheep were slain to the honour of the deceased Sultan. When the women returned, they entered the yourt and chaunted their mournful dirge for an hour before the pile of arms, horse-trappings, and apparel which had belonged to the departed; after which, all the family assembled before the dwelling, and were joined by the Sultans and chiefs who had attended to do honour to the memory of Darma Syrym. This great festival was continued for several days after the funeral, until the people gradually left for their homes. By the tribe it was kept up a long time; and the chaunting was repeated at sunrise and sunset during a whole year."

The Manchours have hitherto been, in these regions, the dominant race, as they have been now, for upwards of 200 years, in China. The first of their chieftains who attained celebrity was Tienming. This fierce nomad assumed the title of emperor, and, publishing a manifesto against the house of Ming in 1618, vowed to celebrate the funeral of his father with the slaughter of 200,000 Chinese. His grandson, Shunchi (1644), is regarded as the first emperor. From this position of supremacy they are rapidly falling. In China,

weakened by their wars with the western nations, they are unable to resist the fierce outbreak of the Taepings, and in Manchouria and Mongolia the star of the Muscovite is rapidly rising into the ascendant.

They have hitherto been the great traffickers and merchants of the Amoor. "They descend the Soungaria in large boats laden with Chinese produce," which they sell at an enormous price. "The goods which they supply are coarsely-printed calicoes, Chinese silk materials, rice, and millet; also bracelets, earrings, tobacco, and brandy, for which they receive in exchange valuable furs, isinglass, and the dried spinal bones of the sturgeon: the latter are highly prized in Chinese cookery. The Mangoors from the Lower Amoor enter into this trade; they collect the furs from the hunters in every part of the region, and the other simple products from the people, quite down to the sea of Okhotsk. With these they descend the river, bartering as they proceed, till they reach the Soungaria, and then ascend to Etcha-Khoton, exchange their commodities, and return with a Chinese cargo to their winter stations, where they remain till the following spring. So they pass their time, one voyage in the year realizing enough for all their wants."

There are various yermaks, or fairs, where the traders meet and traffic. Two are held near the mouth of the Koomar: "one begins on the 1st of December, and the other on the 10th of March. To the first of these fairs the Manchour authorities go to receive the tribute of furs that the Manyangs have to pay. Manchourian merchants from Daouria also attend to barter their wares for the produce of the hardy hunter's rifle. They bring Chinese goods, consisting of coarsely-printed or dyed dabi, common silks, tea, salt, rice, millet, tobacco, powder, and lead; also that abominable stinking stuff, Chinese brandy. Lead and powder are the essentials for the hunter, but the merchant tries to tempt him first with his other wares, and, if possible, obtain all his skins before he has supplied himself with the means of obtaining more. . . . . The Daourians from the valley of the Koomar attend the fair with their agricultural produce, and the Cossacks from the Argouun go there in March, carrying powder and lead, with a few articles of Russian produce, which they barter for sable or squirrel skins. The latter pass current among these people as money, and any thing can be purchased with them. The tax which the hunter pays to the Manchourian authorities is the same they pay on the southern slopes of the Altai, viz. a sable skin annually. None of the Manyangs, under twenty years of age, is called upon to contribute to his Celestial Majesty's coffers: after that age no excuse is permitted. Every person must deliver his sable skin, and those who do not hunt, barter for them with the Manchourian merchants, at the rate of seventy squirrel skins for a sable. Nor are the people taken as soldiers before the age of twenty, or after forty: having attained the latter age they are free."

One of the most remarkable of these yermaks is the village of Pul, lying 100 miles below Mariensk, and named by Atkinson the 'Nijne-Novgorod of these regions, where the hunters and traders assemble from all quarters. Tongous hunters from the Zeya and Yablonoi bring the produce of their rifles. Ghiliacks from the shore of the sea of Okhotsk attend with their furs, and the Mangoors, with their neighbours the Goldi, bring skins from the Ossouri and Goreena. Manchour merchants from the Soungaria meet them with wares from China, and Japanese come to barter their goods with the hunters for the produce of their forests. Such an assemblage can only be collected on this spot, where curious and highly-characteristic scenes take place between the daring hunter and the crafty Manchour and Japanese."

Manchooria may now be considered as divided between Russia and China. Of its three provinces, Shingking, Kirin, and Tsitshar, the former alone remains in its integrity. The two latter are more Russian than Chinese, and will be entirely absorbed by that rapidly-increasing and colossal empire at no distant period. It is chiefly in connexion with the interests of Christianity that the growth and decadence of empires, and the transfer of territories, is a matter of interest to us. Whatever facilitates the action of the Gospel is welcome; whatever has a tendency to interfere with the extension of that boon which man so much needs, is a matter of regret. Hitherto the Muscovite rule has not been favourable to the communication of pure Christianity, and Protestant Missionaries have been excluded alike from the Muscovite population of the Greek communion, as well as from the heathen tribes within its vast extent of frontier.

Atkinson observes that "Russia has exercised great prudence in her conquests among the Asiatic tribes: she has always respected their religion and superstition, and no priests have accompanied her Cossacks." It may have been so hitherto, and yet, if it be true, it does not say much for her own conviction of the value of Christianity, and its import-

ance to the wellbeing of the human race. Either she is incredulous as to its value, or sacrifices its just claims to that which she considers to be her policy.

We believe, however, that this policy has been departed from, and that, so far as Manchouria is concerned, the Greek priests are diligently and, it is said, successfully proselyting its population to their communion. Whether this be the case or not, it is time for Protestant Christianity to look in the direction of North China and Manchouria, and consider whether something might not be done in these regions. We are happy to perceive that a commencement has been made, and that a Missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions has taken up his residence at Tientsin. Some extracts from his letters, as published in the "Missionary Herald," will add to the fragments of information which we have been endeavouring to mould together for the reader's use—

"I ought to say a word in regard to my coming to Tientsin, in the province of Chi-li, rather than going to Chi-foo or Tung-Chow in Shantung. This latter place has the advantage as a residence. It is in a mountainous region, bordering on the sea. I doubt if a more healthy or delightful location is to be found in China. Tientsin, however, has the advantage, as a centre of Missionary operations. It is in the middle of a populous province near Pekin, and affords facilities for locomotion in every direction, by its canal and rivers.

"I judge this to be a healthy region. The army enjoyed wonderful health. The plains are very dry, and they are not drenched at every tide by water pouring in through numerous canals and water-courses, as at Shanghae. I think, also, that the long rains we experience there do not prevail here. Besides, we have access to the immense region on the north-west. Already I hear the people speak of the country of the Mongols, beyond the 'wall of ten thousand li,' where the grass grows [tall, and immense flocks of the finest sheep, and herds of cattle, and great numbers of horses, asses, mules, and camels, are reared. To those regions, also, we will hope to penetrate in due time.

"I feel prepared, on the whole, to urge the Board to establish a Mission station in Tientsin. . . . . I confess there are some barren plains about the city, and mud-walled houses, and filth and dirt within, which might dishearten romantic adventurers. But Missionaries of the Gospel ought not to be such. If a wide field of usefulness is sought, immense multitudes of our fellow-men, who have never heard, and who have no one to preach to them, the Gospel; if the centre of authority, and influence, and heathen power in Eastern Asia is sought, it is here, and in the region to which this station is the port of access. I would, then, urge the Board to establish a Mission here, and to send two or three families at once, and two more after a lapse of six months.

"This city is now garrisoned by English and French troops. They reside in public buildings, in temples, and in the dwellings of the rich, whom they have dislodged. In general, great care is taken to treat the people with justice and kindness. Rents are paid for all private houses, and supplies purchased at equitable rates. Last Sabbath a subscription was proposed to the English forces for the poor among the Chinese, to be distributed at the approaching Christmas festival. The people, on their part, seem favourably disposed, and bring in supplies in abundance. One may travel in every direction with impunity. The Mongolian forces (there was no Chinese army engaged in the war) have all vanished from this region.

"The country around produces wheat, rye, millet, Barbados millet, or 'raw liang,' Indian corn, both white and yellow, a species of rice, inferior to the rice of the south, a species of cotton which grows in cold climates, excellent in quality, but not grown in great quantities, and great varieties of peas and beans. Apples, pears, peaches, persimmons, walnuts, chestnuts, dates, and most delicious grapes, abound in this section. The sweet potato, and all the ordinary kitchen vegetables, except the Irish potato, are raised in abundance, and are of better flavour than the same in the south. Sheep, which are remarkably large and fine-looking, are brought in large flocks from beyond the great wall, and sold at very low rates. The cattle appear much like those of New England. Horses, asses, and mules abound, as do horse-carts and ox-carts, and truck-teams of a certain kind; also the immense Chinese wheelbarrow, to which an ass is sometimes fastened, by ropes, to help it forward. Horses, mules, asses, and oxen are attached promiscuously to the same cart. We may see a strong ox between the thills, an ox, horse, or mule before him 'tandem,' and, on either side of these, one or two asses, mules, horses, or oxen, as the case may be, each drawing by itself, by ropes attached to the axle-tree, and, in the case of those before, passing through rings of iron at the end of the thills. The number does not often exceed six in one team.

There are roads for riding and driving leading out in every direction.

"I have come at a favourable time. There is a disposition, on the part of quite a number, to inquire into religious things. Some have met together, at my own room, to receive instruction. One of these, who was baptized in infancy by the Roman Catholics, drew out from his bosom, one day, a copy of the New Testament, in Mandarin colloquial, which he kept and read as a hidden treasure. It was translated by Dr. Medhurst, and printed at Shanghae. He had obtained it from a man on board a junk who had visited that city. Individuals from time to time appear who have been at Shanghae, and heard preachers there, and who know many things we teach. There is a wide and effectual door opened, both in Tientsin and in all the surrounding towns. Nay, Pekin itself is open to-day to preachers of the Gospel. I cannot desert this field to go there, but, were this place supplied, I should feel called upon to consider the question of removing there at once. Just now Missionaries are received here with a degree of goodwill which ought to stimulate many to enter the field. Twenty labourers would find ample employment."*

Attention should also be directed to the Gulf of Liautung, and to Newchwang, one of the cities opened by the treaty of Tientsin to foreigners, where they may reside, buy and rent houses, lease land therein, and build churches, hospitals, and cemeteries. This right should be claimed and acted upon, and a post of observation established. This gulf was visited by several British vessels during the summer of last year, amongst others by the "Actæon" and the "Slaney," which entered the river Leao-ho.

"It is a large river, with seventeen feet at high water on the bar. Immediately inside the mouth of the river is a mud-built town called Yinkoa, where a most extensive trade appears to be carried on. Junks in large numbers, from all parts and ports of China, were found here. The inhabitants in sampans crowded round the ship; and, whilst lying there, it was impossible to keep the ship clear of them.

"After passing Yinkoa, the river very much resembles the Woosung at Shanghae, and is full of shoals and middle grounds. At about twenty miles above Yinkoa there are three forts, each mounting five or six guns. One of them was apparently new, and of a much better style and description than the others, though very far behind those at the Peiho forts. A large city, with some junks off it, lay beyond the forts, which was imagined to be the city of Newchwang. As the Mission was surveying, and not fighting, they anchored about 1000 yards below the forts, which were immediately manned, and the guns trained for the 'Slaney.' Two officers were sent up to communicate, the crowd of rabble flocking round them as they made their way to the gates of the fort. On their arrival there they found ten men leaning against the gates to prevent their being forced. No Mandarins condescended to show themselves. Finding that all attempts were useless, they returned to the 'Slaney,' which soon afterwards weighed, and proceeded down the river, mooring off the town of Yinkoa.

"Here they landed, with a paper stating that they desired to buy sheep, fowls, eggs, &c.: they were conducted to one of the outhouses of a temple, or pagoda, imagined to be a part of the police-court. On making known their wants, they were told that the mandarins prohibited their being supplied; at least there was a doubt as to whether the officials did not wish our people to make their own purchases: unfortunately no interpreter was to be had; therefore, at best, our countrymen were reduced to a vocabulary, an excessively indifferent mode of communication. The officers amused themselves by walking in the city, buying furs, fruits, &c.; after, the under-official already communicated with came on board to arrange the purchase, and every thing was settled amicably. Furs and skins, and all the necessaries of life, appear abundant here. These communications, as well as all others, were carried on by writing. After writing on a piece of paper the article required, and the quantity in Chinese, they affixed as many round aughts as they wanted dollars for the quantity. They were remarkably civil, though evidently glad to see us away. The weather about this time (20th Oct.) changed very suddenly, the thermometer falling in one day 20°.

"The northern side of the Gulf of Liautung is similar to the Gulf of Pecheli, low land and soft blue mud. The western shore is high, higher than the eastern.

"The great wall, which is about thirty feet high and forty feet thick, commences at the water's edge in lat. 39° 58 N. long. 119° 45 E., continues along the low land, and then rises to the very summit of the hills, which are rather abrupt. The land close to the water is low; and, at the distance of about a mile

* The "Missionary Herald" (American), June 1861.

and a-half, rises to the height of 1000 or 1200 feet. On the plain the wall is in many places so broken down, that equestrians may, without the inconvenience of alighting, cross it.

"The grandest view of this wall is the extraordinary way in which it climbs the steepest part of the mountains. At the distance of a mile apart are square towers, which render the wall very conspicuous; so much so, that the eye can trace it for upwards of thirty miles, running up and down the summit of the hills, which rather increase in height than decrease. It is composed of bricks, made of blue mud, about sixteen inches long and four inches thick, rudely made, and some of them without a single mark of age.

"The inhabitants, throughout the whole gulf, were very civil, and willing to trade, but evidently much afraid of the Tartars and Mandarins."*

Meanwhile, the Shantung rebels, having defeated San-ko-lin-sin, are said to be steadily advancing towards Pekin, having now approached to within 180 miles of Tientsin, in the Pootai district of Shantung.

* "North China Herald," Jan. 5, 1861.

VALEDICTORY INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSIONARIES.

On June 21st last, the Instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. John Chapman, Secretary, at the Church Missionary Children's Home, Highbury, to Missionaries about to proceed to their several Missions, as follows—

North India.—Rev. Townsend Storrs, B. A., the Rev. William Hooper, M. A., and Miss Jane Hooper.

South India.—Rev. John and Mrs. Whitchurch, and Rev. John Sharp, B. A.

Ceylon.—Rev. William E. Rowlands, B. A.

China.—Rev. Thomas Stringer, M. A., and Rev. J. Wolfe.

Dearly beloved in the Lord—

In the good providence of God we are met together to take leave of seven fresh labourers, soon about to enter, for the first time, upon the Mission field—for the most part the free-will offerings of our older Universities,—and of two who are returning, after having recruited their health and spirits by a temporary sojourn in their native land. But though so many of you are going out for the first time, there will be no increase in the number of labourers on the field. By your accession to our ranks one new station will be added to our list; and one additional labourer will be engaged in an existing and recently-enlarged Mission. The rest will but make up for the removal of others by providential circumstances, or by death.

Under this aspect of the case it might appear, at first sight, that our meeting this day does not represent one of those forward movements which we are naturally anxious to hail at each recurrence of occasions similar to the present. But a fuller review of our position will happily dispel any such illusion, and prove that every year, and almost every month, is placing us sensibly in advance of any thing we have hitherto experienced. A variety of circumstances, which it may be well to glance at, though it can be but cursorily, will justify this observation. Having done so, we shall be in a position to point out the corresponding duties of the Missionary. Let us look first at some—

I. Tokens of progress in respect to Missionary labour.

1. It is impossible to overlook the rapid changes under which the world is opening up to Missionary enterprise. Large and populous districts in Southern Africa, whose very names have not yet found their way into our atlases and geographies, are being explored and occupied for Christ, though not without a taste of those sufferings which, in one form or another, accompany the first beginnings of the Gospel everywhere and in all ages.* If some disappointment has occurred at the mouth of the Niger, even the delay is tinctured with marks of progress. Time was when long intervals of years intervened between one failure and a renewal of the attempt, and meanwhile the field was altogether abandoned. In the present case, though a year has been well nigh lost, the stations have not been wholly unoccupied. Our native lay agents have remained at their posts, and our Missionaries are even now on their way to revisit, and, it may be hoped, permanently to take up their stations, and both ships and men have hovered in sight of their interrupted work like parent birds around their nest, waiting till the danger has passed, and permission is given them to return.

It is a marvellous fact that Missionaries

* See the "Church Missionary Gleaner," July 1861, p. 78.

can reside unmolested in the heart of Turkey, to labour among the Turks themselves; that Christian books, and, above all, the Christian Scriptures, can circulate freely, and are readily purchased; that Turkish inquirers, known to be such, are suffered to pursue their researches after truth; and that Turkish converts enjoy immunities, not in name only and by law, but practically to such an extent as to subvert in this respect the genuine teachings of Mohammedanism.

But it is principally with India and China that we are interested to-day. An aged Christian minister, who spent sixteen years of his early life in active military service on the western side of India, says—"Having been early brought to the knowledge of the Lord, I watched and viewed every thing with a Christian's eye. I saw and felt the need, the overwhelming need, of all, and far more than all, that Christian England can ever accomplish. The depth of ignorance, darkness, and moral degradation exceeds all that can be imagined; but when I see what has been accomplished, under God, in the forty-four years since I left Bombay, I am amazed and filled with gratitude, and joy, and hope. Our Missionaries, and those of the Scotch church, are now in free quiet possession of cities, the strongest holds of Brahminical superstition and power, which, however, it cost years of much and patient toil to attain, and which, in my time, it was thought madness to attempt to enter. For instance, Nasik, Poona, &c., where the blessed influence of Christianity may now be said to be established." So far this aged servant of the Lord. The generation is fast passing away whose memories carry them back to days of bigotry and opposition, when the strongholds of the Hindu and Mohammedan were as yet unsapped, and when British India, so far from being a postern of easy entrance, was even more determinately walled up against the Missionary than the dominions of the native powers. It is well for us, to whom every inch of ground is accessible, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from the Indus to the confines of China and Siam—to go back in thought to the blank aspect of the first decade of the present century.

And China, for centuries the most recluse of people, has been gradually relaxing her seclusion; (a course in which she will be followed at no unhopeful distance by the sister empire of Japan:) and now at length she has formally introduced herself into the society of nations on terms of open and sisterly intercommunion. There are complications arising out of her internal divisions, but the strict neutrality which characterizes our national policy, in respect to the states of Europe and America, will, it may be confidently expected, win the goodwill of both contending parties, and enable our Missionaries to take full advantage, alike of treaty privileges and of the brotherhood which cannot fail to spring out of a profession of faith, founded, however imperfectly, upon the word of God.*

2. Concurrently with openings in every quarter of the world, it is impossible not to recognise the solid advance of Christianity in most of our older Mission grounds. This is seen in a threefold point of view.

(*a*). Our earlier churches have now been so long established, that we cannot overlook what may be called their *natural* expansion. There are multitudes of *birth-Christians*, many, at least of the third generation; and though a renewed heart is of God, and not of man, a promise belongs to the believer and to his children. (Acts ii. 39.) How many here present owe their position in this room, and in life, to the influence, the prayers, the faith of godly parents, who have laid hold on the promise in behalf their offspring! The visible church thus is enlarged, and its influence upon the surrounding population, is enhanced. Sierra Leone, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific, must now be reckoned among the *Christian* occupants of earth. Other Mission fields are tending to a like result.

(*b*) There are again, year by year, no inconsiderable accessions from the heathen: in some localities they come in "one of a city and two of a family;" in others by hundreds: in some cases it is the young, the fruit of our Mission schools and colleges, as, for instance, at Agra; in others it is the household, or the village; as, for example, in Tinnevelly, where, during the year 1860, fully 2000 souls were added to the list of Christians.

(*c*) But there is also the preparatory work which results from the dissemination of truth. From the very circumstances of the case, it is hard to estimate this numerically: and still harder to read the degree of transforming influence which it may have upon the moral position of men, convinced, or almost convinced, but not persuaded. Of its reality, however, there can be no doubt. The witnesses who testify of it, in respect to India, are not Missionaries only, but men of all classes: nor is it of recent growth, for so long ago as in 1853, witnesses before Com-

* See the "Church Missionary Gleaner," July 1861, p. 76.

mittees of the Houses of Parliament expressed a belief in the approach of mighty changes. "The country," said Sir Charles Trevelyan, "will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way by direct Missionary instruction, and indirectly through books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated; and then, at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands."

Subsequent events have not weakened these expectations. On the contrary, to the milder and persuasive influence of a better knowledge of Christianity itself, must be added the most terrible one of that staggering blow which shook our nation to its centre, but recoiled with ruinous effect upon its perpetrators—the Indian mutiny. *We* did not, at least intentionally, make it a religious struggle; but the Bengal army did. It was, in very truth, a grand effort on the part of the powers of darkness: the arm of God interposed: they were worsted. Against odds almost inconceivable, Christianity maintained its ground; and a marvel of marvels it is, that the Lord vouchsafed in that hour of peril to forget our forgetfulness of Him, to hear our cry, and acknowledge a people so unworthy of Him as the representative of his truth. Nor was it only on the field that Christianity was victorious. In a nobler struggle for spiritual fidelity, her martyrs received the crown of victory. The heathen recognise the hand of our God, and are cowed. And now, before the inscription has become dim on the tomb of the men, the mothers, the little ones, who fell by those who dealt towards them very treacherously, the hand of charity, stretched forth to help the treacherous dealers in *their* hour of destitution, is the very hand whose piety had reared that tomb! The triumph of love will be greater than the triumph of the warrior—"For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire:" not the devouring flames of the conflagration, but those of which it is said—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."

Men have learned that the moral excellencies of our faith are no less superlative than the greatness of our heaven-supported power.

3. Another feature of our day is the substantial position taken by Missionary Societies and their agents as a power acknowledged by the State. The intervention of Swartz, in the character of an ambassador of temporal peace, no longer stands alone in the history of modern Missions. The heralds of the Gospel have been the successful pioneers of colonization and commerce, and successful peacemakers, in Southern and Western Africa, in New Zealand, in North-West America. On the far off coasts of the Pacific the captain of one of Her Majesty's ships told our Missionary that the business he had just had with Indians convinced him that it was not our ships of war that were wanted on the coast, but Missionaries. "Why," he asked, "do not more men come out, since your Mission has been so successful? or if Missionary Societies cannot afford them, why do not the Government send out fifty, and place them up the coast at once? Surely it would not be difficult to find fifty good men in England willing to engage in such a work; and their expenses would almost be nothing compared with the evil which the country must sustain to subdue the Indians by arms." In India there has been a recognition of the services of Missionaries in many particulars, and in none more markedly than in the part they have taken in the great work of education. There has been a thankful acknowledgment of the progress made, and there is opened up to them, in consequence, a share of the grants-in-aid, distributed for the encouragement of voluntary efforts in this direction.

4. Another note of progress is the action of the native church itself, as the instrument of its own instruction, and as an agent for the diffusion of the truth,—and that increasingly—at its own pecuniary cost. The catechist agency, in its earlier conception little better than a make-shift for the absence of the European Missionary, to teach a few scattered inquirers, or keep together a feeble company, has ripened first into an efficient machinery for the oversight of important congregations; and then into a well-ordered nursery for Christian ministers, from which a stream of pastors is flowing forth, men who have purchased to themselves a good degree and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus. None of the larger Missions of the Society are without their fruit of this kind: in some the ingathering betokens something more than an offering of first-fruits. It assumes the aspect of a commencing harvest rather than of a few prematurely ripened ears.

5. The success, once more, which has attended educational efforts, already alluded to

under a different point of view, has manifested itself in a Missionary aspect, partly in the increased intelligence and the higher moral principle of each succeeding generation (the child of thirty years ago was systematically taught to lie; the child of the present day is taught to respect the truth)—partly in the number of efficient native agents thus supplied; (of the last large body of native pastors ordained by the Bishop of Madras, many traced their first religious impressions to the Mission school);—and partly in the friendly spirit manifested by those on whom the kindliness and the godly exhortations of the Missionary have not been lost, though the fruit has not yet been the conversion of the soul.

6. Lastly, it has pleased God to manifest his presence with the Missionary church in a manner precisely similar to his interposition among ourselves. There have been revival blessings, in their first bestowal poured out upon the church itself, in their progress overflowing its banks, and dispersing themselves among the heathen. As in this country, they have not been without some counteracting influences, tending to throw discredit upon the movement. But there has been a substratum of genuine grace at the bottom; and as the mist which has gathered round it passes away, it is found that the foundation is sure. It has the double seal—"The Lord knoweth them that are his," and "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

We come now to,

II. The Missionaries' Corresponding duties.

If there are difficulties and dangers in the work of the pioneer, if skill and caution are requisite in his more tentative approaches, there are difficulties and dangers also, though of a different kind, when the ground is occupied in force, and more substantial operations begin to be successful.

1. The Missionary will recur to the foundation-idea and pilot-thought of his calling. His work is flexible and his course is variously directed; but the pole-star of it is unchangeable. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greek." "I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." The Apostle did not neglect the multifarious objects which pressed upon him out of measure. He had to work at his trade, labouring with his own hands; he made provision for charitable collections; he laid down regulations for their custody and their distribution. The widow's dole, and alms for the poorer saints in Jerusalem had a place in his thoughts. He gave injunctions respecting the various offices in the church; he condescended to the minutest directions, even to the wearing of the hair, that all things might be done decently and in order: daily he had laid upon him the care of all the churches. But he did not suffer these things for an instant to divert him from the one great object of his mission. Nothing ever clouded his vivid spiritual perception of first principles. The prime object of his labours, of his thoughts, of his affections, suffered no eclipse. The love of Christ was his constraining principle; the doctrine of the cross was the sun and centre of his system: round this, as round a central force, his whole soul was held, by an irresistible attraction, in perpetual revolution. If other forces in constant action kept him, while in the flesh, at a distance, and tended to carry him off from this bright centre, they were counteracted, and his path pursued with undeviating exactitude, because there was acting upon him a force as incessant, and so balanced and adjusted, that neither did "the care of the churches" degenerate into "the serving of tables," nor the contemplative "love of Christ" into asceticism and seclusion.

Education, organization, charity, more or less of the supervision of the temporal as well as of the spiritual affairs of the church, must inevitably occupy some of the time and thoughts of the Missionary; and often it is impossible to relieve him of cares even less directly bearing upon his proper work. These things, under the existing circumstances of our Missions—perhaps it might be said under the existing dispensation—cannot be left undone; but they constitute the anise, and mint, and cummin of the Missionary's duty. There are higher things that must also, and first, be done. An experienced Missionary, now among us, whose labours the Lord has signally acknowledged and blessed, testifies to an increased vigour in the vital power of godliness among his people, which he traces to his own greater watchfulness in thrusting forward, as the one grand essential object of his preaching, Christ crucified; and he speaks of the pulpit ministrations of one gifted native minister, now with Christ, in these terms—"He is never so interesting as when he expatiates upon the redemption of a lost world by the death of the God-man, and grace provided for the chief of sinners. These are themes at which he kindles and burns.

and absorbs the attention of all, and is often overwhelming." One of the great fathers of our Society, the venerated John Newton, rightly puts the case in one of his exquisite hymns—

"What think ye of Christ? is the test
To try both your state and your scheme;
You cannot be right in the rest,
Unless you think rightly of Him.
* * *
If asked what of Jesus I think?
Though still my best thoughts are but poor,
I say, He's my meat and my drink,
My life, and my strength, and my store;
My shepherd, my husband, my friend,
My Saviour from sin and from thrall;
My hope from beginning to end,
My portion, my Lord, and my All."

2. If the standard of the cross be kept unfurled, the standard of morality will never droop. Large accessions to the nominally Christian body, whether by birth or by the influx of multitudes, tend, on the one hand, to raise the general tone of morals, and, on the other, to lower those loftier and purer principles which distinguish the few. The purely *spiritual* nature of the work is thus in danger of being impaired; and the Christianity to which the Missionary invites, of being confounded with the Christianity which the world professes. The work of the Spirit of God is liable to be replaced by the conviction of the intellect, or the more unthinking assent of habit and prejudice, now enlisted on the side of the popular creed. The visible and the true Church each consists of a *company* of believers, banded together by a common faith, whether that faith be of intellectual or of deeper origin; but the real foundation of association in the true church is the *conversion* of the sinner to Christ, the radical renewal of the individual, and his mystical incorporation into the body of Christ. The "hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel" were not encompassed in the mass by a lustral cord; but the injunction to the four angels was, "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, *till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.*" In the infancy of a church, the individual principle, the personal conviction of the convert, by the very necessities of the case, must force itself upon the Missionary. As things progress, he, in turn, must sedulously keep his eye fixed upon it, lest it elude him in the crowd. The crowd which throngs in outward show round Christ may shut out many from hearing his voice, and keep true hearts afar.

3. The growing spirit of Christian independence in the churches must be watched, guided, and fostered. The solitary Christian naturally and necessarily leans on his teacher. The company of Christians flock together, and should be encouraged to do so for their mutual edification and support. They need not segregate themselves from their fellow-countrymen, and ought not to be as children to the foreigner, as strangers to each other. Let them trust one another, pray one with and for another, help one another, bear one another's burdens, let them unite and form their own schemes, and carrry out their own plans; if necessary, it may be under advice and direction, cautiously and sparingly given, and gradually withdrawn, until, in the providence of God, they are able, as respects human help, to stand alone.

4. But while this training for independence is going on, the teacher will be prepared for difficulties arising out of national peculiarities, nay, out of the narrow-mindedness, the self-will and worldliness of the churches. The exhortation to the Missionary will be:—Bear with them, "considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Do not be discouraged by infirmities and imperfections; but do not *yield* to them as irremediable: counteract and correct them by wisdom and grace, as opportunity may serve; and when you have done your best, be content to leave the rest in the hands of that God whose love has chosen them to be objects of his mercy, whose they are, and whom they serve, and to whom belong, as properly and as fully as to ourselves, the precious promises of his blessed word.

5. But in dealing with growing churches, our very success may become a snare. We must not leave our infant churches too soon; we must not be occupied about them too long. On the very confines, and often, as in India, mixed up with our most flourishing stations, are thousands upon thousands of perishing heathen, as yet untouched by Gospel influences. We may not loiter feeding those who can feed themselves, while those who cannot are perishing in helpless destitution. Our watchword is "Go forward." Paul and his company were "forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia;" and when "they assayed to go into Bithynia," "the Spirit suffered them not," because the Lord had prepared a way for them in Macedonia. "A vision appeared to Paul in the night, Come over into Macedonia, and help us." His providence will make it plain where his servants are to adventure forth, and when. It may sometimes be a question, as with the child Samuel, whether the call is from Him. This

point settled, there can be none respecting the duty, or as to the heartiness with which the call will be responded to.

6. Lastly, next to a spirit of prayer and the faithful preaching of Christ, no gift is more an object of desire to the Missionary than that of the discernment of spirits. The deceitful and desperately wicked heart of man becomes tenfold more subtle and depraved in lands where no Gospel leaven has affected the mass. The powers of darkness range there more uncontrolled than in Christian countries. Mixed motives and selfish ends are incessantly intruding. In ordinary cases the difficulty is great: under circumstances such as those attending *revival blessings*, they are greatly multiplied. There is a limit to the discernment of man. In him it is presumption too boldly to attempt the separation of the wheat from the tares; but he may distinguish between the sheep and the wolves, even though the latter be in sheep's clothing. "By their fruits ye shall know them." By these he may be enabled to say of some, "I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." That which is sound he will welcome as a gift from on high, a precious deposit, respecting which he receives his commission—"Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

The Committee send you forth, dear brethren, as they trust, "in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ." You have devoted yourselves to his service in that special department of his work, whose object is to proclaim his glorious promises in the "regions beyond," where He has not been named. This you have done, not hastily, but of deliberation. You have put your hand to the plough; and your hearts do not look back. May He who has put this desire into your souls strengthen and confirm it to the end! He has brought you to this day—a day which you regard as so far a consummation of your desires. May He sustain you through all the trials you will have to encounter; all the difficulties and disappointments which may be in store for you! You tread in apostolic footsteps: be cheered by apostolic supports—"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long: we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

NANKIN AND ITS RULERS.

SEVERAL Missionaries have succeeded in reaching Nankin, and have had communication with some of the principal men in the Taeping movement. The Rev. J. Roberts, to whom the Kan-wang was more particularly known when he acted in the capacity of a Christian catechist, has been for some time resident there. In November last the Rev. H. Z. Kloekers, of the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Rev. Griffith John, of the London Missionary Society, arrived at the Taeping capital, and in January of the present year, the Rev. W. Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, arrived at the same city. We shall place before our readers the more leading and prominent points referred to in their journals.

They all agree in the utter desolation of those parts of the country which still continue to be a battle-field, and where the Taeping power is not yet consolidated. All the way to Soochow the country presented a devastated and uncultivated appearance. That city itself, formerly teeming with life, and renowned for its riches and beauty, was more than half in ruins. Instead of a population of 700,000 or 800,000, there were some 20,000 Taeping soldiers. In fact, there is now no native population in Soochow. The whole is a vast camp, and none are allowed to reside or enter the gates except such as are connected with it. The same desolation prevails throughout almost the entire line of the journey to Nankin. Towns and cities, which had once overflowed with a busy population, were occupied only by soldiers and a few old men and women.

At a certain point of progress, however, an improvement in this respect was apparent The Taeping power had come to be regarded as established; the inhabitants had begun to feel themselves secure, under the new dynasty.

and the farmers had recommenced cultivating the soil. Still a little thing sufficed to alarm them, and, on the approach of a stranger, they took to flight.

Another point referred to in these documents is the utter destruction which has come upon the idols. In Soochow, at a temple, one priest was found, the only one saved out of a hundred who served in it. All the gods were destroyed, and his trade was gone. "I entered," observes Mr. Muirhead, "a number of temples and ancestral halls on the roadside, and the work of destruction was complete, especially in the case of the former. The idols had been torn down from their thrones, and were lying around in the utmost confusion. It appeared as if they had been treated with indignant contempt, while what had once been large and magnificent temples, were now unroofed, and their contents, after enduring all that man could inflict in the way of fire and sword, were left to decay, under the withering influence of wind and weather." The Rev. H. M. Parker, American Episcopal Missionary, bears the same testimony. "I landed first at the Loon Hwo pagoda and village, some fifteen miles distance from Shanghae, and, taking some Bibles and other books for distribution, I went up to take a look at the religious buildings, of which there are a great number. Having seen them several times before, my object was only to see the effect of the rebel visit. I found some of the temples burnt down, others only torn down in part, and defaced. In the interior I saw what struck me most. The images and idols, were some thrown down and broken to pieces, some decapitated and with the hands and feet cut off, others were only disfigured, having the noses cut off, the eyes bored out, or mouths cut from ear to ear; others again were turned upside down, or placed in the most ridiculous positions. In every conceivable way it was evidently their desire to show their own contempt for these objects of worship, and to excite that of their countrymen. I was surprised to see with what persistency they had followed up this object. In my trip I visited great numbers of temples, large and small, and in all, and frequently with the evident expenditure of some labour and trouble, I saw, without exception, the same work carried out. Their hands spare not the idols. And will any one say that such a work, persistently carried out, will produce no effect upon the religious faith of a people? I must mention a fact related by one of the Missionaries lately returned from the interior, not that I believe it descriptive of a state of things already existing, but rather illustrative of what I believe must be the effects of this revolutionary movement, if it be not crushed by foreign interference. These Missionaries stopped at a small village and inquired what gods they worshipped. They replied that the rebels had destroyed their gods, and forbidden them to worship them, and now they had no gods, and would be glad to be taught the worship of some other. What must be the consequence of such a state of things? The rebels themselves have no well-developed system of religion to offer. Some seem to apprehend that the Heavenly King, as he is called, will prove a second Mohammed. I do not and cannot believe, from all that I have heard of him that he has any of the great constructive genius of Mohammed, and if he had, I do not believe that he could resist the overwhelming pressure of civilization and the times, all lending their aid to the power of that word of truth which the rebels at least profess to hold up as a standard of truth."

Undoubtedly, the Taeping movement has been a judgment-stroke on the idolatry of China, and has broken its images to pieces. "It has inflicted a death-blow on idolatry and superstition in many parts of the country, which will be of service, when other means are employed, in the providence of God, for the overthrow of Satan's seat in the land. Such indignation has been shown to the idols, that the reverence of fear, once entertained in regard to them, can never be revived in the minds of their former worshippers."

From the leaders of the movement little can be expected except non-interference with the efforts of Missionaries. The Teen-wang continues to be the fertile source of new visions and revelations, which interfere with the authority of Scripture, and are subversive of its truths. The following is the outline of a document placed by the Celestial King in the hands of Mr. Roberts—

"There is no doubt of Hung-sew-tseuen or the Teen-wang, having been in heaven, and seen the Heavenly Father and elder Brother Jesus, and come down again. He that comes from heaven is above all. He was in the same way the Son of God as Jesus, from the same Father, though not the same mother. To doubt this fact, and all others connected with it, would be the same sin as that committed by the Jews who disobeyed Moses, and would be of the same consequence. He is the word, the light, the way, the truth, the life, as Jesus was. Jesus was, in his way and for his dispensation, and the Teen-wang is it now. The quiet preaching of the Gospel has been ineffectual: he comes now to

force to obedience with the sword. All have, at present, to believe in Jesus as the Saviour, and in Him, as such a messenger of God, to be saved; and he who believes not shall be damned. He urges Mr. Roberts to preach this doctrine, and to uphold him in those claims."

Many of the insurgents, it is believed, are incredulous as to the celestial king's immediate communication with heaven; but he is considered to be a man of such ability, and so necessary to the success of the movement, that for the present he is borne with. "He keeps all his ministers at a distance, and they stand in awe of him, while his pretentions and domestic *régime* are too much imitated by themselves to admit of their throwing a stone at him. Though the great truths of our holy religion are acknowledged by them, and, in their view, acted out in daily life, by the overthrow of idolatry and the establishment of divine worship, yet such is the effect of general manners, that, even where piety seemed once to prevail among any of the leaders, it has deteriorated. Those at the head of the movement ascribe their limited success of late years to the impiety of recent adherents; but it were well for them to remember their own departure from the truth. While ever ready to attribute their rise and progress to the Heavenly Father, they are not insensible to the evil influence at work around them, and to which they have too easily given way. Even the Kan-wang has not proved safe from the contagion. Though he is about the best among his compeers, and is well aware of his religious duties, his piety has suffered from the circumstances in which he is placed. I alluded to this in a serious manner. He felt it. He acknowledged that he had already yielded to the 'Celestial King,' in the matter of polygamy, and was now being urged by him to add two more to his circle of four wives, but he had positively refused to do it, and would continue to do so. He informed me that he had baptized his four wives and two officers in attendance upon him, that he had diligently instructed them, and supposed them qualified for the ordinance. In view of Tae-ping-Wang's authority, the rite of baptism is to be performed when the affairs of the state are properly arranged. Like all the other chiefs, the Kan-wang has family-worship. Notice is given morning and evening for his household to assemble, and at special seasons he preaches to them, I believe, with great propriety. Even now, though he has gone to the country, the same intimation is heard, and his wives have a service among themselves, together with the female domestics."*

With the Kan-wang the Missionaries had many interviews, and most anxiously did they look to him for hearty co-operation in the great work of teaching the pure Gospel to the people. "But how great was our disappointment when we found that the time had not yet come, according to his opinion. The soldiers were fighting everywhere, and the people scattered abroad: the best thing would be to wait for quieter times. We saw, however, soon, that the difficulties in the way were of a very different character: it was the Gospel which we preach. The Kan-wang being himself so well acquainted with the Gospel, knows, of course, that we cannot and do not believe, neither are willing to preach, the doctrines and dreams of the Teen-wang and the former eastern and western kings: this we felt to be the reason why he now withdrew his Soochow promises."†

The same evasiveness and disinclination to commit himself to any open recognition of their Missionary proceedings was experienced by Mr. Muirhead.

"I had a cordial welcome from the Kan-wang. I remained with him about an hour. He seemed glad to renew an old friendship, and talked in a pleasant manner about himself, and the work of christianizing the people under him. I stated that my single intention in coming was to preach in the country round about, and that I would have been satisfied to do so in other parts of the territory if I could have had the opportunity. I wished, therefore, to know where I might conveniently go to for a week or ten days, and by what means. He approved of the object as such, but reserved it for after consideration. The next day he called on me, and said that the state of things at present in the city and the neighbourhood rendered it scarcely suitable for foreigners to engage in public preaching. It would require him to issue proclamations informing the people, calming their apprehensions, and prohibiting them saying improper things. Were it a time of peace he would also order his under-officers to use their influence in promotion of the object; but he was just now busy in preparing to lead out an army, and he was not sure that the king would consent to the requisite arrangements. Altogether he advised delay, and specially that preaching might not be carried on in the capital. At subsequent interviews the matter was brought fully up.

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.
† "Baptist Missionary Herald," July 1861.

He then stated that the desire of his royal master was to evangelize the country; and when I asked if that was their mutual intention, he at once replied, most certainly it was; the thing had been contemplated from the first, and would be strenuously followed out. But it was necessary to observe, he added, that the king intended to prosecute this object in his own way. 'In what way?' I asked. 'By native means,' he said. Examinations would be held annually, at which all the public officers would be present. The text-book on such occasions would be chiefly the Bible, and according to the attainments of the writers in scriptural knowledge would their respective positions in the empire be determined. The successful essayists would be appointed to certain offices, and in each, large and small, would regular instruction be communicated to all around. I observed that something more than that was required, in view of ascertaining the religious character of the candidates, and for promoting the ends and objects of a spiritual kingdom. He replied, that such was the scheme contemplated by the 'Heavenly King,' and that it was supposed by him to be a complete one. 'Well, then,' it was asked, 'what position would foreign teachers have in the case?' He stated, that at first they would be useful in diffusing among the scholars and people a general knowledge of Christianity; but the fact was, that the king did not like the idea of depending on foreign aid in the matter. He thought that the thing could be done by the Chinese themselves, who were naturally proud, and not disposed to accept the Gospel at the hands of foreigners. He was desirous of being friendly with us, but there was such a variety of sentiment among us, and the simple fact of our being what we are, determined him to follow his own course.

"I spoke further to the Kan-wang on the subject of Missionaries coming to reside at the capital. He answered, in a very friendly way, that he would not advise it, at least in the mean time. The place was nothing else than a camp. Though he would be glad to see a few of his special friends now and then, yet he could not encourage the idea of the metropolis being made the centre of Missionary operation, at all events at present. It was impossible to provide houses here, and it were better, in his view, to work our way gradually from Soochow upwards. However, he said, 'If any one feels himself imperatively called upon by God to undertake a Mission to this place, let him come by all means, but do not ask me in the matter.' He repeated these words in an emphatic manner, on the understanding that they should be told abroad."*

While Mr. Muirhead was yet at Nankin, this leader, at the head of a considerable force, set forth to attack Kang-chow.

"It is the first time he has done so, and the proceedings on the occasion were rather splendid. A large retinue assembled outside his palace, while a number of his chief men went in to pay their respects to him. Just as he was starting, and at the end of the affair, they all knelt before him and sang the doxology, 'May Kan-wang live a thousand years, a thousand years, a thousand times a thousand years.' He then came down from his throne, and entered his chair of eight bearers. He was dressed in a gorgeous yellow robe, with a golden crown on his head. My reflections at the time were rather strange, in view of his antecedents and Christian profession. The above anthem is a daily song in his ears, and, when being raised by any coming to visit him, in presence of those he was formerly acquainted with, he appears, in a religious point of view, ashamed of it, I believe. But such is the order of things in China. In prospect of his going out, I had occasion some time ago to allude to his constant dependence on God, and to urge upon him the duty of earnest prayer. But in this I was anticipated by a previous request of his own, when, after describing the trials and difficulties of his situation, he said to me, in a rather impressive manner, 'Mr. Muirhead, pray for me.' He has need of our prayers, and I trust his request will be attended to by many friends at home."†

Amidst much that was discouraging, there was one point which afforded to the Missionaries great satisfaction—the cordial welcome which they received from the masses of the people. "Everywhere, on their entrance into Nankin, smiling and happy faces beamed on them, and they could not help thinking that foreigners would be welcomed, and the Gospel heartily received, if only heard and understood. Then on the Sunday, on which day they arrived, some of the people came in after family-prayer. Mr. John spoke to them about the heavenly Father and Jesus, One of them seemed perfectly to understand the doctrines of sin, repentance, reformation, and redemption; but on the point of relationship between the Father and Jesus was entirely in a maze. With the explanations that were given he expressed himself highly delighted."

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.
† Ibid.

The Missionaries felt their hearts drawn out to these people, whose slight knowledge of Christianity was endangered by a constant admixture of so much that was erroneous, and Mr. Muirhead commenced a public proclamation of the Gospel message.

"Notwithstanding the advice of Kang-wang, not to set about public preaching in the city, being hindered from going into the country, I commenced the work in the most open manner. Mr. Roberts has long had service in his own house, but from his not knowing the Mandarin dialect, he had been prevented from more public labours. Going about sometimes for several hours a day, I have been abundantly encouraged by the number and attention of the audiences. It seems as if there were a foundation to go upon, from the amount of religious knowledge diffused among the people. There is a response, if not in their hearts, at least in their thoughts, to the tidings of mercy. They are made familiar at every step with the name and compassion of the Heavenly Father, by the unprecedented practice of recording the fact over every door. When, therefore, the same truths are announced in their hearing by a foreign Missionary, they give a ready assent, and express their cordial approval. How different is all this from our experience in Shanghae and elsewhere! There we have a hard and stony ground to work upon. Ignorance and opposition prevail in abundant measure. Here, on the part both of the military and civilians, there is knowledge, and there is appreciation of the truth to a certain extent, which renders the spiritual enforcement of it a more easy and pleasant duty. All this has been forced upon me, in course of my ten days' labours at this place, and could only have been reached by means of the public preaching and distributing, in which I have been engaged. Yesterday Mr. Roberts and myself were walking out, and he took me into a large hall, over which were inscribed these words, 'The Hall of the Heavenly Father.' Here we readily collected a good congregation, to whom Mr. Roberts preached in Canton, and I in Mandarin.

"On one occasion, after I had returned from labours of the above kind, an official document was handed to me. It had been sent to Kan-wang by some civilian. It stated that a foreigner was actively engaged in distributing a series of page tracts, which was rather a strange affair in T'een King (heavenly capital), and it required investigation. The writer therefore begged Kan-wang to refer the matter to Mr. Roberts, who was the accredited agent of foreign affairs. I took the paper to Kan-wang, who, smilingly said, that the thing was in Mr. Roberts's hands, as the public officer appointed, and so it passed over.

"A proclamation has been issued, to the effect, that eighteen chapels or churches are to be established at the capital, and a number of others in every district, suited to the number of inhabitants. On inquiring from Kan-Wang as to the nature of these places, he said that they were all called by the same general name, though their object was very different. They were simply public offices, whose work it would be both to fulfil the duties specially connected with them, and to attend to the religious instruction of those around them. They were not to be considered as separate buildings designed for the purpose to which their name would correspond in our view."*

During their continuance at Nankin, the Missionaries had opportunity of observing many of the distinctive features of this singular capital. They were present at the celebration of the new-year's day of the Taeping dynasty.

"In one part of the city there is the palace of the 'Heavenly King.' It is a new erection, and is yet far from finished: however, it is an imitation of the imperial as much as possible. At first it is very imposing. Over the outer gate there is this inscription, 'The sacred heavenly gate of the true God, and over the second, 'The royal heavenly gate.' All around there is a profusion of strange figures, dragons, phœnixes, &c. On the above day the kings, chief men, and under-officers went to pay their respects to his majesty. The assemblage was large: every one of these had a number of civilians and soldiers in attendance, conveying him to the palace. The kings came in yellow-coloured chairs borne by sixteen men, and those next in authority in chairs of different colours, carried by eight bearers, while before and after them there was an immense variety of silken flags and streamers, covered with strange devices, or recording the names and titles of their respective owners, and headed by the inscription, 'The peaceful heavenly kingdom.' The kings and chief men went into the inner court, where the 'Celestial King' was seated, while the others, in number at least 300, remained in the outer court. I was among the latter, and witnessed their proceedings, which corresponded with those going on inside, though

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

imperfectly seen from my position. At twelve o'clock all in the outer circle fell on their knees, after a given signal, in a direction towards Tae-ping-Wang. They then sang his praises, or wished him a long life in imperial style, of 'ten thousand years, ten thousand years, ten thousand times ten thousand years.' Turning in a different direction they were told to worship the heavenly Father, when they knelt again in front of a table, on which were several basins of food, and two lamps, that were intended for sacrifice. At the head of the worshippers was a man with a paper containing a prayer to God, which he read and then burned. The assembly rose up, but very soon were summoned to fall down in the direction of the king once more, and in that attitude remained a considerable time. Nothing was said, yet, with few exceptions, much decorum was observed during the service. At about half-past twelve o'clock the whole was over, and the chief men returned into the outer court. Their appearance, in dress and manner, was certainly much superior to the class of outside worshippers, and the prevailing colour of the long robes worn on the occasion was yellow, while the caps worn by all were different from those of the reigning dynasty. The assembly dispersed in a very quiet manner."*

Females amongst the Taepings appear no longer doomed to an unhappy seclusion, but are free to move about in public.

"While walking along the streets the number of females that are seen on the way is rather a novelty. They are in general well dressed, and of very respectable appearance. Many are riding on horseback, others are walking, and most of them have large feet. Not a few stop to hear our preaching, and always conduct themselves with perfect propriety. This is new, as compared with the former course of things, and the whole reminds one partly of home life. It will be a blessing if the revolution should tend to break up the system of female exclusion hitherto practised."*

The opinion of the Missionaries is, that Nankin and its neighbourhood are not at present a suitable sphere for the location of a Mission, and that, for a time, occasional visits will be preferable. There is, moreover, every prospect of a great extension of the Tae-ping power, and they consider that tentative efforts, not involving much expense, had better be adhered to, until affairs assume a more settled aspect.

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

* The "Missionary Magazine," July 1861.

LIBERALITY OF THE JEWS IN RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE temple at Jerusalem was to the Jews of old an object of primary importance: national interest, in a remarkable manner, centred in in it; an interest, first of all directed to the tabernacle, and then transferred to the temple.

The estimation in which it was held may be concluded from various considerations, and, first, from the vastness of the preparation made for its erection. David desired that it should be builded in his reign, and under his authority and superintendence, but this was not thought desirable, for reasons which he explains to Solomon, his son. "My son, as for me, it was in my mind to build an house unto the name of the Lord my God, but the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight. Behold a son shall be born unto thee, who shall be a man of rest. . . . he shall build an house for my name." (1 Chron. xxii. 7—10.)

But although thus precluded from being himself the builder of the house, David was still free to prepare the way for Solomon, and facilitate the erection of the structure, when the time for action had arrived, by amassing such materials as might be requisite, and this he did with a zeal and devotedness well worthy of imitation by those who in these modern days engage themselves in the Lord's work and service.

He obtained the site, and that site was a remarkable one; it was the threshing floor of Ornan, or Araunah, the Jebusite, the place where the plague was stayed which had gone forth on David's numbering of the people, and where the king resolved to build an altar to the Lord. The Jebusite, with princely munificence, wished to bestow it freely, but David would not accept it, without paying the full price for it. "I will not offer burnt-offerings unto my Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." On this ground, probably the only place in Jerusalem which still remained the property of a Gentile, it was decided the temple should be erected. "Then

David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel."

He then proceeded to accumulate materials: he set masons to hew wrought stones, he prepared iron in abundance, and brass in abundance, also cedar trees in abundance; for he said, "The house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical of fame and glory throughout all countries. I will, therefore, now make preparation for it." (1 Chron. xxii. 5). In his directions to Solomon he enumerates his efforts. "I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God, the gold for things to be made of gold, and the silver for things of silver, and the brass for things of brass, and the iron for things of iron, and wood for things of wood, onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistering stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in abundance." And besides this vast accumulation, which might be regarded as public property, he gave out of his own privy purse sums of money, which to us at the present day appear to be almost incredible, so high do they range above the utmost which we do in the way of religious contribution. "Moreover, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house, even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver to overlay the walls of the houses withal." Thus he was in a position to invite the heads of Israel to imitate his example—"Who is willing to consecrate his service this day unto the Lord," an invitation which was promptly responded to. "Then the chief of the fathers and princes of the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king's work, offered willingly, and gave for the service of the house of God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand drachms, and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron. And they with whom precious stones were found gave them to the treasure of the house of the Lord;" and if they gave liberally, they received a recompense from the Lord, that which gold or silver cannot purchase—"Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the Lord: and David the king also rejoiced with great joy." The richness of these contributions may be estimated by the value of a talent, about 342*l*. Of these, in gold and silver alone, David gave, as his own personal contribution, 10,000, and the princes, 15,000, besides precious stones.

Again, the importance attached to this building may be seen, not only in the greatness of the preparations, but in the care and pains which were taken in its erection. It was to be "exceedingly magnifical," so much so as to attract the attention of surrounding nations, and Solomon was anxious to command for this purpose the best artists of the day. He solicits, therefore, the aid of a Gentile king. It is remarkable how Jewish and Gentile instrumentalities were intermingled in all that concerned the completion of the temple, from the site to the most finished details of the carved work and gildings; a foreshadowing of the divine intention, that the "Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel." He sent to Huram, king of Tyre, saying, "Behold I build an house to the name of the Lord my God. . . And the house which I build is great, for great is our God above all gods. . . Send me now, therefore, a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. Send me also cedar-trees, fir-trees, and algum-trees, out of Lebanon, for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon." And Huram readily gave to the king all that he required — "I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my fathers;" a man of mixed origin, "the son of a woman of the daughter of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre," &c. Under such auspices, and by such artists, the house was erected in the most sumptuous manner. It was built "of stone made ready before it was brought thither;" the walls of the house were covered within with boards of cedar, all were cedar, "carved with knops and open flowers: there was no stone seen." It was then overlaid within with pure gold, even the floor of the house was overlaid with gold, within and without. The house was also garnished "with precious stones for beauty," and on the walls and the doors were carved "cherubims and palm-trees, and open flowers, covered with gold, fitted upon the carved work."

Into this costly structure, when completed, were introduced all the articles of sacred furniture which had been connected with the tabernacle of old, but many of them on an enlarged scale, as better suited to the magnificence of the temple. The altar of burnt-

offering was four times larger than the one which stood in the court of the tabernacle. Instead of one laver, there was a molten sea, and ten lavers, five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them; instead of one candlestick, there were ten candlesticks, five on the right side, and five on the left, of pure gold; there was also the altar of gold, and the table of gold, whereon the shewbread was; above all, there was the ark, that ark which, in its past history, had experienced so many vicissitudes, once captive in the hands of the Philistines, and ignominously placed in the house of Dagon their god; then again marvellously liberated without human interference; and now at length brought into the resting-place provided for it. "The elders of Israel came, and the Levites took up the ark, and the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle, these did the priests and the Levites bring up," "And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims. . . . and they drew out the staves of the ark, that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle, but they were not seen without; and there it is unto this day"—a remarkable type, in its eventful history, of Him, "who in the days of his flesh offered up supplications and prayers, with strong crying and tears, unto Him that was able to save Him from death;" who was delivered up into the hands of his enemies, crucified in weakness, raised in power—"I lay down my life that I might take it again: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again"—and who thus having come forth self-liberated from the prison-house of the grave, "has entered, not into holy places made with hands, but into heaven itself;" and there He is, unto this day.

Why was it that this temple was so specially regarded, and so much importance attached to it? Because it was the indwelling place of God, it was that house in which he dwelt in the midst of Israel. Of old He had declared such to be his intention. "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell amongst them;" and when the tabernacle was finished, "a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." And in this tabernacle the Lord continued to dwell, appearing in a visible glory on the mercy-seat between the cherubims, until the reign of the pious David. "Now it came to pass as David sat in his house that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo! I dwell in a house of cedars, but the ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains. Then Nathan said unto David, Do all that is in thine heart, for God is with thee." And so we find when the temple was finished, the Lord was pleased to do with it as he had done with the tabernacle. "Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering, and the sacrifices, and the glory of the Lord filled the house." It was because of this that the house was so honoured and decorated, that it might be in some feeble measure a suitable dwelling-place for God, and thus God dwelt in the midst of his people Israel. Hence the expressions occur, not only such as, "The Lord God that dwelleth on high," but "The Lord who dwelleth in Zion," "The Lord who dwelleth in Jerusalem," and "between the cherubims." Thus David says, "In Judah is God known, his name is great in Israel. In Salem also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion."

And thus the temple became the great central point of national worship and religious service. In this particular the worship of the one true God was to be diverse from that of the false gods of the heathen. They were served anywhere, "upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree;" but to the Israelites it was enjoined, "Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God. But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come, and thither ye shall bring your burnt-offerings, &c." To this recognised and solemnly consecrated place, all the men of the various tribes were commanded to come up, three times in the year, from all quarters of the land. "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God," and to this the Psalmist refers: "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord, our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem. Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together, whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord;" and thus the temple was a meeting-place between God and the worshipper. There the Lord vouchsafed to be, that He might meet the worshipper, and there the worshipper was invited to come that he might meet God. There, in the use of typical sacrifices, the spiritually-minded man was helped to the more clear perception of the one great sacrifice. In the temple all the various articles of holy furniture were grouped together with a

completeness which had been wanting since the days of Eli. From thence, until the reign of David, the ark had been in one place, and the tabernacle and shew-bread in another; but now all were brought together, the symbolism was complete, and many were enabled to behold in this, as in a perfect picture, those grand facts of the Gospel which it was designed to shadow forth.

The temple was the type of a great reality. What this is we are informed. When Jesus, with a scourge of small cords, drove out those who made his Father's house an house of merchandize, and purified the temple, the Jews said unto Him, "What sign showeth thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" his answer was significant: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up." They thought He referred to the great national structure, the temple, "but he spoke of the temple of his body." His body, his humanity, is both tabernacle and temple. "A body hast thou prepared me;" and when it had been prepared, He entered into it, who had been from the beginning, in a priority of existence to all created things. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt (or tabernacled) amongst us," and this humanity is the temple, for the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth in Him bodily, and in that glorified humanity is permanized for ever. Christ is the place where "the Lord has put his name there." If man wishes to know God in his true character, as hating sin yet pitiful to the sinner, that knowledge is only to be found in Christ. There and there only can it be seen how God can be both just, and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Christ is the true meeting-place, where they whom sin had separated may meet and be reconciled. His peculiar fitness to be the great peacemaker is evidenced in the constitution of his person. As God manifest in the flesh, he is interested in the parties between whom he mediates; as God he is interested in the honour of his Father; as man he is interested in the salvation of the sinner. In Him God draws near to meet the sinner, for "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," and in Him the sinner is invited to draw near to God. The Lord advances from his position of just displeasure against the sinner, and the sinner is invited to come forth from his estrangement and distrust, that in Christ Jesus, the great peacemaker, there may be reconciliation. It is not merely the sinner who is commanded to draw nigh to God, but to encourage him so to do the Lord declares his willingness to the sinner. When the prodigal arose and sought once more the home which he had forsaken, the father did not remain immoveable on the threshold of his door, but ran to meet him. There was a spot at which these long-separated parties, advancing towards each other, met, when the father fell on his neck, and kissed him; and that place of happy reconciliation is significant of Him who is the great peacemaker.

Moreover, as all the various symbols of the ritual dispensation were grouped together in the temple, so in Christ there is fulness. In Him we are blessed with all spiritual blessings. Whatever be the need under which the sinner labours, the corresponding supply is to be found in Christ. In Him is sacrifice and intercession, the initiative to peace, the means of preservation in the same.

And thus the Lord Jesus, in his living personality, is now the great centre, the true temple in whom God may be found a reconciled God: to Him all eyes should be directed, on Him all hearts should rest. "I will fasten Him as a nail in a safe place, and He shall be for a glorious throne to His father's house, and they shall hang upon Him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the issue, all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups even to all the vessels of flagons." The Lord Jesus is to Christians what the temple was to the Jews, our glory and defence, the great central point to which we are attracted, and in union with which we are sustained. All the various thoughts and influential considerations which centered in the temple of old have now been transferred to Christ, and are absorbed into his person. Many there are who do not seem to understand this, and who, in their views on such subjects, have not progressed beyond mere Jewish elements. They continue to attach sacredness to localities, and to regard consecrated buildings as places where God is indwelling, and where he is specially to be found. Hence the vast expenditure of money on the decoration of churches, the costliness and minute elaboration of details, which, after all, are only meagre imitations of the great structure at Jerusalem, which the Lord permitted to be razed to the ground, because, the great reality having come, it was no longer needed. All the great realities which were symbolized in the temple ritual have their place in the person of Christ, and, that they may be ours, must be sought in Him. It is as we look to Him that prayer becomes efficacious, and prevailing intercession is put forth in our behalf.

Did the Jews of old delight to go up to the temple of old? The Psalmist speaks forcibly

on this subject. In exile and isolation from the ritual privileges, he deemed them happy whose stated residence was within the courts of the temple. "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they will be still praising thee." "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my king and my God." He speaks of the various companies who, at the time of the stated feasts, went up to the great centre of symbolism and religious privilege, and, although exposed to various discomforts and trials, thought little of the journey in the prospect of its happy termination: "passing through the valley of Baca, they make it a well: the rain also filleth the pools. They go from strength to strength: every one of them in Zion appeareth before God." Shall not those, then, amongst men, who, in the providence of God, have had furnished to them the needful directions, go up without delay to Him who is our great centre, and in whom all their spiritual wants may have a full supply. Our position in this respect is one of vast superiority. The centre of Jewish worship was a localized one; time and distance separated it from the many. But our great centre, although personally removed from us, is one which may be approached instantaneously, for the goings up by which we draw near to Him are those of faith. "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God had raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

Did the Jews expend their gold, their jewels, in the material temple? He needs not this from us, so far as He is personally concerned: He is highly exalted, infinitely glorified. "Thou preventest Him with the blessings of goodness: He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it Him, even length of days, for ever and ever. His glory is great in thy salvation, honour and majesty hast thou laid upon Him, for thou hast made Him most blessed for ever. Thou hast made Him exceeding glad with thy countenance." But let the affections of his people be largely expended upon Him. Is He not worthy of all the love that they can give? All the decoration of the temple, the artistic skill, the carved work and precious stones, were designed to foreshadow the excellence of his person, of whom it is with truth said, "Thou art fairer than the children of men." Many there are who perceive not the beauty of the Lord. They have eyes, and see not. But it is otherwise with his people, although it be true that some have fuller, and others fainter perceptions of his glory. The mighty operation of the Spirit of God, enabling us more clearly to see, and more powerfully to be attracted by the excellence of Christ, is needed, that there may be many like Paul, ready to count all things loss for the excellence of his knowledge.

But his cause he commends to our care. He charges himself with our interests in heaven. He commits to us his interests on earth. There is no intermission in his zeal. He bears the names of his people upon his heart, and ever liveth to make intercession for us. We ought to imitate his devotedness, and charge ourselves gladly with the obligations that appertain to the advancement of his kingdom. In connexion with this, we have an opportunity of surpassing the liberality of the Jews of old. We ought assuredly to do so, for we have the realization of that of which they had only the type and the foreshadowing. It was with them the twilight time. The Sun of righteousness had not yet risen. Their rituals and symbols were as the moon and planets, reflecting the light of a luminary as yet below the horizon. Yet with this feeble measure of privilege, did they not surpass us? With what a ready munificence they poured in their gifts when the tabernacle was to be erected. "They came every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service. . . . And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold, &c." Never were the women so gloriously adorned as when divesting themselves of their jewels, that the Lord's work might be done; their hearts were gladdened, and their countenances brightened with the sense of the Lord's favour towards them. Holy David felt the same promptings? His ceiled house was to him a source of pain when he remembered the Lord's ark in its inferiority of position. How is it with the Lord's people at the present day? There is a great work to be done. The world lies open before us, and suffering nations supplicate our help. It is a time to make known far and wide to the ends of the earth the message of mercy. But are the various agencies which have been brought into operation for this purpose in a position to undertake large and comprehensive measures? So far as concerns our own Society, it is far otherwise. Our pecuniary means diminish as our opportunities increase. Last

year we had a deficient income. This year, so far as the months have advanced, there has been no recovery. At this date of last year we had received less than the average of the five preceding years, by 2545*l.*; on June 30th of this year we had received less than at the same period of last year by 3573*l.*, and less than the average of the five preceding years by 6118*l.* Our estimates must undergo a proportionate reduction: in other words, instead of expanding we must contract the sphere of our operations; and as general principles of this kind are sure, eventually, to resolve themselves into details, the tender shoots of the Missions in distant lands must be interfered with, and their natural growth interdicted. How is this to be accounted for? Has the Society been untrue to its principles? In this day of fluctuating opinions, has it been drifted out of its course by some wind of doctrine? Is there less care in the selection, as its Missionaries, of faithful men, who shall not spare to declare to the heathen the whole counsel of God? Has God's message of mercy, as delivered by this Society, through a many-tongued agency, to the nations of the world, lost its scriptural character and distinctness of enunciation, and become perverted into another Gospel? Has the Society ceased to rely on Gospel truth as the appointed instrumentality for the conversion of sinners, through which the Spirit works, and transferred its confidence to ecclesiasticism in its various and versatile movements? Have any left us who once adhered to us, and, if so, is the change of principle with us or with them? The grand truth of the everlasting Gospel has of late years, in this country, been subjected to a very severe ordeal. It has been aggressed upon from various quarters, and, in various ways, the attempt has been made to disparage it in the nation's eyes, and displace it from the high position it has occupied. Now there has been a retrograde movement toward symbolism; now, with a bold eccentricity, men have speculated, until they have lost themselves in scepticism. Cometary bodies have of late years been frequent visitors in our firmament. They have hitherto deviated by a slight angle of inclination from the plane of our ecliptic, and, in their perihelion, have acknowledged themselves to be in connection with our central luminary. But now, it is said, a new phenomenon has appeared, a stranger never known before to have come within sight of our earth, who, with a bold defiance of all recognised rules, pursues a course perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and, disregarding our sun, approaches him not, and tenders him no homage. He has come at an appropriate season. Hitherto the aberrations from the truth have been of a modified character; they have professed a regard for revelation, and have recognised Him who is the great sun and centre of the spiritual system. But now a glaring meteor has appeared, subversive of revelation, and bold in the avowal of its scepticism. Have these phenomena caused a disturbance in the settled proceedure of events, under the effects of which we are temporarily suffering? or has there been in any quarter a systematic disparagement of the Society, and a misrepresentation of its principles and objects? Some will be disposed to think, that however these causes may have acted prejudicially on the Society's income, the true explanation is to be found in the monetary condition of the country, the heavy pressure of taxation, the deficiency of the previous harvest and consequent high prices, the uncertainty as to political events, the American disruption and its relation to our manufacturing prosperity. But if this be the case, has private expenditure been curtailed? or, while the measure of religious contribution has been lessened, has that remained the same? Do men find it easier to take from the Lord than to take from themselves? Certainly, the fashion of the world, to those who submit themselves to it, is imperious in its dictates, and demands an expenditure in dress, and the details of domestic life, which leaves men poor, and often penniless, for religious services. The pressure of the yoke is felt with the increasing refinement of the age, and yet however burdensome they may feel it, individuals know not how to emancipate themselves from the necessity, as they conceive it to be, of doing as others do. Meanwhile, the Lord's work is standing still. Oh that the Spirit of the Lord might so move the hearts of his people, that with a mighty effort they might break loose from all that would hinder them from the Lord's work, that, as his free-men, they might go forth to glorify Him by a hearty consecration of themselves, and all they have, to Him and his service!

NEW PLYMOUTH, NEW ZEALAND.

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.

THERE is a remarkable resemblance between Russia and England in the relation which they respectively occupy with reference to Asia. Each is a European power; and in Asia each has obtained possessions and influence. England has her great oriental dependency of India; and Russia, from her European centres, having first obtained dominion over Siberia, is from thence, with consummate ability, extending her sway over territories which promise to repay whatever culture she is enabled to bestow on them, and to become, in due time, richly remunerative. Each, then, has the opportunity of introducing European civilization into the heart of Asiatic barbarism. Whether of the two shall dominate the most extensively, and from which quarter shall ameliorative influences introduce themselves with most energy amidst the wandering hordes of Asia's population? The policy of Russia is to enlarge her territory. That has ceased to be the policy of England. We have no wish to advance our boundaries beyond the great natural barriers of the Himalaya, the Indus, and the Khyber Pass. If, along the vast extent of frontier, ranging from Beloochistan on the west to Pegu and Burmah on the east, any extension of frontier takes place, it will be as the result of necessity, and not of choice. But commercial expansion we do look for, and increase of friendly intercourse with the natives beyond; and as intercourse is opened with new tribes of people, we look to British Christians to be on the alert, and avail themselves of every new opportunity, which, having become sufficiently consolidated to give them a firm footing, enables them to advance the standard of the Gospel. In this we see the superiority of England. She is in a position to introduce among the nations of the earth the true ameliorative, the alone specific for the ills of man. She has the Gospel, and she can communicate it. Side by side with discovery and commerce, Christianity may and ought to progress. Forward movement is the very life of Missionary effort. So soon as it begins to take up a fixed position, and assign to itself a settled boundary, beyond which it hesitates to advance, it will lose its vigour, and become feeble in its action. The day in which we live is remarkably one of enterprise and discovery, and Missions must be prepared, in this respect, to act conjointly with the spirit of the age, and be characterized in their movements by boldness and promptitude. Societies may not be contented with pursuing, however diligently, the old and well-beaten path of prescriptive effort. It will not do to be ever looking back on our supports to ascertain whether, according to the rules of economic calculation, they are sufficient to sustain us in a forward movement. If there be opportunities of such a nature as to justify a new effort, let the work be done. The importance and fearlessness of the undertaking will excite interest; and in this way the means be providentially supplied. It is the Lord's work. The Gospel, in its power, can alone meet the necessities of man. This is becoming more and more undeniably apparent. It was thought, for a time, that education and civilizing influence would raise man from his degradation, and suffice to secure his happiness. Facts, as they accumulate, point irresistibly to a different conclusion—that the more refined the nations become, the more they need the conservative action of the Gospel; and that the educated mind, without religion, does not fail to produce its own type of criminality. Man's great need is the Gospel; and to provide him with this is that great work to which the energies of God's people should be unhesitatingly and self-denyingly consecrated.

It is for this reason we view with jealousy the political aggrandizement of Russia, because, destitute of religious vitality, she is, in the great matter of Christianity, ignorant and cold as her own protracted winters. And it is for this reason we desire the extension of English influence, because, as it expands, the Gospel of Christ has freedom of action.

A review of the position of Russia in Central Asia will convince us of the energy with which every opportunity of forming relations with the tribes beyond her frontier is improved until a way is prepared for territorial encroachment. We may then examine the action of England along the extended line of her Indian territory, and ascertain whether there has been, on our part, the same promptitude in opening channels of friendly communication, and so dealing with the various tribes and nations beyond our frontier as to predispose them in our favour.

Atkinson specifies four places which are the starting-points of the great caravan routes leading into the interior of the Asiatic continent, namely, Orenberg, in lat. 51° 46′ N. and long. 55° 4′ 45″ E.; Troitska, in lat. 54° N. and long 61° 20′ E.; Petropavaloosk,

in lat. 54° 30′ N. and long. 69° E.; and Semipalàtinsk, in lat. 50° 30′ N. and long. 80° E.

From Orenberg there are two routes to Khiva, lat. 41° 40′ N. and long. 59° 23′ E., the one traversing the country lying between the Caspian Sea and the sea of Aral; the other running along the eastern shore of the latter sea. There is also a route to Bokhara, in lat. 39° 40′ N. and long. 64° 45′ E. This, a sixty days' journey, is "frequently travelled by caravans, being the great road from Central Asia to the fair at Nijne Novgorod." After passing the Syr-Daria, which falls into the Aral, "it enters a desert region, which, under the various names of Kara-koom, Kizel-koom, and Batak-koom, extends, with little interruption, nearly 400 miles. The distance from Orenberg to Bokhara is about 1100 miles. The routes from Troitska and Petropavaloosk to Bokhara pass through the same desert region. It is here occur the singular phenomenon so well described by Atkinson—the sand pillars in the desert.

"When seen at a distance, for the first time, it made a strong impression on my mind; about twenty pillars were in view, wheeling round and licking up the sand. As they passed along, a cloud of dust was raised on the ground, apparently eight or ten yards in diameter. This gradually assumed the form of a column, that continued to increase in height and diameter as it moved over the plain, appearing like a mighty serpent rearing his head aloft, and twisting his huge body into contortions in his efforts to ascend.

"The pillars were of various sizes, some 20 and 30 feet high, others 50, 60, and 100 feet, and some ascended to near 200 feet. As the whirlwinds began gathering up the dust, one might have fancied that antediluvian monsters were rising into life and activity. The smaller ones seemed to trip it lightly over the plain, bending their bodies in graceful curves as they passed each other; while those of larger dimensions revolved with gravity, swelling out their trunks as they moved onward, till the sandy fabric suddenly dissolved, forming a great mound, and creating a cloud of dust that was swept over the desert."*

About 400 miles from the sea of Aral stands a large and strong fort, which "gives Russia the complete command of the Syr-Daria and the regions around. Her steamers can pass up the river beyond this fortress to within twenty miles of the town of Turkestan, and to within thirty miles of Tashkend, and boats can ascend the river Tchubar-sou nearly to the town. Vessels of a small draught of water will be able to reach Khodjend, and even near to Kokhan. Thus steam has placed these States under the control of Russia, and her will must be their law."*

Semipalàtinsk, or Seven Palaces, is the most southerly of the four points to which we have referred, and lies more towards the heart of Asia. Its importance is proportionate. It "stands on the frontier between Siberia and the Kirghis Steppe, in lat. 50° 30′ N. and long. 80° E., and at above 775 feet above the level of the sea. It is so named from seven mounds lying near the town, traditionally the remains of royal residences; but if this be the case, they were erected when the art of building palaces was in its infancy. Unless a great change has taken place in this district, it is difficult to account for such edifices being raised here, for the country around is a barren plain, with several stagnant lakes, occasional patches of grass, and numerous hillocks formed by the wind whirling the sandy soil into heaps.

"The town, consisting principally of wooden buildings, stands on the eastern bank of the Irtisch. It is a long line of houses set back about 150 yards from the river, facing the south-west, with a view over the Kirghis Steppe, which stretches out in that direction for more than a thousand miles. A wide road separates the houses from gardens that extend along the river bank. Here melons and water-melons are grown of a large size, and of a most delicious flavour, without the aid of glass. They are sold at a very cheap rate—five or six for tenpence.

"The buildings are scattered over a considerable space, forming several streets; each house, great and small, has its court-yard enclosed by a wooden fence ten or twelve feet high, with large gates in the centre. The government offices, and other edifices connected with the military department, are at the northern end of the town. These, and the custom-house, are mostly built of brick, and have an imposing appearance when seen at a distance. A numerous body of Cossacks is always stationed here with a strong force of artillery; so that this is really a military town of great importance in connexion with the government of the Kirghis. . . .

"Many Tartar merchants in Semipalàtinsk are engaged in trade with the Chinese towns of Tchoubachack and Kulja; also with Bokhara, Khokan, and Tashkend, between which and Semipalàtinsk caravans are

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 278 and 279.

* Ibid., p. 280.

frequently passing. They take out printed Russian goods, copper, iron, and hardware, returning with tea, silks, and dried fruits, which are forwarded to the fair at Irbit, and are then dispersed, the greater portion being sent into Siberia, the rest into Europe. The dwellings of the merchants engaged in this trade are commodious and clean, and the rooms contain a great deal of valuable property: in some rich carpets from Persia and Bokhara are hanging on the walls, as well as spread on the floors; in others they are piled up in bales. In another room are magnificent silks, shawls, and kalats (or dressing gowns), beautifully embroidered with gold and coloured silks. Ornaments and large vases in porcelain from China, tea services, plates, dishes, and similar works of singular taste and beauty, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and a few other precious stones, form parts of their stock in trade. At my visits, shortly after entering the house, tea and dried fruits were handed. Low divans are placed round the rooms, but most generally the inmates are found seated on carpets spread on the floor, drinking tea and sewing. Forged Russian notes are frequently found among these Tartars: twice they passed them upon me. Although I knew from whom I received them, my friends advised me to burn the notes, as the loss would be far better than the trouble and annoyance if the affair was placed in the hands of the police.

"Besides these merchants, there are others who carry on a great trade with the Kirghis, supplying them with silk dresses, tea, raisins, and wooden bowls from China, kalats of printed calico from Khokan, Russian hardware, iron, copper, and leather; for which they receive in exchange black and grey fox skins, black lamb skins, horses, oxen, and sheep. The horses and oxen are driven into eastern Siberia to the different gold mines. One of these Tartar traders told me that he imported 50,000 horned cattle into Siberia annually, and these are chiefly consumed at the gold mines. I have met the Kirghis with herds of from 3000 to 4000 oxen, 1500 miles from their homes, and 500 from their destination.

"When the cattle are delivered at the mines the men remain a few days, and then start on their return—a very long ride. Their journey homeward is by the post as far as Semipalàtinsk, and then to their hovels in the Steppe on horseback. The sheep are driven across the Steppe to Petropavlooşk on the frontier of Siberia, and thence to Ekaterineburg, where they are killed and their fat melted down into tallow. More than one million sheep are brought from the Kirghis Steppe yearly, which are disposed of in this manner. The whole of the tallow was (till within the last few years) forwarded to Europe: now the bulk is converted into stearine at a large work near Ekaterineburg. This establishment supplies all Siberia with candles, besides sending a great quantity into Russia."*

The routes from this town are exceedingly important. They extend to Tashkend, Kokhan, Samarcand, Kashgar, and Yarkand. A portion of the journey lies through a sterile region, where "the sand has been whirled into thousands of hillocks, some forty and fifty feet in height, and others of smaller dimensions." Here the mirage and sand-storms are frequently met.

"The former tantalizes the traveller's thirst, and the latter may form his grave. Many of my readers know nothing practically of the mirage, and thus they can neither appreciate the beauty of this deception, nor estimate the disappointment it creates. I fear my pencil fails in rendering its magical effect, and my pen cannot give an adequate idea of its tantalizing power on the thirsty traveller. It has, however, often fallen to my lot to witness it, when an apparent lake stretched out before me, tempting both man and animal to rush on and slake their burning thirst. Even after years of experience I have been deceived by this phenomenon, so real has it appeared, and many of its peculiar and magical effects have been preserved. Sometimes vast cities seemed rising on the plains, in which a multitude of towers, spires, domes, and columns were grouped together with a picturesque effect that neither poet nor painter could depict. And these were reflected in the deceptive fluid with all the distinctness of a mirror: at times a slight breeze seemed to ruffle the placid surface, destroying the forms for a few minutes, and then they re-appeared.

"Sometimes I have been almost induced to believe that vast tropical forests were before me, where palms of gigantic size, with their graceful foliage, overtopped every other tree, and that beyond were mountain crests, giving a reality to the scene that caused me for the moment to doubt its being a phantom. At last I have passed over the spot where the lake, the mighty city, and the vast forest had appeared, and found nothing but small bushes and tufts of grass growing on the steppe."†

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* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 3—7.

† Ibid., p. 283.

The journey from Semipalàtinsk to Tashkend occupies from fifty to fifty-five days, and to Kokhan seventy days.

Another frontier point which is reached from Semipalàtinsk is the Chinese town Tchou-bachak, in lat. 46° 15′ N. and long. 83° 5′ E. To this town there are two routes: the one, advancing over the steppes to the south-east, reaches the new Russian fort of Kokpaktinskoi; thence, crossing the streams which flow from the Tarbagatai mountains to the Nor-Zaisan, it ascends those high ridges, and, descending the southern slopes within the Chinese frontier, arrives at Tchou-bachak, after a journey of ten days, throughout which good pastures and water abound.

The road we have just sketched crosses the streams which flow eastward from the Tarbagatai mountains into Nor-Zaisan. There is another road by Ayagus which strikes westward of that chain. This we shall trace more carefully. Crossing the Irtisch, on the north bank of which Semipalàtinsk is situated, and which is there about a quarter of a mile broad, the traveller enters a Tartar village on the Kirghis side of the river. "Here exists a curious population of Russian Cossacks, Tartars, Kalmucks, and Kirghis; and a singular mixture of races is springing up, which will greatly puzzle the future ethnologist. There are many Tartar merchants in this village, which at times presents a very busy and somewhat singular scene. There are groups of Bokharians, Khivans, Khokanians, and men from Tashkend, each in their gay and picturesque costume. Numerous camels, with their long shaggy necks and huge loads, were waiting to be unburdened; others were patiently lying down while the bales were being removed from their saddles. Many Cossacks were watching these operations to prevent smuggling; but, notwithstanding their vigilance, the people succeed in conveying into Siberia considerable quantities of tea and silks which have never passed His Imperial Majesty's customs." The road then strikes due south from Semipalàtinsk to Ayagus, a distance of 200 miles, along which Russian picquets are placed about fifteen miles apart, forming a line of posts guarding the Khirgis.

Ayagus is a Cossack fortress, on a river of the same name, which flows from the Tarbagatai chain into Lake Balkash. "Nine hundred Cossacks are stationed here, most of whom have families. There is also a battery of Cossack artillery and a small body of infantry. . . . . At the head of the civil department is the Sessedatal, or chief magistrate, who has a Secretary and several assistants. These constitute the governing power over the Kirghis in this region. The men sent to fill these departments look upon their position as a species of baniahment; and it has always been a principle among the *employés* to abstract the greatest amount of profit from the nomades, who are ground by every man, from the chief to the common soldier. This makes the Kirghis give Ayagus a wide berth: nevertheless, means are devised to bring many of the tribes within the grasp of the needy officials."

The duties of the Sessedatal "are wholly with the Kirghis; and he has officers residing among the different tribes, wherever Russia has obtained any influence, who lose no opportunity of extending her power. The chief is courted, paid, and some mark of distinction given him—perhaps a medal, a sabre, or a gold-laced coat and cocked-hat, with the privilege of attending a council at Ayagus once a-year, when laws are made to govern the tribes, that rivet still faster the fetters with which he and his people are being bound. From this meeting he returns to his aoul, 'dressed in a little brief authority.' A young Russian who understands his language is appointed to reside with him, to translate all official papers sent to him, and write his answers, to which he attaches his seal without understanding a word they contain. The youth is also a spy upon him and those who visit his aoul, reporting regularly to the chief at Ayagus. Thus the power of the empire is gradually creeping on in the plains of Central Asia, and, when it is sufficiently secured, the nomades will have to pay both in men and money."*

On leaving Ayagus the road passes over the plain to the southern side of the Tarbagatai, where it crosses several spurs projecting from the chain, and numerous rivers descending from the mountain's side. A region of lakes is then reached: at the western end of one of them "is a Chinese picquet, close on the Russian frontier, and eight miles beyond is the town of Tchoubachak. It stands on a level plain at the foot of the Tarbagatai, which rises abruptly from the plain for about 3000 feet. This journey occupies fourteen days."

The region between the Balkash and Nor-Zaisin abounds with ancient tombs, "which are held in great veneration by the Kirghis. They say that one of these edifices contains the graves of two mighty genii, who ruled over the whole region between Nor-Zaisan and the Balkash, to whom all the sultans of the steppe did homage. They also

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 34.

tell of the terrible battles which were fought between these great spirits, and others who inhabited a part of the Gobi. Some of the fearful ravines in the mountains to the south are attributed to strokes from their swords, when a path was required to bring up their legions. Extravagant as are such legends, it would not be safe to venture to express to the Kirghis any doubt respecting their authenticity.

"Two of these tombs are alike both in form and dimensions. They are circular on the plan, and conical, or more properly an elongated dome, with an aperture on the top. From the ground to the apex of the dome the height is about fifty-five feet: on the south side, and about eight feet from the ground, there is an opening four feet square, and higher up in the dome there is another about two feet square. I succeeded in entering the tomb through the lower aperture, and found the interior diameter twenty-one feet. The walls are four feet thick, and built of stone obtained from rocks near at hand. In the centre of the tomb there are two graves, nine feet long and three feet six inches wide, and on each side of these are three other graves six feet long. The Kirghis say the two large ones contain the genii, and the smaller ones are the sepulchres of six inferior spirits, their attendants, who were sacrificed when the former were overpowered by the genii of the Gobi. Around this spot there are several smaller tombs and numerous mounds of earth."*

From Ayagus there are two routes to Kulja, a large Chinese town, containing 40,000 inhabitants in lat. 42° 46′ N., and long. 82° 48′ 15″ E. Both pass over the Karatau mountains. The Karatau, or Black mountains, bound the Kirghis steppe to the south. On approaching them, after ten days' journey in a southerly direction from Ayagus, the arid steppes are left behind, and the country becomes more fertile, "affording good pasture for large herds of cattle: indeed, wherever there is moisture, grass is abundant."

"The ancient inhabitants of this region rendered it extremely productive. The numerous canals which still exist show their engineering skill, and the extent of the irrigation it produced. In some of the channels the water yet runs, and, where it overflows, the sterile soil is covered with a luxuriant carpet of vegetation, adorned with flowers of singular beauty. There is abundant proof that it has once been densely inhabited, and it is probably destined to be a great theatre when occupied by Russia. The vast number of tumuli scattered over the plain, the extensive earthworks, which have been either cities or strongholds, afford convincing evidence that a great people were once located here.

"One of these ancient works on the Lepsou, near its outlets from the Karatau, is a parallelogram, about 700 yards in length and 300 in breadth. The earth walls are now about twelve feet high, and have been considerably higher; their thickness is about sixteen feet at the bottom, and nine feet at the top. This enclosure was entered by four gates, one being in the centre of each side; but the eastern end has been partly destroyed by the river, which is gradually cutting down the bank. Half a mile to the north and south are numerous mounds; and at about a mile from the western end, there is a large tumulus, about 150 feet in diameter, and 50 feet high. The people who produced them were a very different race to the present occupiers of the country, and had made an extraordinary advance in agriculture and mining."*

Near the gorge of the Acsou, a river which flows from the Karatau mountains into the lake Balkash, Atkinson met with singular remains of these former inhabitants.

"We came upon a great number of ancient tombs, many only small mounds of earth, varying from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, and ten feet high; these were scattered far over the plain. About a mile further I found others of much larger dimensions; one, 120 feet in diameter and 37 feet high, with a shallow ditch 12 feet wide and four feet deep, running round its base. One hundred feet from the edge of the ditch was a circle of stones two feet high; and ten feet from this there was another of the same height. Directly facing the east was an entrance twelve feet wide, having an avenue of the same width, formed of similar stones, extending eastwards 100 yards.

"Having ridden my horse to the summit of the tumulus I saw three others to the north, of apparently similar dimensions. One of them was about a mile distant, another about two miles, and the third still further, in a north-westerly direction. To the south I observed a still larger tumulus not far away. The whole intervening space was covered with smaller tombs, extending over an area

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 38—40.

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 85, 86.

nearly four miles in length by one mile in breadth—verily a vast city of the dead.

"Here was a place for reflection, and for much curious speculation as to what nation or race occupied these numberless mounds. They have passed away without leaving a single record, and it is impossible to identify them or date their cemeteries. Most probably they were raised by the earliest inhabitants of these vast regions, which we are led to believe was the cradle of the human race. I turned my horse away, deeply regretting that I had not the means of examining one of the larger tombs, as articles might probably be found therein that would go far towards explaining this historical enigma."*

Southward of the Karatau lies the Alatau chain, or the variegated mountains. These two ranges are separated by a valley, about twenty miles in width. In this valley is Kopal, the most southerly fort Russia has as yet planted in Chinese Tartary. It is situated "in about 43° lat. N., and 82° long. E., and is only three days from Kulja. The fort is in the region belonging to the great horde of the Kirghis, and is significant of the fate which awaits these warlike tribes."

The hardships endured by the Russians, and the difficulties surmounted by them, in the formation of this important military post, which threatens the independent Kirghis in one direction, and the Chinese in the other, will enable the reader to understand the unconquerable tenacity of purpose with which these Cossack pioneers devote themselves to the work of encroachment, and the gradual extension of the Russian frontier.

"About four years before my arrival," observes Mr. Atkinson, "a battery of artillery, consisting of six guns and 100 men, had been sent into the Alatau, and the officer in command had taken up a position in a pass about eight miles to the southward of the site of the new fort. From Ayagus to their camp was a journey of eighteen days, with hostile tribes inhabiting the plains between this little band and their friends, while to the south-west, on the opposite side of the mountains, there were legions of Chinese convicts occupying the region around Kulja. The officer had formed his camp in the mouth of a gorge: a few men stationed up in the cliffs were sufficient to defend the place against one hundred times their number, and the guns would have caused terrible slaughter had any body of men attempted to force the pass. The captain and his men arrived here in the autumn, after a most arduous march of forty-two days over a country in which there were no roads. Deep rivers often delayed their march, and extensive morasses, capable of swallowing vast armies, frequently compelled them to make a détour that occupied several days.

"Notwithstanding that every thing now around them wore a summer aspect, they knew that winter was fast approaching, and that no time ought to be lost in preparing for it. The numerous glens and small sheltered valleys afforded plenty of grass for their horses, where they could be left to pasture in safety, but the season was past for making hay for their winter fodder. This, however, was not of vast importance, as these Asiatic horses are accustomed to seek their food beneath the snow, like wild animals, and instinct tells them where grass is to be found. Nor do they require any shelter from the weather—stable, grooming, and corn being luxuries unknown to them.

"Stone was lying in the bottom of the gorge, ready quarried by time and water, and with these rough materials the men soon erected huts for their winter dwellings. Trunks of trees and branches formed the flat roofs; over these was thrown a covering of earth, about nine inches thick: thus they were secured against both wet and cold. Glass they had none; Chinese silk, strained on to small frames, formed the windows, and rough doors were made out of bark. Logs of wood were their seats, and dried fern their beds. In this way the men were soon housed, and their dwellings furnished.

"Much, however, remained to be done; wood had to be collected for their winter fuel, and this could only be obtained in the upper glens, whence it was difficult to transport it: a supply of game had also to be provided for their daily consumption. Luckily for them the whole region abounded with animals. Deer were exceedingly numerous on all the lower ranges, while the maral (a large stag), and the argali (wild sheep), were found in all the higher regions. A large party of men were constantly employed hunting, and both venison and wild mutton were plentiful in the camp. As the season advanced, the upper regions became covered with snow, causing the animals to descend to the lower valleys. The men now began to lay in their winter store. The officer told me that he had often shot the maral and deer from the door of his hut, showing how completely unaccustomed they were to the sportsman and to his rifle. . . . .

"Before the end of October the winter came upon this little band in the mountain

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 191, 192.

gorge; their stony dwellings were covered with snow, and their usual occupations were stopped. Their horses were in a valley at some distance, access to which was impossible, in consequence of the deep new-fallen snow. They were, however, under no apprehension about them, as a thick forest of cedars skirted the foot of the mountains, and under these they would find shelter. As time passed on it became more dreary, till the snow was sufficiently hardened; then the chase afforded the usual excitement.

"In the early part of November bourans began to blow, that lasted two and three days at a time, during which the men could not proceed twenty paces from their dwellings. This was but a foretaste of what was in store, for on the morning of the 23d it began to blow a gale, which gradually increased to a hurricane, sweeping the snow into clouds like flour, and rendering it almost dark at midday. During the night and the following day it became worse, and the roaring of the wind, as it swept up the gorge, was appalling. Already their huts were covered deep with snow, and almost as soon as passages were made from one to another they were filled up. At length each party became prisoners in their dwellings, from which they could not proceed five paces. They had now great difficulty in cooking, and those most distant from the kitchen found it a constant labour to keep up a communication with that necessary establishment. When the snow became deep enough a gallery was formed in it, and then they passed to and fro without difficulty.

"This bouran continued till the 4th of December—eleven days, without intermission—after which came calm weather, with 20° Reau. of frost. Immediately the storm had ceased a party was sent up to the valley to look after the horses. On reaching the spot they were found completely sheltered in the thick forest, where but little snow was lying on the ground. It also had afforded them a good pasture. These fearful bourans were of frequent occurrence during the months of December and January. Before the middle of February their fatal effects were visible on man and animal, for thirteen of the men died, and fifty-seven horses perished in the snow."*

Kopal is said to contain, at present, "11,000 inhabitants, and will gradually increase as commerce extends into these regions. Notwithstanding the defective position of the place, wealth will be acquired here, and population is sure to follow. A considerable number of Tartar merchants are established in Kopal, and carry on a most profitable trade with the nomade tribes, as well as with China." Encouraged by its rapid growth, the Russians have formed another settlement on the Almatee, or Apple river, about 200 miles to the south-west of Kopal, where the town of Vernoje has been commenced.

Atkinson's description of the Karatau and Alatau mountains, and of the Kirghis tribes which he met with amidst their recesses, and the surrounding steppes, are vivid and interesting; but we cannot pause now to tarry amidst the souls of the nomades, or examine the craggy fastnesses, the ravines, and waterfalls, with the higher summits rising far above into the regions of eternal snow. Our object is to map out the country by a reference to the towns and connecting routes, in order that the advance and present position of the Russian frontier, and our own relation to it, may become clearly perceptible.

From Semipalàtinsk to Kashgar, lat. 39° 25′ N., and long. 74° 5′ E., there is also a route. It branches off from the westerly route to Kulja, at Boura-kol, the most westerly point of the Karatau. Crossing the Tchoulae mountains into the valley of the Ili, and passing that river, it turns south-east into the valley of the Tcharin, which flows into the Ili. Following this river nearly to its source, it advances a little to the west of the Khan-Tergear mountain. Descending into "the extraordinary basin of Issa-kool to Sara-Tologui, near which there is a Cossack picquet," "the route continues along the north-west side of the Mustau for about 100 miles, and then crosses this great chain, over a pass said to be 14,000 feet above the sea. The crest of this chain is indicated by Russia as the boundary of her empire. About eighty miles from this the route joins the Chinese road to Kashgar."

Thus, from Kopal on the east to Fort Akmechet on the Syr Darja, the Russian frontier describes a curve of 800 miles, the most southerly point of which reaches the Mustau range. Along this vast arch forts and picquets are disposed, which command the region as far as the 39th parallel of north latitude, and threaten a further advance towards the south, so that, ere long, we may "expect to see Cossack picquets near Kashgar."

At three distinct points on the continent of Asia the Russian boundary has approached

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 90—95.

or overpassed the 40° of N. lat.; in the territory intervening between the Black and Caspian seas; in the steppes and mountain regions appropriated by her in the direction of the Chinese provinces of Syan Shan Peloo, and Syan Shan Nanloo, and reaching southward as far as the Mustau range; and again, in her new acquisitions on the Tartarian coast, to which the attention of our readers was directed in our last Number. The mouth of the Tumen, the Mustau range, and Constantinople, lie in about the same parallel of latitude.

"The first attempt of Peter the Great to interfere in Asia was in 1717, when he sent a mission to the Khan of Khiva to negociate a commercial treaty. The whole embassy was assassinated. Meanwhile the trade which he had hoped to attract was flowing in the opposite direction through the warehouses of the British East-India Company. Checked for the moment there, Russia cast her glance on Tartary, and in 1734 the empress Ann succeeded in formally enrolling the middle and little hordes of the Kirghis Cossacks, of whom Atkinson has written so fully, as her subjects. Aboulkhair, the leader of the Kirghis, ever oscillated between Pekin and St. Petersburgh influence, and, with the assistance of the former, possessed himself of Khiva. He was driven out of that city by Nadir Shah. By means of exciting one tribe against another, Russia maintained her power over the hordes, till, in the reign of Catherine, she obtained the two great objects of her policy—the establishment of forts and trading stations like Semipalàtinsk among them, and the inviolability of caravans. At this time 22,000 tents of the middle and little hordes, and a large portion of the great horde, alternately subject to Pekin and Khokan, established themselves within the Russian frontier, and have remained peaceable subjects ever since. They are called 'Inorodtsi,' and thus defined—'subjects of Russia, without being Russians, or being confounded with the general population of the empire;—colonists constituting colonies of their own, with their own regulations. They are half-savage nations, to whom the empire, interested, no doubt, but always benevolent, allows the advantage of its enlightened protection.' They live in aouls, or hamlets of 170 tents. Ten of these constitute a voloste, and fifteen or twenty volostes a division. The aouls are governed by 'Starchines,' publicly elected every three years, the volostes by hereditary sultans, and the division by a chamber of administration called Prikaz, which consists of a president, or Starchi-sultan, two Russians, and two grandees elected by the Starchines. The Starchi-sultan ranks with a major, and, if twice elected, becomes a nobleman of the empire. Each official is under the control of Russia."*

In the regions south of the Balkash the same system is being pursued, and every effort is made to reduce the independent tribes under the influence of Russia.

"The whole regions around the Issa-kool and the Mustau mountains beyond are occupied by the descendants of those Kalmuck tribes," who, on the 5th of January 1771, "left the banks of the Volga, with their prince, Oui-bach, to return to the land of their ancestors in Chinese Tartary. Amidst the continued hostility of the Kirghis tribes, amidst dangers and disasters, the winter bourans, and the sand-storms of the summer, this vast multitude of 600,000 succeeded in gaining the southern end of the Balkash, and finally reaching "a country prepared for them by the Chinese emperor, Kien Long," on the banks of the Ili, and near the mountains of the south. "From that period to the present these people, now called mountain Kirghis, have occupied this region." With these daring mountaineers Russia studiously sought to establish friendly relations, and her victories over the Kirghis of the great horde, when, on the completing of the fort of Kopal, they attacked the garrison, and the ease with which her artillery put them to flight, decided the mountain Kirghis to lend a favourable ear to her proposals, and they are now said to be "the subjects of His Imperial Majesty."†

But, besides these Kalmucks, there are the Kara Kirghis, inhabiting a vast mountain region, which, commencing towards the upper valley of the Ili, extends to the south-west, around and far beyond the Issa-kool. These people are so named "on account of the dark colour of their skins. They are a brave and warlike people, the men athletic and well-proportioned, with fine faces, large black eyes and jet-black hair, quite a distinct race from the Kirghis who inhabit the plains."‡ They are much dreaded by the Kirghis of the steppes, on whom they rush down from their mountain pastures, committing terrible ravages, "sometimes carrying their marauding expeditions far into the middle horde," whose country lies to the north of the Bal-

* "Overland Friend of India," October 22, 1860.

† Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 297.

‡ Ibid., pp. 299.

kash lake, and "then skilfully retreating with their captives and plunder." Atkinson observes—"I have no doubt whatever that these people are, at the present moment, the subjects of His Imperial Majesty. Their chiefs can muster 40,000 cavalry, which, when brought "under proper command, will be the most formidable body for mischief of any in Central Asia."

Thus there is here an iron organization which, year by year, is leavening the whole of the hordes of Central Asia. Russia is moulding them to her will, and, when the time comes, will not fail to use them for her own purposes.

"Khiva and Persia are now the objects of Russia's ambition. The former, though the most savage of all the States of Central Asia, has an army estimated by Abbott at 108,000 men. Its revenue is 300,000*l.*, and its population 2,500,000. Khiva is in the latitude of Rome, but colder. By stirring up Bokhara or Persia to hostilities with it, she might attain her object. Once there, she would hang like a storm-cloud over Persia, whose northern provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, she has once before made an attempt to seize, and whose ports on the Caspian her fleet commands. Only recently she threatened to withdraw her ambassador from Teheran, where he has been for the last twenty-two years, if Persia would not consent to stop an expedition being sent against the Turcomans. To us the independence of Persia is all important, and more so than ever since Sir H. Rawlinson has ceased to represent our interests there, and the Syrian outbreak has roused the spirit of the East. The Russians do not conceal their designs. More than once has Mouravieff said, 'Masters of Khiva, many other states would be under our rule. The possession of it would shake to the foundation the enormous commercial superiority of those who now rule the sea.' The object is not to invade India, but to form a vast protectorate of all the Central Asian States and Tartar hordes, and to overawe China, so as to undermine the power, the commerce, and the prestige of Britain in the East."*

In a future article we propose to transfer ourselves to the British side of the Himalaya, and from thence review what has been done, or is proposed being done, in order that England may be known, and her influence more felt, in these interior countries. Surely the influence of British India ought to extend far beyond its territorial boundaries, and the colder waves from the north be modified, or, if necessary, counteracted by those of a higher and more genial temperature from the southern latitudes. We need that the counteracting influence of English civilization should be powerfully exerted, our laws and merchandize attracting to intercourse with us the traders from Bokhara, and Khiva, and China, and Christianity embracing the opportunity of making itself heard and known. In no way can the ambitious schemes of an exclusive despotism be so effectively counteracted as by the prompt dissemination of those wholesome elements of improvement which will place these tribes in a position to conserve their independence, and so keep them from being absorbed into the vast agglomeration of Russian power.

But for the present we shall confine ourselves to the regions north of the Himalaya, and proceed to complete our acquaintance with the routes which exist in those portions of the Chinese empire which lie more immediately to the south and west of Russia's new frontier in Tartary, and which, stretching through the heart of Mongolia, bring us back to the districts of the Baikal, from whence we first started on our journey down the Amoor.

From Kashgar to Yarkand, 38° 30′ N. lat., and 75° 50′ E. long., there is easy transit. "Yarkand is a large town, containing, according to information obtained by Atkinson, nearly 14,000 houses, the population being estimated at from 85,000 to 95,000 in 1852; by some of the merchants at 100,000. There is also a Chinese garrison of 5000 men. It is a place of considerable trade, and a great number of Chinese, Tartar, Bokharian, and Cashmerian merchants reside there. Formerly Persians were also numerous, but now there are but few to be found in the city. The bazaars are three miles and a half in length, and on market-days present a busy scene. Rich silks and porcelain are conspicuously displayed, also embroidered Kanfa kalats, for which the Kirghis chiefs give twenty and thirty horses in exchange: brick tea appears in vast quantities, as well as printed calicoes from Kokhan. The loom of Cashmere contributes its quota to the mass of manufactured goods."

Shortly after leaving Yarkand, the route crosses the river of that name. This river has its principal sources in the Karakorum mountains, the sources of the Indus lying on the other side of the ridge. Crossing the Kashgar river, "it follows its course for more than 200 miles over a fertile country, till it reaches Karatal, where it crosses the Acson,"

* "Overland Friend of India," Oct. 22, 1860.

these three rivers, together with the Khoten from the south, uniting to form the Tarim or Erghew, which flows in an easterly direction, until it enters Lob Noor. Passing various lesser places it "turns due north to Koutche, town containing between 5000 and 6000 inhabitants, besides the Chinese garrison. To the north of this place is the Mussoor-Daban, or pass in the Syan Shan mountains, on the way to Kulja, and the great volcano Peshan is on the east." Running along the foot of the Youl-dooz mountains, the road "reaches Kalga-man, at the western end of Bosteng Noor, and then proceeds to the town of Kara-shara. About forty miles to the north rises the Bogda-Oula, the highest summit in this part of Asia. It is a stupendous object, its dark precipices rising 7000 or 8000 feet above all the surrounding summits, while its canopy of ice and snow seems to pierce the skies." Kara-shara is said to be a large town, containing a population of 30,000; "the whole region to the north being densely populated with nomades, who possess vast herds of cattle." Tourfan is the next town of importance, twenty-five miles north of which is the volcano Ho-theou, which, in 1852, was in a state of ebullition. Beyond Pidgan the route ascends the first ranges of Kongor-adzirgan, and, crossing the chain, joins the route from the Tarbagatai and Tchoubachak, and reaches Barkol or Tchin-si, a large town, having a population of 10,000, and a garrison of 5000 men. Traversing 200 miles of grassy steppes, where the Mongols find good pasture, a sandy plain conducts the traveller to the southern slopes of the Khangai-oula, and, crossing the chain by a pass, strikes the Orchon, a tributary of the Selenga, and follows its north bank for more than 100 miles to its junction with the Tola. "This river runs from the east, having its rise on the western side of the Khin-gan mountain, while on the eastern face of the chain is the source of the Keroulun, the longest affluent of the Amoor. Turning due east, for about 130 miles the route "joins the road between the Chinese towns of Mai-ma-tchin and Ourga," at a point "sixty miles from the latter town, and 120 from the former.' Crossing the mountains to the north-west, Mai-ma-tchin is reached after eight post stations.

"This town is what its name implies, 'The place of trade,' and stands on the edge of a plain that stretches out to the south to a chain of wooded hills, extending to the east thirty or forty miles, nearly to the river Kiran, which falls into the Tche-koi, while to the west it runs up towards the Selenga. At a few hundred yards to the north of the Chinese town is Kiachta, the Russian town, and three miles beyond this is Troitska-selo, standing among hills."*

"The town of Mai-ma-tchin is composed entirely of wooden buildings, and is surrounded by a wooden palisade having two gates, one on the north facing Kiachta, and the other opening to the south on to the plain. A narrow street runs straight through the town from one gate to the other, the distance being between 500 and 600 yards. Parallel to this are other streets on each side, and a space of about thirty yards in width extends from the houses to the palisade. Other streets run at right angles, and thus they divide the town into numerous blocks. At the intersection in the centre of the two principal streets there is a square edifice, standing on four square pillars, that form openings into the four streets. It contains three stories, and the upper ones diminish in size like a Chinese pagoda. The angles of the roofs are ornamented with Chinese dragons and other monsters; in each face of the upper stories there are openings filled in with highly-decorated trellis-work, cut in wood, with balconies and an ornamented balustrade beneath. The walls are curiously painted in red with green monsters, and other allegorical figures. A small staircase winds up in one of the pillars, and this leads into the observatory of Mai-ma-tchin."†

"During my numerous rambles in Mai-ma-tchin I visited the dwellings of most of the Chinese merchants: they resemble each other so much that a description of one will be sufficient. Each has its courtyard, and is enclosed within its own fence. The wealthier merchants have their abodes along the line of the principal streets; those of a lower grade are in the narrow lanes nearer the palisade. The courtyard is entered by a pair of folding-doors from the street; and immediately the visitor has passed the threshold he finds convincing evidence that the establishment is kept with great care and cleanliness. The courtyard is twenty-five feet wide, and forty feet deep: on the right hand are several private apartments, about ten feet square, and in the centre of this front there is an altar to Fo. The windows are filled in with mica: some are highly ornamented. On the left hand are the kitchens and rooms of the domestics.

"At the end of the court is the magazine,

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 358.

† Ibid, p. 362.

with a doorway in the centre; and the roof over this part of the establishment is decorated with dragons and other monsters of Chinese invention. It extends to the width of the courtyard, and the rooms on each side; is twenty feet in width, and divided in its length into two rooms, one being about twenty feet by fifteen feet, and the other thirty feet by twenty feet, with a large opening between them. At the extremity of the large room there is a raised platform ten feet wide and two feet nine inches high. A small stove is constructed beneath this in brickwork, with an opening in the centre for the fuel: the other part forms a large air chamber, heated by the stove, that maintains a warm current which is diffused through the rooms. This platform has a boarded floor, extending the whole width of the room, and on it the inmates sleep.

"The walls are tastefully decorated with silk and Chinese paintings, and here the merchant has his choicest wares; silks of great variety and beauty, embroidered Kanfa kalats, jackets, and various other articles of costume; porcelain vases of most exquisite workmanship and great value—various dinner and tea services, some of them exceedingly costly—ornaments in jade—and groups of flowers formed in various-coloured stones, showing the patience of the Chinese workmen. Window screens are articles on which they bestow great labour: some of them are most minutely carved in ebony, on others they execute foliage and flowers in green and white jade. One piece of wood-carving was shown to me, about six feet high and four feet wide; the centre was covered with a multitude of flowers and fruit in amethyst, beryl, chalcedony, and jade. The price of this was equal to 600*l*. It had remained several years without a purchaser, and now was about to be returned to Pekin."*

Between Kiachta and Mai-ma-tchin free intercourse is permitted from sunrise to sunset, when the Chinese shut their gate, and the Cossacks stop all egress. No one is allowed to reside in Kiachta except the officials, and the merchants through whom the trade with China is conducted, several of whom have become "exceedingly wealthy by acting as agents for those in Moscow and other parts of the empire." At Troitska is the custom-house, where all merchandize, whether from China or Russia, must be deposited in the Government warehouses, and where the barter is actually carried on. The exports from China consist principally of tea, rhubarb, and silks, but tea is the principal item, the importation of which has reached near "six millions of Russian pounds, no portion of it being cheap or common tea." Until recently the trade was merely an exchange of commodities, the exportation of the precious metals being totally prohibited by Russia, and the Chinese being compelled to take Russian manufactures. But the restriction was evaded, gold and silver, rudely wrought by the Russian merchants into the form of plates, cups, and spoons, serving the purpose of a currency. A certain proportion of the goods purchased may now be paid for in money.

Mai-ma-tchin is about 1000 miles from Pekin, and has been hitherto regarded by the Chinese as the great outlet of commercial intercourse with Russia. At Chang-kea-kow, just within the limits of the great wall, their merchandize is collected, and thence transmitted "across the desert to Kiachta in small carts drawn by one horse or a bullock." On the other side Kiachta is some 4000 miles distant from Moscow, and the transit trade through Siberia is necessarily one of great importance, "affording employment to a vast number of horses and men. The best time for conveying the goods is in winter: besides the sledge being of easier draught, the rivers, the passage of which often occasions great losses, are crossed without risk."

The new treaty between Russia and China establishes perfectly free-trade between the subjects of both empires, and to Russian merchants is conceded the privilege of travelling in China at all times on commercial business. "An experimental trade is to be opened at Kashgar," the Chinese Government undertaking to grant land for a factory and a church. Already the Russians, with their usual energy, are availing themselves of these advantages. The correspondent of the "London and China Telegraph" writes thus from St. Petersburgh, under date of July 20th—

"Accounts have been received here from Irkutsk to the 12th June, stating that active measures are being taken to organize a commercial club, and establish an exchange in that city, the want of which was becoming deeply felt from the daily-increasing traffic with China, and the necessity for which will become still more obvious when the frontier custom-house is removed from Kiachta to Irkutsk as contemplated. A Mr. Yourganoff, a merchant of Kiachta, who lately went

* Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," pp. 366-368.

to Ourga with an assortment of goods for sale to the Chinese, had returned and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the result of his expedition, no impediments having been thrown in his way. On the contrary, he states, that on his arrival at Ourga the authorities sent a deputation to welcome him, had the best apartments in the hotel prepared for his reception, and treated him with the utmost consideration and politeness. The Mongolians at first exhibited much apathy in their purchases, though many of them had come on purpose from great distances, some as much as 500 wersts; but they afterwards made up for it to such a degree, that there was but a poor assortment left for the Chinese to select from, and he has received some large orders for future delivery. Before his departure Mr. Yourganoff was asked by the authorities whether there were any sums still due to him on accounts not yet settled, inquiring also, with evident interest, whether other merchants would soon visit them. At his departure Mr. Yourganoff bought some horses without difficulty, and hired a string of camels, spontaneously offered him by the Mongolians, to carry the brick-tea and other commodities he had purchased as returns, and which he took with him from Ourga to Kiachta.

"A fourth caravan, belonging to the house of Paramanoff, started from Kiachta on the 6th of June for Ourga, the beasts of burthen having been hired of Mongolians at the very moderate rate of 35½ copecks per pood of 40 lbs. for the whole distance.

"A letter of the 21st of May, from Selenghisk, mentions, as a fresh instance of the advantages arising out of the treaty between Russia and China, the arrival in that town of Hasanday, the head partner and manager of the great Pekin firm of Kynhe-Sine-Ty, who came from the Chinese capital to pay a visit to his old friend Startzoff, and concert measures with him for realizing his most ardent wish of proceeding in person to Russia, to acquaint himself pratically with the way in which business is conducted in this country, with a view of introducing it into China. He stated that several other merchants of Pekin entertain similar views, and that their arrival may shortly be expected."

Russia is energetic and persevering. Are we prepared to surrender to her the ascendancy over Central Asia? If not, what are we doing on our side of that great continent!

NEW ZEALAND.

"THE intelligence from New Zealand is most gloomy. Sedition is spreading among the natives. The Governor has issued a proclamation, demanding obedience." Such is the startling telegram, dated Melbourne, June 25th, which appeared in the daily papers of Monday, Aug. 19. We had hoped it would have been otherwise—that we should have been told that the storm had lulled, that the waves of native feeling, which had run so high, were rapidly subsiding, that peace was about to revisit the land, and to inaugurate a new era of colonial and native prosperity. We had hoped it might have been so, although it is true our hopes were mingled with serious doubts and fears.

We shall place before our readers the issue which had been attained at the date of the last despatches.

In the middle of last March our troops were actively engaged in the reduction of the native stronghold at Te Arei. The difficulty of the operation may be understood by the amount of artillery employed. In front of the pah we find in position two 8-inch guns, two 8-inch and two 10-inch mortars, as many cohorns, one 24-pounder howitzer, and a 12-pounder, and one 9-pounder field piece. "One would think that this much artillery would be sufficient to annihilate any thing in the shape of earthen defences that were ever constructed, and the fact that the Maoris, without a single gun, could hold out, even for a few days, against the play of such a powerful ordnance, is a proof of their formidable position, and shows also that the New Zealander, though a savage enemy, is by no means a contemptible warrior." What a pity, then, to have such men as foes, when a considerate Christian course, patiently yet firmly pursued, would have rendered them our fast and faithful friends, whom nothing would have alienated, and who would have stood by us in the hour of danger! Nothing but the extremest necessity could ever have justified our drawing the sword against the Maori, a necessity obvious and incontrovertible, lying altogether beyond the limits of uncertain or debatable ground, on which there could be but one opinion. Such a necessity never has existed. The war might have been avoided, and, had truth and justice governed the decision, never would have been enkindled.

On March 19th, the day but one after the first anniversary of a war that for twelve months had been inflicting loss on New Zea-

land, diminishing its already scanty population, and arresting emigration, a white flag was hoisted on Te Arei flagstaff, and Mr. Chief Commissioner M'Lean, District Commissioner Parris, and a number of friendly natives of distinction, prepared themselves to go and meet the insurgent chiefs, and, on the appearance of a white flag near the skirt of the forest on the right, proceeded to a conference. They were received with a hearty cheer of welcome, and, after an interview of some hours, the most distinguished of the friendly chiefs, and a few followers, went up to Te Arei to spend the remainder of the day and the night with their friends in and about the pah. The next day, at a very early hour, the Waikatos, in considerable numbers, departed for their homes, as they gained the hills on the opposite side of the valley, discharging repeatedly a double barrelled musket from the top of a steep cliff facing Pukerangiora. A small party of Kingi's natives were conducted into the camp, and were received amicably and frankly by the colonel in command (Wyatt). "The soldiers grouped around, eager to get a view of their late antagonists, offering them such fare as the camp afforded, with soldier-like hospitality, and vieing with each other in making them presents of pipes, tobacco, and other little things prized by the Maoris. The natives looked well, and were remarkably cheerful. Their heads were decorated with white feathers, in token of amity, and they would occasionally take out one, and present it to an officer as a mark of respect."

"It was an agreeable sight to behold men, who but three days previously were endeavouring to shed each other's blood, now shaking hands in friendship, as free from any feeling of vindictiveness from past injuries as if all the evil of the last twelvemonths were but a dream, for both soldiers and subordinate natives felt that they were not the causes of this unhappy and inglorious war."* Some of the Maoris invited the soldiers to go for fruit a short distance, where their cultivations lay, beyond a karaka grove. On the way they found the grave of private M'Kindry, 65th, who was taken away from No. 1. redoubt in January: it was neatly paled in, a small flagstaff was at the head, and the day, month, and year, in which he was killed, were painted or carved on a slab. The 65th also found Ramsay's grave, of the 40th, who was killed on the 10th of September 1860. The Maoris, then, are no longer cannibals. Even in war they respect the bodies of the slain, and are careful to give them honourable burial. We suggest that men who act thus ought no longer be called savages.

Thus, so far as the Ngatiawa, Kingi's tribe, are concerned, the war is at an end. The conditions on which peace has been conceded to them will be stated before the close of this article. They had not been accepted by Kingi, who had left Waitara for Waikato, with a small number of followers. But, with this exception, all had submitted. The Ngatiawa were coming into the settlement without exhibiting the least shadow of irritation or distrust, and were being treated with kindness and consideration.

Happy indeed should we feel to be able to announce that the termination of this ignoble struggle was the restoration of peace to the land. We have, however, before us but too palpable evidence that this is not the case. The local conflagration has ignited one of a far more extensive and dangerous character, and, so far as we can see, England at this moment stands committed to a war with the great bulk of the Maori people, her own adopted children; a people whom she has raised by benevolent efforts from the depths of barbarism; who, under a happy sense of the good they had received, by a voluntary act became the subjects of Queen Victoria; and to whom solemn pledges have been given that they should be regarded as British subjects, and cared for and protected.

The day in which we live seems to be characterized by insane wars. That which now rages between the Northern and Southern States of the great American Republic is one of them, and Englishmen deplore that it should be so, and regret that excited passions should hurry men into so calamitous a procedure; but we have an insane war on our own hands. In the islands of New Zealand, where there are vast tracts of unoccupied and uncultivated land, amidst a magnificent heritage of sixty millions of acres, of which from sixteen to nineteen millions are in the hands of the natives, and the larger proportion the property of the Colonial Government and colonists, two fragments of races, numbering together not 130,000, have been involved in a deadly struggle, originating in a dispute about the right and title to a paltry block of land of 600 acres. We do not say there were no difficulties in New-Zealand affairs, no conflicting interests to be adjusted; but they were such as might have been overcome by a wise and able administration, firm, yet conciliating. In the settlement, by a colonial race, of a country already to some extent occupied by a native people, proud, sensitive, brave, yet generous, collisions were

* "New-Zealand Spectator," of May 8th.

certain to occur. Yet Christianity had done so much for the native race, that Christian men at home, the well-wishers of both sections of population, felt persuaded that, under the same powerful influence, the natives would rapidly accommodate themselves to the imperative necessities of new circumstances, provided only that the Governor, in whose hands the sword of royal authority had been placed, could firmly withstand all solicitations to hasty and intemperate action, and unwaveringly refuse to unsheath the sword, except in cases where the offence was such, and the danger so plain, that his doing so should carry with it the concurrence of all right-thinking persons, whether native or colonial. It is with deep regret we say, that, in this important requisite to the peaceful settlement of New Zealand, there has been a grievous failure, and that the employment of the sword by the Governor, against the advice and remonstrances of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and of the most able, experienced, and disinterested colonists, has involved us in a war, which, unless God in his providence interfere in some unlooked for way, after inflicting protracted and grievous sufferings on the colonists, must end in the extermination of the natives, and the repetition of those barbarities which have hitherto stained and disgraced the history of European colonization: a dark history, indeed, to which at one time we had hoped New Zealand would form a bright exception.

We must, as briefly as possible, refer to this Pandora's box of the Taranaki complications, and that in order to substantiate the assertions we have made. As to the proceedings in which originated the Taranaki war, we never had but one opinion—an opinion which we believe to be universal amongst all persons who have given the subject fair consideration, namely, that they were precipitate, and unbecoming the dignity of the British nation. Let us consider. Two men take opposite views of a question agitated between them, it may be in regard to right of property and the ownership of some field. One is comparatively a weakly man; the other burly and of great muscular power. Each endeavours to persuade the other, but unsuccessfully. The proper course of proceeding, under such circumstances, is to refer the matter to some tribunal, whose competency is unquestionable, and whose decision should be final. If, on that decision being given, the party to whom it is adverse is still refractory, then, and not until then, the law must resort to force to vindicate its authority. But what shall we say, if, despising such a process as tardy and unsatisfactory, the strong man should take advantage of his superior strength to pummel his opponent, and thrust him out of possession? This is precisely what has occurred at Taranaki. The Government wished to purchase a block of land: the chief, Wiremu Kingi, claimed a right to put a veto upon the sale of it to the European. That such a right does very frequently vest in the Maori chiefs—that of prohibiting the sale of land away from the tribe of which it is considered to be the common property, although on this communal basis individual tenancy and cultivation be permitted—is indisputable. Mr. Forsaith, the member for the city of Auckland, in his place in the House of Representatives, New Zealand, openly asserted the existence of such a law amongst the Maories, so that "cases often occurred in which the consent of an individual native or chief was absolutely necessary to confer a valid title and secure undisturbed possession, even though he made no claim, as an actual proprietor, to share in the payment." He specified instances which came under his own personal observation. He had been engaged in the purchase of a piece of land. "Preliminaries were all settled and prices arranged, when opportunely I had a visit from a friend who had been longer in the country than myself. Hearing of my intended purchase, he advised me, before parting with the payment, to question the sellers closely on this point, whether they knew of the existence of any native whose consent to the sale would be necessary to secure my quiet possession." Eventually it was found that the consent of a woman, living at some distance, the wife of a respectable chief, was necessary. On arriving at her residence, she said, "I am glad you came to me; I shall give my consent; but if you had bought that land without asking my permission, I should have gone and turned you off." The chief Commissioner, M'Lean, under whose advice the Governor acted in the matter of Te Teira's sale, has himself admitted the existence of such a right. On the occasion of a commission issued by the Governor in 1856, he was asked, "Has a native a strictly individual right to any particular portion of land, independent of the tribal right over it?" to which question his reply was in the negative. Such a law or custom, as prevailing amongst the natives of New Zealand, was one of those seignorial rights which, in the treaty of Waitangi, were guaranteed by the British Crown, in the sense that no force should be employed to break it, and that it should not be altered except with the consent of the

natives themselves. If found undesirable in its working, and injurious to the welfare of either race, and therefore of both races, little doubt existed that a people who, under the influence of Christianity, had given up so many deep-rooted customs, would, with increasing intelligence, be persuaded to the surrender of this also.

This power Kingi claimed to exercise. His reasons for doing so we shall hereafter state. The question was, whether such a right belonged to him. The Government officials asserted it did not; other, and at least equally reliable testimony, because given by persons who had no direct interest in the question, affirmed that he had the right. It was a doubtful point, involved in uncertainty, and so regarded by that able minority which, in the House of Representatives, unanswerably convicted the Government of wrong, and yet vainly endeavoured to persuade them to the adoption of just and temperate measures. We quote from a speech of Mr. Forsaith, Aug. 3, 1860—"I do not stand here as the advocate of William King; I will not even assert that he has a claim to the land at Waitara; but in my opinion there are facts and circumstances to be elicited from the documents furnished by the Government, and on which they rest their cause, and from other sources to which I shall presently refer, which, when linked together and presented to the mind in a connected form, do furnish, if not evidence, yet strong presumptive proof, that the question of W. King's title was open to doubts on both sides."* Mr. Carter, another hon. member, speaks advisedly to the same point—"In the Wellington Provincial Council I voted for a resolution supporting His Excellency in a vigorous prosecution of the war; and while I rejoiced at the spirit of His Excellency in taking up arms, as he said, in a just cause, I assumed three things: first, that W. King had no right to interfere in the sale of the Waitara land; . . . . but from what I have heard in this house, I have now my doubts about this."†

Thus unhappily, as we now perceive, for its own dignity and independence of action, the Government being in the market as a land-purchaser, a question arises in connexion with a block which they wished to buy, having express reference to those rights of chieftainship which, in our original compact with the natives, we had promised to respect. A chief, claiming the right to do so, vetoed the sale. What was the obvious mode of proceeding under such circumstances? Suspend further proceedings until this preliminary question had been decided. It was just one of those questions which required to be discreetly dealt with, and every possible care taken that the proceedings of the Government should be placed above suspicion. In order to effect this, it ought to have been referred for investigation to some third party competent to decide upon the subject, and in whose impartiality every reliance might be placed; and if no such tribunal existed, then the necessity of such a reference had become obvious, and the matter ought to have been stayed until the defect had been supplied. It was a question of law and custom to be decided by inquiry and adjudication, and not by force. Instead of this, the Government, forgetting itself to be an interested party, took upon itself to decide the question, and without even a form of justice, or examination of witnesses, decided it summarily in its own favour. In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 22, 1860, explaining his reasons for the line of action to which he had committed himself, Governor Browne says—"I have insisted on this comparatively valueless purchase, because, if I had admitted the right of a chief to interfere between me and the lawful proprietors of the soil, I should have found further acquisition of territory impossible in any part of New Zealand. Even if the right of 'mana,' viz. of feudal superiority without proprietary interest in the land,* exists at all, William King could neither possess or exercise it, Potatau, the chief of the Waikatos, having obtained it by conquest, and sold all his claims at New Plymouth to the New-Zealand Company."† The Governor ruled that King had no right to interfere, on two grounds, which subsequent ventilation has proved to be untenable: first, that no "mana" existed; and, secondly, that if such a custom did exist, it had been voided, so far as King was concerned, by the conquest of the Waikatos. That the "mana" power does exist, is undoubted; that the Waikato conquest had not superseded the rights of the original occupants, the Ngatiawa, who had never entirely abandoned the country, and after some years returned and took possession of their old homes, is proveable in a variety of ways, but, amongst others, by

* Blue Book, p. 367.

† Ibid, p. 430.

* We dispute the accuracy of this interpretation of the "mana." The true explanation has been already given. See p. 212.

† Blue Book, p. 17.

this—that the purchase of the disputed block by the Government was from Te Teira and others, who were not Waikatos, but Ngatiawas.

The Government having thus decided in its own favour a question in which it was itself a litigant and interested party, proceeded without hesitation to possess itself of this Naboth's vineyard. A first instalment of the purchase-money was ordered to be paid. This was done in December 1859. On that occasion King appeared in persen, and protested. In a letter to a friend he describes this part of the transaction. "I said to him, 'Mr. Parris, friend, keep your money.' He answered, 'I will not.' I replied, 'There will be no land upon which your money can alight.'"—The word in the original is very significant—"taunga." It means the fluttering of the bird over the spot upon which it is about to perch.—"Upon which Mr. Parris answered, 'This is wrong: when the Governor comes, it will be very wrong.'"—It is difficult to say whether there is not an implied threat here. The original might, perhaps without violence, be rendered thus: "This is very wrong, and so you will find out when the Governor comes."—"I replied, 'Be it so: it is for you to bring me the wrong,' *i. e.* you must be the aggressor."*

On January 25th, 1860, an executive council was held at Auckland. It was then decided to advance a step further, and the survey was ordered to be proceeded with. Now this proceeding has ever been regarded by the natives as equivalent to taking possession. A premature attempt of this kind to survey land which the natives did not mean to sell, led to the fearful massacre of Wairau, when Captain Wakefield and several other gentlemen lost their lives. The survey, as might be expected would be the case, was obstructed, but in the mildest form possible. The principal parties employed by Kingi are said to have been old women. Mr. Parris' account of the transaction is as follows—"Having been instructed to proceed with the survey of the land, I appointed the 20th of February for the commencement, and informed William King accordingly. This having been generally understood by the settlers, a number of them were intending to accompany us; on hearing of which I went to his honour the superintendant, and requested that a notice be published cautioning them against doing so, as it was highly objectionable. On arriving on the ground with a surveyor, two chainmen, and one native, Henri Pataka, one of the sellers, we were met by a party of seventy or eighty waiting for us. On placing the surveying instruments on the ground, they were seized: a struggle ensued, when Henri Pataka struck one to the ground. I exerted myself to prevent any further collision, and requested the surveyor to retire. Shortly after, we returned to town." Divested of official language, the facts appear to be, that certain women pulled up the pegs, an audacity which was duly resented by Mr. Parris' native friend, who struck one to the ground. Who these women were is now known: they were the wife and two daughters of Te Patukakariki, and other women with them; this Patukakariki being the chief of Te Teira's hapu, and having proprietary rights in the block, which he had never agreed to alienate, and for which he had received no payment, whereas Te Teira, was only an ordinary freeman, or tutua, who had no power to alienate.

The probability of an obstruction to the survey had been anticipated, and provided against by the executive council. They had decided that, should this occur, the sword should be drawn, and military force employed. The minutes of council (Jan. 25th, 1860) directed, that "should William King, or any other native, endeavour to prevent the survey, or in any way interfere with the prosecution of the work, in that case the surveying party be protected during the whole performance of the work, by an adequate military force, under the command of the senior military officer; with which view, power to call out the Taranaki militia and volunteers, and to proclaim martial law, be transmitted to the commanding officer at New Plymouth." We cannot conceive any decision more reprehensible than the minute by which the Governor in council proceeded to place the colonist in martial array against the native, and thus, upon a question of disputed land-title, to accelerate that which it was his special duty, by every means consistent with the honour and dignity of the British Crown, to prevent—a collision between the races.

But more than this: an instrument had been prepared and forwarded, bearing date Jan. 26, 1860, proclaiming martial law throughout the province of Taranaki. It runs as follows—"Whereas active military operations are about to be undertaken by the Queen's forces against natives in the province of Taranaki in arms against Her Majesty's sovereign authority, now I, the Governor, do hereby proclaim and declare that martial law will be exercised," &c. The natives in arms!

* Speech of Mr. Forsaith in the House of Representatives, August 3, 1860.

Where were they?—the women of Patukakariki's hapu "in arms against Her Majesty's sovereign authority," that is, with their naked arms pulling up the pegs which Parris, the District Land Commissioner, without asking their permission, had fastened down in their own land, with a view to surveying and purchasing that which they had never sold, and did not mean to sell! Why, if it had been the men instead of the women of the hapu, it would have been resistance, not to Her Majesty's sovereign authority, but to a grievous abuse of that authority. The Governor, placed in a position to protect the natives, uses that authority to oppress them, and because they do not tamely submit, but venture to remonstrate by sending their women to interrupt the survey, pronounces them in arms against the sovereign authority of the Queen, and orders out the military. This certainly was to terminate the controversy by the employment of superior force—the strong man taking advantage of his superior strength to overpower and despoil the weaker. Could any measures be conceived more calculated to irritate the natives, and goad them into rebellion?

But precipitate and dangerous as was the Proclamation, it was made still more so by the Maori translation of the original document. As presented to the natives through the medium of their own language, it stood thus—

"A Proclamation: By the Governor, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, Principal Chief, &c. &c., by the Governor of this colony of New Zealand is this Proclamation. Whereas the natives of the Queen are just about to begin their work against the natives of Taranaki, who are disobedient and fighting against the Queen's authority. Therefore I, the Governor, do proclaim and publish abroad this word. The law of fighting is now to appear at Taranaki, and remain in force until countermanded. Given by my hand, &c."

We know not what bungler, through the medium of a wretched translation, distorted the original document, and made it more dangerous in its aspect than it need have been; but to the Maori, as thus presented to him through the medium of his own language, it could only read as a declaration of war against the natives of Taranaki. As a fiery meteor it suddenly glared forth in the political firmament of New Zealand, and filled men's minds with sad forebodings.

Amongst the native population the excitement was intense. They looked upon it as a declaration of war on the part of Government against all the natives of Taranaki; nay, more, "the law of fighting was now to appear;" that is, the question was to be decided by an appeal to arms, and whoever was strongest was to win the day. That was quite in accordance with the old Maori customs: it was the old law of fighting which had prevailed in the land. And as in those ancient feuds each party gathered to himself all the help he could, so the Maori Proclamation appeared to legalize a similar proceeding; and although, wherever there was an Englishman sufficiently conversant with the English and Maori to whom the natives could apply for information, these misapprehensions were corrected, yet there were many places where there was no such opportunity, and the restless spirits of the native population, of which there are more or less in every community, hailed with delight the inauguration of a new era, when the law of fighting was to be once more the law of the land.

The officer in command at Taranaki appears to have had a just perception of the very serious consequences of which this document, even in its original form, would be productive. In his reply to the authorities he speaks of the possibility of "protracted operations," and "the uncertainty as to ultimate results," and prays to be reinforced without delay. Anxious also to prevent the effusion of blood, he addressed the following note to W. King—

"William King—It has given me much pain to hear from Mr. Parris that the Government surveyors sent down to survey the land purchased from Te Teira were stopped by your people. This is rebellion against the Queen. I am most anxious that no harm should come to any Maoris caused by your conduct, but I must tell you plainly, that the Governor has ordered me to take possession of the land with soldiers, and I must obey him if you continue in opposition. As I wish to keep every thing peaceable between the Europeans and the natives, I will wait till four o'clock to-morrow afternoon for your answer whether I am to go or not. G. F. Murray, Lieut.-Col."

The chief's answer is as follows—]

"Friend Colonel Murray,—Salutation to you in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. We received your letter about two o'clock. On its arrival we were all absent, and did not see it until the evening. You say we have been guilty of rebellion against the Queen, but we consider we have not, because the Governor has said he will not entertain offers of land which are disputed. The Governor has also said that it is not right for one man

to sell land to Europeans, but that all the people should consent. You are now disregarding the good word of the Governor, and adopting a bad law.

"This is my word to you. I have no desire for evil, but, on the contrary, have great love for the Europeans and Maoris. Listen: my word is this: you and Parris put a stop to your proceedings, that your love for the Europeans and the Maoris may be true.

"I have heard that you are coming to the Waitara with soldiers, and therefore I know that you are angry with me. Is this your love for me, to bring soldiers to Waitara? This is not love: it is anger. I do not wish for anger: all that I want is the land. All the Governors and the Europeans have heard my word, which is, that I will hold the land. That is all. Write to me. Peace be with you."

This is precisely the letter which we might suppose would be written under the circumstances—the letter of an aggrieved man, called upon to surrender, under threats, that which he considered to be his right, involving a public trust confided to his care, which he could not conscientiously give up, and who thus found himself, in whatever way he decided, exposed to unpleasant consequences, from whence, were it possible, he would gladly have escaped.

There is an expression in the letter of the Maori chief which requires explanation—"The Governor has said he will not entertain offers of land which is disputed." He here refers to an address delivered by the Governor to the natives on the occasion of his visit to Taranaki, March 8, 1859, which contained the following declaration—that "he never would consent to buy land without an undisputed title." Had he adhered to that wise determination, the present evils might have been avoided; or at least, if a collision with disaffected natives became unavoidable, the great mass of the Maoris, on the occurrence of such a crisis, would have been found loyal, William King, we doubt not, among the rest, and, like Heke's rebellion, any attempt at insurrection would soon have been trodden out.

Affairs at Taranaki had now reached a crisis; so much so, that the superintendant of the province, on February 21, addressed a letter to the Governor, in which he states that persons most experienced in native affairs "were divided in every possible way as to the turn the business might take," so that "the future was sealed to any thing like confident speculation;" and therefore, under such circumstances, it was "prudent to anticipate the worst in our preparations." He prayed, therefore, for reinforcements, and a visit from His Excellency in person.

The alarm among the settlers was indeed great, and an inrush into the town of New Plymouth for protection had commenced. But the proceedings of the Government officials were not stayed. On February 24th, a deed of sale was executed—"Know all men . . . we, chiefs and men of New Zealand, whose names are hereunto subscribed, in consideration of 600*l.* paid to us by Parris, on behalf of Queen Victoria, consent to sell, surrender, and convey to Queen Victoria, and to all the kings and queens her successors, and to her assigns, all that piece of land," &c.

This is signed by nineteen persons, of whom six were females. But were these all who had proprietary rights in that block of land? Far otherwise. They constituted but a fragment of them. There were many claimants. Archdeacon Hadfield, in his evidence before a Committee of the House, said there were a hundred claimants who asserted rights to that land, it having been the land of their ancestors. The same statement is made by Dr. Featherstone in the House of Representatives—"I have a list given me by Te Purie of claimants residing at or near Wellington, and I hold in my hands a map showing the allotments, with the names of the owners, some fifty or sixty in number, most of whose rights have been ignored. This plan was drawn by a native of Waikanae, about seventy years old, who lived some forty years at Waitara."

This block of land was indeed a most unhappy property to be selected by the Government for purchase, inasmuch as, in consequence of the vicissitudes to which the Ngatiawa had been subjected during their past history, so many of the proprietors were absentees. Past experience, moreover, had it been consulted, would have dissuaded from purchases in this quarter. They had been attempted many years before, and had led to complications. Colonel Wakefield, in 1839, bought of the Waikatos, as the conquerors of the Ngatiawa, large tracts of land; the Ngatiawa, some of whom had never left the district, and others of whom had returned from the south, disputed the justice of this sale, and asserted, that as the Waikatos had never settled in the lands, their rights as original proprietors never had been voided. On that occasion William King and other Ngatiawa chiefs addressed a letter to Governor Fitzroy, dated June 8, 1844, in which they say—"This is the determination of our people. Waitara shall not be given up: the

men to whom it belongs will hold it for themselves."*

The question came for adjudication before Commissioner Spain, and he decided in favour of the sale and against the Ngatiawa. On the occasion of that judgment being given, the excitement among the natives was great. Mr. George Clarke, the native advocate, in a letter dated June 27, 1844, stated what would be the result of thus setting aside the claims of the original proprietors—"One false step now must plunge us sooner or later into ruin—perhaps bloodshed; the natives never will give up tamely what they consider to be their just rights. If the Government are determined to put the settlers in possession of lands, which we cannot convince the natives or ourselves honestly that they have alienated, they must do it at the point of the bayonet; and if they once resort to violence, it must end in the extermination ultimately of the natives throughout the length and breadth of the island, but only after a sacrifice of life too horrible to contemplate."† That catastrophe was for the time averted, by the wise decision of Governor Fitzroy, who, on the occasion of a large meeting of English and natives, assembled at New Plymouth, August 1844, declared, "that he did not take the same view of the question as Mr. Commissioner Spain, and that he should not confirm the award of that gentleman, however conscientiously weighed and delivered. . . . . He would immediately cause further investigation to be made as to the various claimants to particular portions of the land. He would then endeavour to make especial arrangements with those claimants, and he would allow in all their integrity the claims of those of the Ngatiawa tribe who were not parties to the sale in 1840.‡"

Thus the history of the past, had it been studied, imposed the necessity of caution with reference to land at Waitara. A previous attempt to purchase it had nearly caused a collision between the races. Why then tamper with it? This is a point fairly open to inquiry—Whence the necessity for the purchase of this particular block? What was there in this Naboth's vineyard which rendered it so valuable, that the peace of New Zealand was to be imperilled for the sake of it? The Governor, in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 22, 1860, declares it to be "a comparatively valueless purchase." Why, then, the persistence in obtaining it? These are questions to which the country has a right to expect a satisfactory answer. There are items of information dispersed throughout the Blue Books, which, put together, would, we think, supply the answer; but we cannot enter into this point now.

But if it pleased the Government officials to select for purchase land so circumstanced, proportionable diligence ought to have been used to seek out all the claimants, that no man's property should be alienated from him without his knowledge and consent. Express directions, indeed, had been issued by the Governor to that effect—"It is His Excellency's wish to have a separate investigation of the claims of absentees instituted at the places where they reside, when they will be settled with, in proportion to the relative merits of their claims." Now, then, the question is, Was this done? We have evidence on this point. Riwai Te Ahu, a native ordained by the Bishop of New Zealand several years back, and intimately known to Archdeacon Hadfield for twenty years, a man whose character stands high among natives and Europeans, a near relative of Te Teira's, and a distant one of King's, addressed a letter to the superintendant of the province, dated June 23, 1860, from which we give some extracts—"We never imagined that this Governor would adopt a course different from other Governors. They, failing in their endeavours to obtain that land, desisted. Now we are altogether perplexed, and exclaim, 'Alas! this is a new proceeding on the part of our Queen.' But we think the Governor must have been deceived by Teira and those acting with him and the Land Commissioner of Taranaki, and that is the reason why he was so hasty in sending his soldiers to Waitara to frighten the men and women who turned his surveyors off their own pieces of land, and land belonging to us, in order that he might seize those lands. For instance, Mr. C. W. Richmond writes, Taranaki, March 1860 (which has been heard by everybody), 'Teira's title has been fully investigated, and is perfectly good: there is no one to deny his title.' Yes, his title is good to his own pieces, within the boundaries of that land, two or three pieces. Our title is equally good to our own pieces: some have one, or two, or three, or four, within that block. William King stated this; but he has been misinterpreted. . . . . Information was not sought from us. If inquiries had been made on both sides of the question, if

* Blue Book, p. 212.

† Remarks on a pamphlet by J. Busby, Esq., on the Taranaki question, by G. Clarke, printed for private circulation only at the request of Governor Browne. 1861.

‡ Blue Book, p. 218

what they (W. King's party) had to say had been heard, and their inquiries had likewise extended to us at Waikanae, it would have been evident that Teira and his party were in the wrong, and they would have exclaimed, 'Well, their pieces are dotted about amongst those persons who refuse to sell, and amongst those who dwell here.' The Land Commissioner of Taranaki seemed to imagine that Teira and his party are the only members of the Ngatihinga and Ngatituaho: they did not seem to know that Wiremu Te Patukakariki is the chief of that hapu, besides Nopera Te Kaoma and others who are of those hapu who did not consent, and whose objections were not listened to by the Land Commissioner at Taranaki." *

It may be observed that this Patukakariki was not amongst the consenting parties who affixed their names to the deed of sale. Yet the Chief Commissioner, in his evidence before the Committee, admits that he was aware of his claiming a share in the joint tenancy of the land, and had addressed to him, as well as other chiefs, a letter, inviting them to come in and prove their claims. Yet in the absence of his signature the deed of sale was executed.

Thus we have here another and important view of the subject: not only was King's right to interfere overruled without investigation, but a piece of land, shared in the way of joint-tenancy by a number of persons, was purchased by the Government from a minority of the co-partners, the rest being either ignorant of, or not consenting to, the transaction.

Besides the letter of Riwai Te Ahu, there is another addressed to the superintendant of the province by the Waikanae claimants, and signed by eleven of them. They say—"We wish to declare these words in the presence of the Governor. We have portions of land at Waitara, within the boundaries of the land which Teira wrongfully sold to the Governor: this land belongs to us, and to those who have been driven off that land; and belonged to the ancestors of us all. . . . . We have heard the justification, put forth in defence of Mr. Parris' wrong act in reference to our portions of land. It is as follows—'A long time was allowed to elapse; no objections were made to the sale of the land. Mr. Parris, Land Commissioner at Taranaki, carefully inquired, in order to ascertain who were the owners of the land offered to him. Mr. Parris made inquiry, and was satisfied as to the right.' We presume this statement is put forward that all men may wonder at the carefulness of his proceedings; that people may be led to believe that he did really make inquiries. Listen. We are living at Waikanae—one at Otaki. Mr. Parris never came to make inquiries of us as to whether we had lands there or not, nor did any of his fellow-Commissioners come to make inquiries. He did not even write to inquire. He did not, during the whole of that year, advertise in the newspaper his wish to ascertain what claimants there were to that land. He did nothing of the kind. One of the Land Commissioners inquired of some persons in Queen Charlotte's Sound; but he passed by us, and made no inquiries of us."

Mr. M'Lean, in his evidence before the House in Committee, admits the accuracy of this statement—"Notice was given publicly at the time of the purchase to such absentee claimants as were known to have a right to the soil." But, as we have seen, the Commissioner's knowledge, through want of proper diligence, was imperfect, and was not comprehensive of all those who had proprietary rights. On this point, during the course of his examination, he was thus pressed—"You have spoken of a notification of the sale being given to the southern natives. Have you a copy of such notification?" "I have a copy; I cannot produce it now, but shall be able to do so." "How, and when, and where, was such notification published?" "I communicated by letter. It was not in the shape of a published notification. I addressed letters to those persons whom I believed to be claimants of the land in question." "Then, if there were any claimants of whom you have not heard, such notification may probably not reach them?" "I believe it to be an utter impossibility for them not to have known of the sale." "You are aware that King and five hundred of the Ngatiawa resided at Otaki and Waikanae for twenty-one years, and, when they left, many of the tribe remained there. Did you ever send your notification to, or visit those places, to notify the intended sale of Waitara then; and did you ever investigate any claims, or inquire whether there were any there?" "At Waikanae I did not personally investigate claims. I sent a copy of the Governor's speech at Taranaki to Otaki in the first instance. I am not so sure of having sent to Waikanae. I sent several copies to Otaki." "That was not a notification of Te Teira's sale?" "It was not a notification of Teira's sale, but of the Governor's speech at Taranaki."* Mr. M'Lean's evidence, therefore,

* New Zealand Papers, p. 329.

* Blue Book, p. 343.

is confirmatory of the declaration of the Waikanae claimants that they had been passed by, and no inquiries made of them. They then proceed to say—"The first we heard was the payment of money to Teira. But we had no doubt or anxiety about our lands: we had no fear that we should lose them, because we were distinctly informed of William King's determination to keep possession of our lands, being the chief to *protect* our lands there."

This, then, was one of King's reasons for refusing his consent to the sale of the land. He was acting, not from personal motives, but in the discharge of a public duty, as the representative of absent proprietors, who looked to him, as their chief, to protect their lands, and we find him at a very early period expressly declaring that he was acting for others. In a letter to the Governor, dated February 11th, 1859, he says—"Friend, the Governor. Salutations to you. I have a word to say to you and to Mr. M'Lean. Do you hearken to our runanga respecting the land. Do you hearken. These lands will not be given up by us into the Governor and your hands, lest we resemble the sea-birds which perch upon a rock. When the tide flows, the rock is covered by the sea, and the birds take flight, for they have no resting-place. . . . It is said that I am the cause, but it is not so; it is the men persist: they have heard, yet they still persist."*

There was also another reason which induced William King to interpose his veto on the sale of Te Teira's land, namely, that his father, Reretawhangawhanga had solemnly charged him, in the pah at Waikanae, so early as the year 1840, not to sell the Waitara to the pakeha, a charge which he reiterated until his death in 1844, when he left a strict injunction that his wishes should be adhered to.

The purchase, then, of this land, of which the Government by force possessed themselves, had never been properly carried out. It was a fictitious and not a real and *bonâ fide* sale of property. Advantage was taken of the absence of a large body of proprietors to complete the sale without their knowledge. The deed of sale was in itself an usurpation on the part of the few of the rights of the many, to which the Colonial Government, by its acceptance of the deed, become a consenting party. Justly might Dr. Featherstone, in the House of Representatives, avow—"The question at issue is not merely whether W. King, in virtue of his chieftainship, having the tribal rights, and from having individual claims to some portion of the land offered by Teira, was justified in forbidding its sale. The simple question is this—Was the Government justified in ejecting, *vi et armis*, certain chiefs and their people from lands of which they are the rightful owners, and which they have inherited from a long line of ancestors? Government may change their position as often as they please. They may say at one time that they have plunged the colony into war, in order to prevent W. King interfering with the right of his tribe to dispose of their lands; they may at another say that they are fighting on account of the murders that have been committed at various times at Taranaki; at another, that they are defending the Queen's supremacy: but depend on this, when the question is thoroughly sifted, and all irrelevant matter got rid of, the simple issue is what I have stated—Is the Government justified in ejecting, *vi et armis*, certain chiefs and their people from lands of which they are the rightful owners, and which they have inherited from a long line of ancestors?"

This deed of sale, then, as a legal testament, is worthless. It would not be tolerated in a British Court of Justice; and in the House of Representatives, New Zealand, the whole proceeding was held up to the contempt which it justly merited. On the debate of August 15th, 1860, Mr. Fox observed, "that though the war had been raging for many months, the purchase was not yet completed: if it had, why were not the title-deeds on the table?" When the following singular conversation ensued—Mr. Richmond:* "They were in the possession of the Chief Commissioner." Mr. Fox: "It was very strange that they had been left out of sight." Mr. Richmond: "The Governor had not completed the purchase when he ordered the survey. The purchase-deed was not usually made out till after the money payment had been made. In this case it had been thought prudent to make it out sooner." Mr. Fox: "Then it appeared they had executed a deed before the purchase was completed." Mr. Richmond: "Because, in that state of disorder, it was quite possible that some of the claimants might be killed." Mr. Fox: "Then it came to this—the Government had made the purchase in expectation of the war." Mr. Richmond: "No; it had been completed since the beginning of the war." Mr. Fox: "In no case had the Go-

* "Literally that which affords shade or protection, as the Rata tree to the underwood beneath it."—*Blue Book*, p. 224

* The Minister for Native Affairs.

vernment made a legitimate purchase. It was generally considered that a survey was taking possession. . . . . The hon. member was playing fast and loose with them in an extraordinary manner. First they had a deed, then they had not a deed. First there was a survey, and then there was not a survey."* . . . .

The admissions of the native minister are certainly of a remarkable character, and may well excite attention. According to his confessions, the land was attempted to be surveyed, and the deed of sale executed before the purchase had been completed; nay more, the Government occupied with troops land which, according to their own confession, was not theirs, for they had not completed the purchase of it. Well might Mr. Fox rejoin—"It is evident the title was not of that indisputable character required by the Governor's pledge. . . . The Governor's act was a rash one, and must have led to war." Whether the authorities were fully aware of what they were doing is another question: they had opportunities of knowledge, and were responsible for the use of them; but viewed in itself and on its merits, the occupation of that land by soldiers was a positive act of spoliation, violating all the pledges given by the British Government to the native chiefs as to the recognition of their land-tenure and rights, a change from a just to an unjust policy, and necessarily subversive of all confidence on the part of natives. No act can be conceived better fitted to disturb men's minds, and to spread far and wide the seeds of distrust and disaffection. That it was regarded by the natives as a change of policy on the part of the Government, as a new thing, is undoubted; and we shall have occasion to show that it really was as they regarded it, such that it was designed to be, the inauguration of a new policy in contravention of those principles by which the New Zealanders had hitherto been governed. The King movement occupies the prominent position at the present moment, as an effort which, at any cost, must be crushed. But who invested it with a dangerous tendency? It had no such aspect originally. The Governor himself, in a memorandum dated April 27, 1860, admits this to be the case—"The first proposal for the erection of a separate native state, under the Waikato chief, Te Whero Whero, now generally called Potatau, seems to have been made as far back as 1854. There was first considerable diversity of opinion among the promoters of the movement, and great consequent uncertainty as to its precise objects. Many well-disposed natives seemed to have joined in it without any thought of disaffection towards the British Government, and purely, or principally, with a view to establish more powerful control over the disorders of their race, than the Colonial Government has found it possible to attempt. But there are others whose objects from the beginning have been less loyal. These men have viewed with extreme jealousy the extension of the settled territory, and the increase of the European population. Various influences have conbined to augment the effect in their minds of this natural feeling. The lower class of settlers, sometimes wantonly, sometimes under provocation, have held out threats of a coming time, when the whole race will be reduced to a servile condition. Of late a degraded portion of the newspaper press has teemed with menaces of this kind, and with scurrilous abuse of the natives, and all who take an interest in their welfare. False notions respecting the purposes of the British authorities have been industriously circulated by Europeans inimical to the Government, and whose traitorous counsels enable them to retain a lucrative influence over their credulous native clients. And there may have been some few honest friends of the Maoris, who, looking only to the better side of the agitation, have given countenance to a movement, which, in their opinion, promised to promote the establishment of law and order, and the advance of civilization, and to afford a beneficial stimulus to the languishing energy of the Maori people.

"The Government at one time entertained a hope—a hope now deferred but not abandoned—that the good elements in the King movement might gain the ascendancy, and become the means of raising the native population in the social scale. It must, however, be admitted, that the agitation has of late assumed a most dangerous phase."*

And what, then, is it which of late has caused the movement to assume so dangerous a phase? Undoubtedly the most unhappy proceedings adopted by the Government in the case of the land at Waitara. The settlers might have threatened, and the newspaper press abused; but so long as the Maoris had confidence in the paternal character of the Government—that the Governor was their father, and would not fail to protect them if wronged—the disaffected would have remained as they had been, few in number: but the

* "Blue Book," p 405.

* Blue Book, pp. 40, 41.

late unfortunate proceedings have shaken the confidence of the native race, and filled them with distrust; and if the language of many throughout the Maori tribes resembles now the language of the tribes of Israel of old—"What portion have we in David? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel: now see to thine house, David;" it is because, like Rehoboam, the British authorities have refused to listen to their just remonstrances.

But let us complete the history of leading events connected with the Taranaki struggle, the first act, we fear, of a deep tragedy.

In compliance with the wishes of the settlers, the Governor arrived at Taranaki on March 2d, and immediately transmitted a message to William King, desiring him to come and see him, and giving him a promise of safe conduct. But the chief had now become apprehensive as to his own personal safety. In a letter to a friend dated the previous July, he said—"I am to be taken prisoner because I withhold the land, inasmuch as the withholding of the land is, in their estimation, the greatest of offences, and for this reason has appeared (or is reported to me) the opinion of all the Europeans that I am the worst of men. I am not able at this time to discover my guilt. . . . . If I had taken any land belonging to the Europeans, then my fault would have been proved; or if I had assaulted any European, then my accusation would have been just. But they are bringing guilt to me." His answer, therefore, to the Governor, was as follows—

"FRIEND GOVERNOR,—I received your message, requesting me to come to town to see you. It may be right for me to do so, and this is my word to you. Listen. Days gone by, things were different from what they are now. I could then have gone to town to see you, but now I am afraid of your force, because you have brought soldiers with you to the town, and therefore I think you are angry with me. This is my word to you: I do not wish for evil: all that I wish for is friendship with Europeans and Maoris. Listen. The reason we have gone to the bush is, because the settlers have gone to the town, and therefore we suppose you were the cause of it, inasmuch as they have left their lands and houses. That is all about it. This is my word to you: would you not be willing to come to the Kaipakopako on Monday, where we can see each other? If you consent to this it will be good. It is for you to write to me.

"From your loving friend,
"W. KING."

This communication, proposing a place of meeting which would obviate the necessity of King's visiting the town, whither, on account of the angry feeling entertained towards him, he was afraid to come, was entirely disregarded.

The Governor did write, not to King, but to Colonel Gold,* directing him to "take military possession of the land purchased from the chief Teira," &c.

So soon as the troops had occupied the land, King proceeded to show that he was resolved not to cede his right, by erecting, during the night, a pah, commanding the road to the town, and stopping, the next morning, a Queen's escort. Informed that if they did not leave it in twenty minutes they would be fired upon, the natives evacuated it, and proceeded to construct another pah, on which, by the direction of the Governor,† the troops opened fire, and the war commenced. "Truly the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water," and the breaking down of amity and confidence between the natives and the British crown has been entirely the act of the Governor and his council.

It is not our intention to enter into the distressing details of the Taranaki war. The Ngatiawa have laid down their arms after a twelvemonths' struggle and grievous loss on both sides, all which might have been avoided. The terms on which the Governor accords peace are as follows—

"HAPURONA AND NGATIAWA,—For twelve months you have been carrying arms against Her Majesty the Queen and the authority of the law; you have now laid down your arms and expressed your desire for peace. Believing you to be sincere, I have come from Auckland for the purpose of stating the terms upon which it will be granted, and upon which Her Majesty's gracious pardon and protection will be extended to you.

"They are as follow—

"1. The investigation of the title to, and the survey of the land at, Waitara to be continued and completed without interruption.

"2. Every man to be permitted to state his claims without interference, and my decision, or the decision of such person as I shall appoint, to be conclusive.

"3. All the land in possession of Her Majesty's forces belonging to those who have borne arms against Her Majesty to be disposed of by me as I may think fit.

"4. All guns belonging to the Government to be returned.

* Governor to Colonel Gold.
† Blue Book, pp. 16, 17.

"5. All plunder taken from the settlers to be forthwith restored.

"6. The Ngatiawa who have borne arms against the Government must submit to the Queen and to the authority of the law, and not resort to force for the redress of grievances real or imaginary.

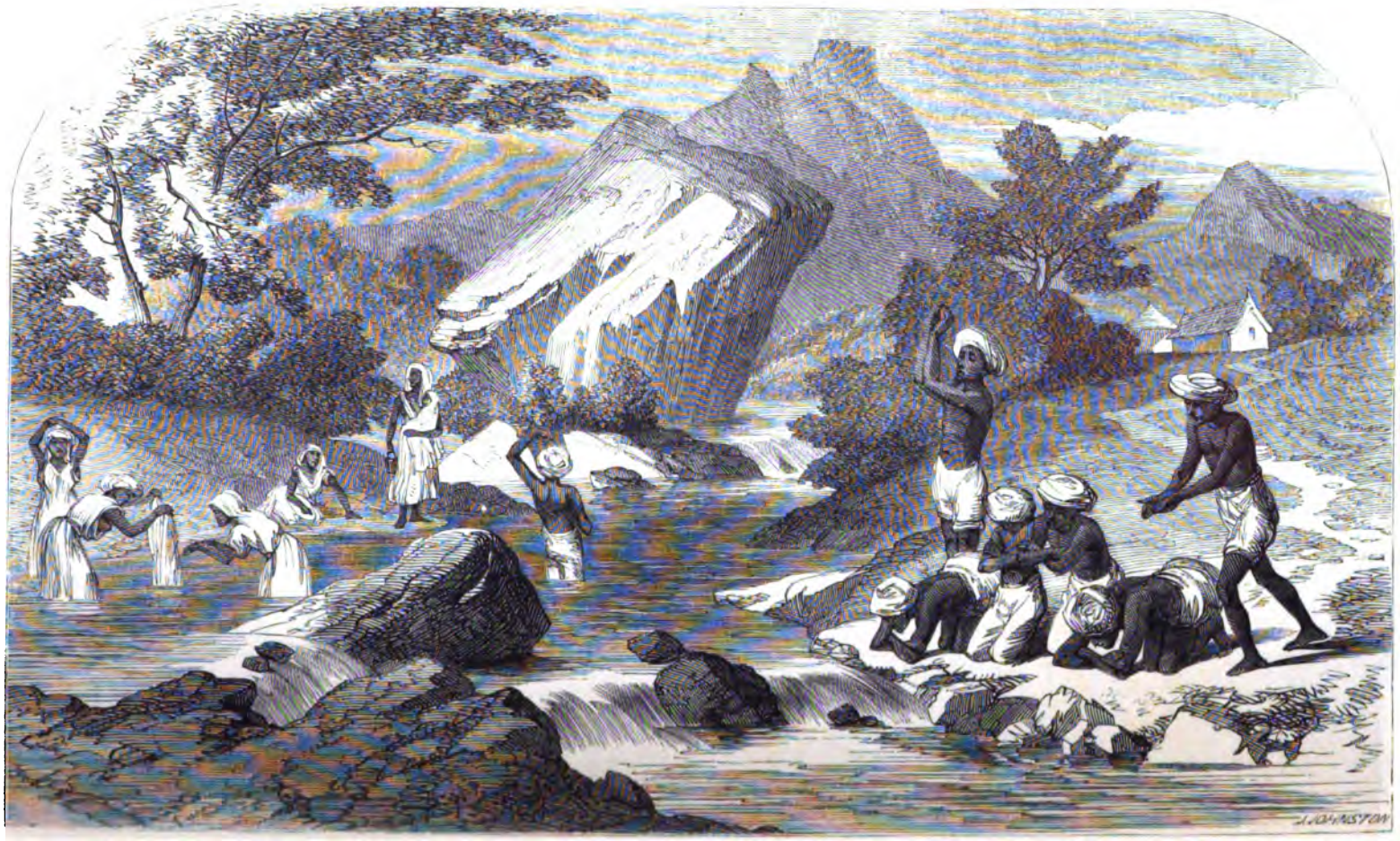
"7. As I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law, and for the protection of Her Majesty's native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, I shall divide the land (which I have stated my intention to dispose of) amongst its former owners; but I shall reserve the sites of the blockhouses and redoubts, and a small piece of land round each, for the public use, and shall exercise the right of making roads through the Waitara district.

"On your submission to these terms, you will come under the protection of the law, and shall enjoy your property, both lands and goods, without molestation. In conformity with the declaration made on the 29th of November 1859, the rights of those who prove their title to any part of the piece of land at Waitara will be respected."

There are expressions in the above document which will not bear to be tested by facts, such, for instance, as the assertion—"I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law." Our readers have now an opportunity of viewing these words in the light of the analysis which we have presented to them in the preceding pages, and deciding for themselves who was guilty, in the first instance, of violating the law, the Governor or William King. The Governor admits, in the wording of these terms, that the investigation of title, and the survey of the land, were both incomplete. Occupation of land, so circumstanced, by an armed force, and the forcible ejection of those who claimed an interest in it, but whose claims had never been examined nor decided upon, by any impartial and competent tribunal, was an illegal proceeding.

We close this paper by an article from the "New Zealand Spectator," of April 17th, which, confirmatory as it is of what we have advanced upon this subject, will show that there are those among the colonists of New Zealand, who, equally with ourselves, are convinced of the injustice of this war—

"The terms of peace offered by the Governor to the Ngatiawa virtually acknowledge the insufficiency of the previous investigation of the title to Waitara, and promise to enter more fully into the claims of the proprietors. This is the main point we have insisted upon; this investigation is what the natives have demanded; this is what Renata and all his party have all along been aiming at; this is what Sir W. Martin proved so incontrovertibly had never been granted; this is what the Bishop and clergy have been asking; this is what Dr. Featherstone, and all the members of the General Assembly who sided with him, claimed as just; and now we congratulate them and ourselves on the success of our efforts thus far. There may be some hitch still about the peace; there may be some difficulties in the actual terms offered to Hapurona; there may still be greater difficulties in dealing with the Waikatos; and there may be the greatest of all perplexities in coming to terms with the Ngatiruanuis, and the tribes that committed the murders at Omata. But still the one great fact remains, come what may, and it alone justifies the course we, and those that have felt with us, have adopted. The Governor and his ministers allow that the investigation was incomplete: they offer to proceed with it; and they thus acknowledge, what we have been all along maintaining, that they rushed hastily into a disastrous war, and not only did not refer the case to a fair tribunal, but did not even take care that it had been properly investigated by their own single official, the Assistant Land-Purchase Commissioner. We are satisfied, therefore, that we did our duty in exposing the inadequacy of the investigation, and we rather suspect that the Home Government have taken the same view as we have, and have ordered a better investigation to be instituted. If we could but see the public and private despatches from home that have been of late so carefully suppressed, we might be able to account more easily for the change that has come over the Governor and his ministers. However, be that as it may, we are thankful that they have acknowledged their error, and we will not scrutinize their motives. Whether the actual terms of peace now offered are accepted or not (we sincerely hope they will be accepted), the great point is gained. The English public, both here and elsewhere, will see that the natives had just ground of complaint; that their natural advisers, the Missionaries, were justified in asserting that no adequate investigation had been instituted; that the members of the House of Representatives who opposed the Government have done their duty to their country, because they have demanded, and now seem likely to obtain, justice for their fellow-subjects who had been treated as aliens upon their own soil."



HINDU COOLIES IN THE MAURITIUS .

THE MAURITIUS.

In prosecuting the great work of evangelization, the selection of suitable localities is of primary importance. The initiative points ought to be capable of becoming in due time commanding centres. Beacon-lights are erected on chosen spots, where they may be seen most readily by the sailor when in the dark and cloudy time he looks out for some well-known landmark. In strategy the struggle is for those keys of position which are available alike for defensive or aggressive operations. On the memorable day of Waterloo, when, amidst the crash of contending armies, and a prodigious sacrifice of human life, that long peace was inaugurated, during the many years of which modern Missionary effort so remarkably extended itself, the fight was most intense around the chateau of Hougoumont, and the farm of La Sainte Haye, either of which, if wrested from the English, would have afforded their antagonists a terrible advantage. In all his undertakings, man, if he be wise, will endeavour so to act as to carry with him the influence of circumstances, and to place himself in such a position as shall tell for him and not against him. The Indian about to light up the prairies with a mighty conflagration, looks to the point from whence the wind blows, and ignites the spark, which the breeze soon fans into a flame. Let us, in the great Missionary work, be prompt to avail ourselves of favourable conjunctions of time, and place, and circumstances. Of all human undertakings it is the noblest and the grandest; the most philanthropic, and therefore the most difficult. It needs proportionable wisdom—wisdom in the selection of places, and in the maintenance and prosecution of the work; but a wisdom which is divinely promised—"If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

Centres of population are usually commanding points. Populations are more dense towards the centre, more sparse as you approach the circumference. Moreover the lines of communication lie in that direction: it is with and through the centre that intercourse is carried on, and an interest excited there is more easily felt in all directions towards the extremities. Abbeokuta and other cities in the Yoruba country may be regarded as a specimen of this kind of Mission.

Confluences of races and languages are of primary importance, particularly if the mingled elements sustain intercourse with the parent stocks from which they originally came, so as to reflect back upon them the Christian knowledge they have received.

Of this class we find many in the record of the Society's stations and labours. Such are Sierra Leone, Peshawur, &c.

There is one little spot of this kind of which we would speak in this article, a tiny speck in the midst of the ocean waste, yet important as a commercial entrepôt, as a midway halting-place for vessels in their long sea-voyage between India and England, and as a place of confluence where diverse races meet, and men from Europe, Africa, India, China, &c., are brought into communication with each other.

The place of Mauritius Island in the Indian Ocean is in 20° 15′ S. lat. and 56° 40′ E. long. It is volcanic in its structure, and is protected from the ceaseless fret and waste of the great ocean, from the depths of which it has been upheaved, by that natural breakwater, so often and providentially afforded to islands similarly circumstanced, a coral reef, with eleven breaks or openings, through most of which vessels of considerable burden may pass. Its appearance, on approaching from the sea, is very striking and romantic, intersected as it is by chains of mountains, most of which are covered with verdure to the summit, and often terminate in most fantastic peaks. "Sometimes the peaks of Peter Bott and Pouce are seen from an immense distance at sea, more especially when the lower parts of the island are covered with vapours. The mountain tops then assume the form of eyries, perched aloft amongst the clouds."*

"The harbour of St. Louis is capacious and secure. The town is situated at the head of the bay, and is enclosed on the east, the north, and the south, by mountains at no great distance from the shore. The highest of these is the Pouce, a mass of ancient volcanic rock, which rises immediately behind the town at an elevation of 2800 feet, and from this a range of volcanic mountains extends towards the sea in a south-west direction, terminating in a high steep point, on which the signal-station, announcing the approach of vessels to the port, is fixed. A sort of spur of the Pouce stretches in a line towards the head of the bay, and is surmounted at its western extremity by the citadel, which overlooks the harbour and the

* Beaton's "Creoles and Coolies," p. 1.

town. Another mountain range, behind which the summit of the Peter Bott is seen, extends to the north-west, and thus includes, as in a semicircle, Port Louis and its picturesque environs."*

This harbour, affording as it does safe and ample anchorage to ships of the largest burden, is of great importance in those seas. These parts of the Indian Ocean, at a certain season of the year, from December to April, are subject to the action of cyclones, or hurricanes. They are said never to extend to the northward of 10° or 12° south latitude, but the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and Roderique lie in their ordinary track; and to vessels which have had to battle with these dangerous phenomena, Port Louis affords a convenient shelter, where they may refit. "Two patent-slip docks have been erected, in which the largest vessels can receive repairs." "It is no unusual thing, after a hurricane at sea, for the harbour to be crowded with English, French, and American ships, undergoing, or waiting for repairs."

On landing, the European finds himself amidst the types and costumes of various Oriental races. "Gangs of coolies are toiling, and sing in a low monotonous tone, as they empty the barges or lighters that lie along the edge of the wharf, and deposit their contents under large sheds on shore." "These swarthy Orientals, so thinly clad, are the muscles and sinews of the Mauritius body-politic. They are the secret sources of all the wealth, luxury, and splendour with which the island abounds. There is not a carriage that rolls along the well-macadamized chaussée, or a robe of silk worn by the fair Mauritian, to the purchase of which the Indian has not, by his labour, indirectly contributed. It is from the labour of his swarthy body in the cane-fields that gold is extracted more plenteously than from the diggings of Ballarat."

But the eye of the stranger is arrested by other nationalities. "He sees Arabs from the shores of the Red Sea, whose dress, features, and language have undergone little change from the friction of forty centuries; who retain, in the midst of civilized life, something of the freedom of the desert; and who cherish the reminiscences of their former nomad life, by surrounding themselves with the horses of their native land. He sees haughty Mohammedans, descendants of a race who conquered India before the English flag was ever unfurled on its shores—men tall of stature, muscular in build, with regular features, lofty brows, bull-like necks, and flowing beards. He sees Indians from the burning plains of Hindostan, weak and effeminate in frame, soft and gentle in expression, fawning and servile in address, with their dark, curling locks, longer and glossier than those that adorned the heads of the Roman youth during the reign of the later emperors. He sees Chinamen from the Celestial Empire, attracted to the abode of the barbarian by the *sacra fames auri*—a grotesque-looking race, with long faces, wide mouths, flattened noses, high cheek-bones, and curious eyes, and abjuring long locks, save a single one on the crown of the head, plaited and pendulous, or twisted round the head, according to the taste of the wearer. He sees dark descendants of Ham, of all types and countries inhabited by that servile race: ex-apprentices, fast sinking into the grave, often halt, and lame, and maimed, bearing in their decrepid, toil-worn bodies a stronger argument against Slavery than ever issued from the eloquent lips of Wilberforce or Brougham; free negroes, the offspring of slaves, plump, shiny, and good-humoured, but devoid of ambition, foresight, honesty, and truth; Malagashes, of two different nations; the one agreeing in physical organization with their African brethren, except that the skull is smaller and the lips thinner—the other a fine, bold, athletic race, with complexions as light as the Spaniards of the south, and little of the usual negro characteristics in their features—faithful, affectionate, and grateful if kindly treated, but turbulent, passionate, and revengeful when smarting under a sense of injury; Mozambiques, short, broad-chested and muscular, with features expressive of coarse sensuality, and indifference to every thing save the gratification of their immediate wants; and here and there an Abyssinian, tall, erect, and handsome, with aquiline features, approaching nearer to the European type than those of any other of the dark races of Africa. Besides the Hindus, he sees other stray specimens of the Asiatic races—Lascar seamen, with round caps, and cotton petticoats resembling in shape a Highlander's kilt worn over the trousers; Batavians, dwarfish, but muscular, with features a compromise between the Hindu and the Chinese; Armenians, with bushy black beards and olive complexions, wearing conical caps of sheepskin with the wool worn outside; Singhalese, differing little, but still discernible, from the Hindus; and Parsees from Bombay, fair, sleek, and intelligent, with flowing robes of snowy white,

* Ellis's "Visits to Madagascar, &c."

and conical caps reclining rather than worn on the back of the head—a fine race, the mercantile aristocracy of India and the East. Europe also has added its contingent to swell the motley assembly: bronzed Frenchmen, stray specimens of Italian and German patriots, English merchants, officers and soldiers, heads of civil departments, grave men, bearing the burden of the State upon their shoulders, and conscious of its weight. Other stray waifs of humanity complete the picture, the effect of which is still more heightened by the mixture of Creoles, composing the coloured population, with more or less of African blood in their veins—a distinct class, forming a sort of *imperium in imperio*, equally removed from the pure black and white population, with whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage. Such is the picture presented to the eye by the mixed and motley population of Mauritius—a picture unique in itself, such as no other country in the world can supply."*

"Few places, perhaps, of equally limited extent, present a population so perfectly cosmopolitan as that of Port Louis. The streets of the town which are, many of them, wide, cross each other at right angles, and are in some places cooled by water-courses, and shaded by trees. . . . Many of the shops are well fitted up and furnished. . . . Most of the craftsmen and stalled workmen of the place are Creoles, or ex-apprentices, with the exception of the cabinetmakers, of which a large proportion are Chinese, who are industrious and frugal, though said to be addicted to gaming. . . . The habitations of the more respectable or wealthy classes in Port Louis, and almost all except those in the central and crowded parts of the town, are of stone, coloured white or yellow, and protected from the sun by verandahs or lattice-work. They stand within enclosures, opening by wide and ornamental gateways into the principal streets. These courts are planted with flowers, and shaded by the most rare and beautiful of tropical trees. . . . The trees and flowers of the tropics, as well as those of more temperate climes, appear to thrive well; and, while they produce on the mind of the stranger some of the most agreeable impressions he receives, must also, in the cool refreshing shade of their dark, dense foliage, and the variety of colour, and fragrance of the flowers, prove a perpetual source of enjoyment to the inhabitants, such as few other places can supply." In the Mauritius may be seen, side by side on the same table, "the rich, luscious-looking mango of India, the litchi of China, the custard-apple of South-America," and the strawberry and raspberry of Europe, exemplifying thus the fitness of this island to be a great rendezvous where men from the east and west may live, and find in its climate a congeniality with their respective constitutions.

An excursion into the interior well repays the fatigue incurred by the hilly character of the road. The scenery is beautiful, and many objects of novelty and interest present themselves. "In some places, stately groves or avenues of mango-trees lead from the road to a large and respectable house: at others, the rudely-thatched hut of the Indian or Creole vendor of fruit or beverage stands under the shade of a tamarind-tree, by the side of the dusty road. In some places, tall bamboos grow most luxuriantly on both sides of the road; and, uniting their slender, elastic, and gracefully-foliaged stems at the top, form a naturally-pointed arch of peculiar elegance and beauty. At other times, the sides of the road are covered for a considerable distance with the agave, or American aloe, of gigantic size, and in every stage of progress towards flowering; in some instances interspersed with the more slender and graceful forms of the fourcræa and other smaller species. On the right, sugar plantations, covered with tall, green, waving canes, stretch away four or five miles towards the sea; and on our left, at the distance of from three hundred yards to a mile, the dark-brown sterile or wooded mountains tower, often in fantastic forms, high up into the bright blue sky."*

Sometimes the stranger is conducted on an excursion to the thumb-shaped summit of the Pouce. The base of the mountain is woody. Openings in the trees afford "views of the rich valley, with its villas, cottages, and gardens; the citadel, the town, the port, and the batteries which guard its entrance; the lines of stately shipping ranged along the sides of the harbour, with the wide blue ocean stretching far away beyond." The path is overhung by "bold, steep piles of dark ferruginous volcanic rock, diversified along its different strata by tufts of grass and stunted shrubs." The forest cover being passed, the bare, steep side of the summit presents itself, terminating in a flattish space, about four feet wide, and twelve or fourteen feet long." There, as the excursionist sits down at a height of 2847 feet above the sea, the whole island is spread out like a map beneath him,

* Beaton's "Creoles and Coolies," pp. 12—15.

* Ellis's "Visits to Madagascar."

"its fertile central plains, and its mountains rising in clusters, at unequal distances from the coast all around. The broad blue waters of the apparently boundless ocean, seen through the openings between the mountains, and reflecting the rays of a vertical sun, present one of the most grand and magnificent panoramas it is possible to imagine."

The island is subdivided into districts. Moka, Plaines Wilhelms, and Vacoas districts occupy the central plains of the interior. The Pamplemousses district constitutes the north section, having to the south-west the Port-Louis district, and to the south-east the Flacq district. Along the western coast lies the Black-River district; along the south-eastern, the Grand-Port district; while along the south coast extends the Savane.

Mauritius, with the neighbouring island of Bourbon, was discovered in 1505, and the whole group was named Mascarenhas Islands. "The Portuguese took formal possession of it in 1545, but appear to have formed no settlement. In 1598, the Dutch surveyed it, and gave it its present name, in honour of Maurice, the stadtholder of the Netherlands. They did not, however, settle in the island until after they had formed an establishment at the Cape in 1640; and then they fixed themselves at the Grand Port," on its south-eastern side, a harbour sufficiently capacious, but intricate in its entrance, and open to the quarter from whence the hurricanes blow; whereas Port Louis, near the north-western extremity, is sheltered from them, and there, as they generally blow directly out of the harbour, they are accompanied with very little sea.*

"In 1710, from causes not known, the Dutch abandoned the island, and from this time up to 1721 its only inhabitants were a few poor negroes, who had been brought there by the Dutch as slaves, and who, having escaped from their masters, concealed themselves in the mountain forests. In that year the French took possession, and formed a settlement at Port St. Louis, giving to the island the name of the Isle of France." In 1810 it was wrested from them by the British, in whose possession it has since remained.

The aggregate of population at the present time amounts to 305,046, which may be thus subdivided—The general population, exclusively of Indian immigrants and aliens, 96,526; the immigrant population, 201,979; and the alien population, chiefly Chinese, 6541.

The first of these classifications, the general population, divides itself into white and coloured. Again, the white element divides into a Creole population of French descent and the British population. The white Creole population are either planters or inhabitants of St. Louis. The planters are described as "a fine, frank, hospitable race, characterized by much patriarchal simplicity. Often four or five families live on the same estate, all bound together by the closest ties, and, though occupying different pavilions or cottages, meeting together daily, and dining at the same common table." The feeling of nationality among them is strong, and yet there is among them a growing consciousness of the advantages they enjoy under the British flag.

The British population has been hitherto limited in numbers. Besides the military, it consists of the Government employés, merchants, planters, professors of the Royal College, Government school teachers, and "a considerable number of old soldiers, who have left the service, and settled in the colony in different capacities," many of whom have married coloured wives.

Between these constituent elements of the white population of Mauritius, the French Creole and the ascendant English, there is not yet that *entente cordiale* which is so desirable.

The coloured population is greatly in preponderance over the white, and of this, as to its origin and characteristics, it may be necessary to speak more fully.

The Dutch introduced slavery, and the French followed it up. The East-India Company of France sanctioned the sale of slaves to the inhabitants. They were procured from Madagascar, the various devices of iniquity, which are usual with slave-traders, being resorted to for the purpose, and with a full measure of human suffering, of every five negroes embarked at Madagascar, not more than two being found fit for service in Mauritius. "The rest were either stifled beneath the hatches, or starved themselves to death, or died of putrid fever, or became the food of sharks, or fled to the mountains, or fell beneath the driver's lash." "From first to last Mauritius has been the tomb of more than a million of Africans." So grievous was the oppression to which they were subjected, that La Bourdonnais, the first French Governor, to alleviate their sufferings, drew up the Code Noir. A brief glance at this will suffice to show what must have been the condition of the slave, when a code of this nature, justly called the Code Noir, was regarded as an interposition in his favour. "The fugitive slave, absent for a month,

* "United-States' Japan Expedition," p. 107.

counting from the day when his master has denounced him to justice, shall have his ears cut, and be marked with a *fleur de lys* on one of his shoulders; and if he commits the offence during another month, counting in the same way from the day of denunciation, he shall be hamstrung, and marked with the *fleur de lys* on the other shoulder, and the third time he shall be punished with death." Yet, notwithstanding such fearful penalties, they fled whenever they could. Sometimes a few would seize on a fishing-boat, and make for Madagascar, 500 miles distant, or trust themselves to the uncertain deep in a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree. Can we wonder at it, when, "on the commission of the most trivial offence, they were tied hands and feet to a ladder, when the overseer approached with a whip like a postilion's, and gave them fifty, a hundred, or perhaps two hundred lashes upon the back. Each stroke carried off its portion of skin. The poor wretch was then untied, an iron collar, with three spikes, put round his neck, and he was then sent back to his task." "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." True, and no places are *more* dark, or more rife with cruelty, than those places where nominal Christians hold their fellow-men in slavery.

"After the capture of the island by the British, the importation of slaves was prohibited under severe penalties." But as the authorities of the island were entrusted with the execution of the law, its provisions were evaded, and the slave-trade continued to be as brisk as ever. They were first taken to the Seychelles, and then to the Mauritius. At length came the glorious act of emancipation, which put an end to slavery throughout the British dominions, and the planters of Mauritius were compelled to manumit their helots, numbering 66,343, receiving as compensation from the British Treasury the sum of 2,112,632*l.*

The descendants of these slaves are free negroes. "They are the mechanics, the shopkeepers, the fishermen, the coachmen, and the market-gardeners of the colony," but to field labour they are averse. "You ask me," said a negro, whose father and mother had been slaves, "why I will not work in that field. I will tell you. In that field my father worked as a slave, and was lashed as a slave, and do you think I would work on a spot that I cannot think of without pain."

The coloured population is inclusive of all in whose veins there is an admixture of European and African blood. "Their existence dates from the origin of the colony. The pirates from Madagascar brought with them their negro wives and coloured children. Their example was followed by others, and a third class arose, of which it may be said, "the face is the face of Japhet, but the skin is the skin of Ham, varying in colour from the darkest ebony, where the regular features mark a mixture of European blood, to the purest white, where tradition alone preserves the remembrance of the presence of African blood." But in the estimation of the white population, the slightest admixture of African blood constitutes a stigma of the most degrading kind. "A man may have wealth, learning, official rank, all that elsewhere can command respect, and yet, let there be but three drops of African blood in his veins, tradition will preserve the remembrance of them, and point to these as the plague-spot, the touch of which would be pollution." Thus "between the white and coloured population there exists a feeling of bitter hatred, the result of long years of domination and insult on the one hand, and subjection and suffering on the other." Still, however, white men continued to form the same connexions with coloured women, in many instances bequeathing their property to their coloured children, until it has been calculated that "three-fourths of the immoveable property in the colony has been transferred from the white to the coloured population." In politics, as in other matters, these two sections of the population are opposed to each other, the white French having strong leanings to the land of their forefathers, while the coloured population are loyal to the British Government, which has granted them "enjoyment of equal rights, and immunity from previous wrongs."

Over the Creole, coloured, and free negro population, Romanism is, so far as profession goes, decidedly in the ascendant. The vast majority of the Creoles is nominally Romanist, but sceptical opinions, originally introduced from France, "have taken deep root, and produced their natural fruit of irreligion and immorality." Romanism numbers amongst its professors not only the white French Creole, together with the great proportion of the coloured population, but the free negroes likewise. At the time of "the abolition of slavery," so powerful were the feelings of gratitude which the negro and coloured population entertained towards their benefactors, that, having no religion, they were prepared to receive any form that Great Britain might have offered them; but no effort was made, the golden opportunity was lost, . . . and they accepted, rather than chose, Roman-

ism, as the only form of religion within their reach. Many of the negroes are still strongly attached to their ancient superstitions, and have no connexion with the church of Rome, beyond an occasional attendance at her gorgeous ceremonies, which are calculated to make a profound impression on the African mind. The priests, of whom there are thirteen, all salaried out of the colonial treasury, besides a Roman-Catholic bishop, are indefatigable in their efforts to bring the people over to them. At the time of the capture of the island by the British, there were only two Roman-Catholic churches in the colony, one at Port Louis, the other at Pamplemousses. "At the present moment the whole island is studded with chapels, some of which have been erected by a tax levied on Protestants and Roman Catholics without distinction. The churches at Mahebourg, Plaines Wilhelms, and Poudre d'or, are very handsome buildings. Wherever a few negro huts are gathered together, one of them is erected into a chapel, which differs from the others only by the cross at its extremities. Occasional services are held there, and no effort is spared by the priests, under the guidance of Dr. Collier, their bishop, to bring the black and coloured population within the pale of their church."* "There are now in Mauritius thirteen priests, who receive from the colonial treasury an average salary of 200*l.* each, and a Roman-Catholic bishop, who receives 780*l.* This is done in accordance with the stipulation entered into when the island capitulated to the British in 1810, 'that the established religion should be preserved.'" Such a stipulation is to be regretted. A Protestant nation is not at liberty to charge itself with the maintenance of that which it has itself repudiated because it believed it to be erroneous. Toleration is always assured under the British rule, and for false religions that ought to suffice. The stipulation, such as it is, has been met with no niggard hand. In 1810, when there were no coolies or aliens in the island, a population of 80,000 was provided with four priests, at a cost of 100*l.* per annum each. Now there are a bishop and thirteen priests for a general population of 96,526. If, then, Romanism in the Mauritius yields to the power of a superior, because a truthful faith, it can never be alleged that the Government starved it.

To administer beneficially and satisfactorily to themselves the government of a population so constituted is by no means a facile undertaking. The difficulties are many.

* "Creoles and Coolies," pp. 269, 270.

For instance, "the very imperfect knowledge of the English language which is possessed by most persons in the colony, where French is commonly spoken by the upper classes, and Creole by the lower, has always made it a difficult matter to furnish the public offices with clerks whose knowledge of English was at all accurate, or even passable." Nor did the difficulty lie merely in difference of language, but in the general neglect of education throughout the colony. The proportion of educated to non-educated children is said to be "less than 14 per cent. The proportion of the whole population that can read and write, to those who do not possess this advantage, is about 8 per cent. In this estimate no account is taken of the Indian population. The Coolie immigrants are, on the whole, a better educated class than the Creoles."* But this is not all. Of the 14 per cent. who are receiving instruction, the children of the lower classes form a very small proportion.

Various measures have been adopted with a view to promote the important object of education.

First, there are Government schools. The principles on which the system is founded are stated in the following paragraph—

"Lady Mico's Charity, the object of which was to extend the advantages of religious and moral instruction to the negroes and coloured population of the British colonies, included Mauritius within the field of its useful labours. A large proportion of the limited number of those who can read and write, among the negro and coloured population, are indebted for this advantage to the schools in connexion with Lady Mico's Charity. These schools have been given up, and the Government schools, founded on a different basis, and supported by the colony, have been erected in their stead. The exclusion of all religious instruction is one of the rules most stringently enforced in these schools. The teachers are permitted to read a portion of Scripture in the morning, but they are prohibited from explaining, or making any remarks upon the portion they read. At one time an order was issued from the Colonial Secretary's office, prohibiting the reading of the Scriptures, but it was immediately suppressed. The object of this restriction in regard to the explanation of the Scriptures is to avoid exciting the prejudices or fears of the Roman-Catholic priests and parents; and this attempt to secure their goodwill by the sacrifice of Protestant principle has been

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 256.

about as successful as the endeavour to secure the loyalty of the Brahmins in India by ignoring Christianity. So long as the teachers in these schools are Protestants, the priests cannot but regard them with distrust, and look upon the restriction about the explanation of the Scriptures as only a blind to conceal the proselytizing spirit by which they are actuated. The priests, therefore, on this ground, are opposed to these Government schools, and have dissuaded their adherents from allowing their children to attend them. They could not well do this without providing other schools, under their own direction, where the children could be instructed without the danger of imbibing Protestant error. Accordingly, they have done so in some of the country districts, and their influence in one or two cases has had the effect of nearly emptying the Government schools. As a general rule, the Church of Rome is not favourable to education. The blind credulity which she demands from her adherents can only flourish in the soil of ignorance; but, Proteus-like, she can change her outward form according to circumstances, and appear as the advocate or the enemy of education, just as it may suit her interests. She holds the coloured population of Mauritius too firmly in her grasp to dread the relaxing effect of a small dose of education administered by her own priests."*

The Grant-in-aid system is also in action in this colony. A note on popular education, drawn up by direction of the Governor, and appended to his Annual Report for 1859, gives us the result of these educational appliances for a period of three years.

"The schools, which had increased from twenty-seven in 1857 to forty-four in 1858, increased in 1859 to fifty-three. . . . Of these, twenty-three are Government schools, and thirty assisted by grants-in-aid: of these thirty, eight are schools for Indians."

It may be observed, that during the three years referred to in the above paragraph, the increase was entirely in the grants-in-aid schools, the number of Government schools remaining at the same figure, twenty-three. In these twenty-three schools, there was, in December 1859, a decrease of attendance as compared with December 1858. The increase in the grant-in-aid schools was in this proportion—In 1857, there were only seven grant-in-aid schools, all in connexion with the Church of England. In 1858, there were twenty-one grants-in-aid schools, of which three were in connexion with the Roman Catholics, and eighteen with the Church of England. Of the thirty grant-in-aid schools of 1859, eleven are "Roman Catholic and nineteen Protestant."

As to the measure of efficiency in the schools supported by Government, we are informed that "the average state of advancement of pupils is not high. Most in the upper classes, seldom over a small proportion of the entire pupils, can read and translate English and French tolerably; but they are usually deficient in writing either language from dictation, and are imperfectly acquainted with grammar." Except in the Port-Louis schools, and about a third of those in the country, where there is some knowledge of the compound rules of arithmetic and fractions, "little is known beyond the simple rules; and even these are pretty often not known with accuracy."*

It must be confessed that education in the Mauritius is not in a flourishing condition; and yet, by an ordinance of the Legislative Council in 1857, it was rendered compulsory on all classes. The practical results, as we have placed them before our readers, are not recommendatory of such compulsory enactments. And this we can understand. The people of Mauritius are not yet alive to the value of education. Any attempt to coerce them to the acceptance of it is the surest way to increase their disinclination.

From the operation of the Compulsory Education Ordinance, the Indian children are exempted, the Indian Government having insisted on this, on the ground that it was no part of the engagement of their parents, when they migrated to Mauritius, that their children should be educated. That it should be so, the Governor regrets, thinking that the free action system, from special difficulties, will not succeed. These supposed difficulties are fully stated by the Superintendant of the Government schools, in his note on popular education—

"The state of education among the Indians offers no subject for congratulation. The ordinance for compulsory education has not been allowed as regards them; nor is it by any means probable that, had it been otherwise, it could have been made to work successfully. A law more in the nature of that for the education of factory children in England is essential, when, as is the case of the Indians of Mauritius, both parents and employers are, as the general rule, opposed to the educational interest of the children under

* "Creoles and Coolies," pp. 260, 261.

* Note by the Superintendant of Government Schools, Blue Book.

their care or influence. The voluntary system hitherto has proved a failure, nor is it likely to prove otherwise, unless, indeed, some religious body, such as the Christian brothers (whose schools, however, are for boys only), should attempt it. Hitherto I am not aware of any efforts having been made on behalf of the Roman-Catholic church for the instruction of the Indians. None of their clergy in Mauritius, I am informed, are acquainted with any of the Indian languages; and even if they were, the demands upon their time by their numerous congregations would prevent them from attending to other matters. This is to be regretted, as there would be a greater likelihood that efforts on behalf of the Roman-Catholic church would meet with cordial support on the part of the planters than those in connexion with any other religion the planters, as the general rule, being Roman Catholics, at least in name. But though their adhesion to that religion may be nominal, their opposition to any other Christian form may be strong, for they are apt to look upon such as an emblem of the dominant nation, and visit it accordingly with the feelings of ill-will they entertain towards the latter. This may help to account for the slender support which the Indian schools in connexion with the Church of England have met with, and may be expected to meet with. Few pupils attend them; and those who do come so irregularly that it is not possible they can make any thing like satisfactory progress. But on this subject it is unnecessary to dwell at greater length in a note on education intended to be brief. The question of the moral position of the Indian population here is so important, and so much beset with difficulties, that any attempt to discuss it with advantage would swell the note to the dimensions of an ample report."*

The experience of our Missionaries is subversive of these remarks. We shall refer to their reports and despatches before the close of this article, and it will then be seen that they have met with no feelings of ill-will from the planters, nay, that, on the contrary, they are kindly and considerately treated, and facilities afforded them for the instruction, as well of children as adults. We cannot, therefore, join in the regrets of the superintendant, that no effort has been made by the Roman Catholics for the instruction of the Indians, and we consider it very providential that none of the priests of that body in the Mauritius are acquainted with any of the Indian languages. We have, moreover, full confidence in the persuasive influence of Missionary action, and consider it a most happy circumstance, that, in their efforts to benefit the Indian children, the Missionaries are unimpeded by any compulsory ordinance.

A very seasonable proof of the justice of these remarks is presented to us by the Governor, in the very happy reference which he makes to one educational institution, in which scriptural instruction is afforded without reserve or restriction, namely, the Orphan Asylum at the Powder Mills. We shall introduce this portion of his despatch, as it is deeply interesting—

"My limited experience teaches me that there are no children in the world more quick in their perceptions, more anxious to learn, and more easily taught, than the Indian; and if a single example will prove this, I need only refer to the Orphan Asylum lately established at the Powder Mills, in which are now collected upwards of one hundred Indian orphans, who live upon the premises, under the able charge of a Missionary and his wife, who are not subject to the capricious interference of parents or friends, who are disturbed by no conflicting Christian creeds, and who have already made such progress in their education—English education chiefly—as surprises and delights all visitors, while their industrial occupations (in which they are also instructed through the instrumentality of employed artisans) are actively prosecuted, and their whole appearance and demeanour indicate the care, comfort, and contentment which they enjoy. These boys are likely to turn out valuable members of our social community. They are instructed in the art of every trade or handicraft they may think proper to select, and are destined to be more fully instructed in the trades of their choice when the proper time arrives, while the girls are educated in needlework, and in all domestic and household occupations, and are destined, in due time, to become equally useful in their own sphere.

"To show the beneficial effect of examples that are furnished by institutions of this sort, and to prove that it is not 'compulsory' but 'persuasive' education that should chiefly be relied on as the means of inducing Indian or other parents to give the benefit of education to their children, it may be stated, that after a few Indian women, who had been previously known to the superintendant Missionary and his wife, had been allowed to visit this institution, and to witness the care, comfort, and education bestowed upon the children, and the useful employments to which they are

* Note by Superintendant of Government Schools.

trained, applications, on the part of Indian parents, for admission of their children, were numerous; but as it was foreign to the objects of the institution to receive any but orphans, these applications were refused, notwithstanding the desire expressed by the parents, in many cases, to give up their children altogether to the establishment, for educational purposes.

"I hope that this humble but useful institution will be the means of introducing others of an educational and industrial character, for the benefit of Indian children; but so long as these children depend on the control of their parents, and are sent to or kept from ordinary day-schools, as caprice or convenience may dictate, I entertain but little hope of accomplishing any steady march in the progress of education.

"The following extract from a report I have lately received from the Protector of Immigrants shows what progress has taken place in this humble asylum since its formation, now only nine or ten months ago—

"'I have the honour to report that I visited the Powder Mills Orphan Asylum at the end of last month (April 1860), with the view of ascertaining what progress had been made by the pupils of that establishment, and with the further object of inquiring into the present wants of that institution.

"'I am happy to be able to say that I witnessed a remarkable advancement in the reading and writing classes of both sexes, as well in English as in Tamil and Hindustanee, and that the most advanced of the pupils answered questions set to them in English on the addition table with great facility and accuracy.

"'The industrial classes may also be considered to have made satisfactory progress, allowances being made for the deficiencies in their organization, which have hitherto been unavoidable.

"'The present industrial training comprises the following branches—

"'1. Cart-making,

"'2. Carpenters' work.

"'3. Basket-making,

"'4. Tailoring,

"'5. Blacksmiths' work;

"'A small spring cart, twenty-four bedsteads, the greater part of the school furniture, a large quantity of rattan baskets, and the whole of the clothing worn by the pupils, have been already made, either by the pupils themselves, or with their assistance.

"'The results hold forth a promising prospect, not only of the work that may in future be performed at the asylum, but of the *skilled labour* that may thence be issued, when the institution will have attained a more advanced age.'"*

Several of the pupils as the result of the Bible instruction they have received, have been led to desire baptism, and, after due examination, thirty-eight of them were baptized at St. Barnabas Church, Pamplemousses, on August 12th of last year.†

There is one educational institution more to which a special reference is needed. "The Royal College" was founded with a view to the education of the children of the upper classes. To conciliate the priesthood of Rome, the religious element is excluded, just as, in the Government schools of India, the same exclusion of the same great element of true education and improvement is persevered in to please the priests of Vishnu and Siva. At one time, under a French rector, the pupils numbered 400. At present they are below this figure. An attempt to introduce discipline has offended, it is said, the "*amour propre*" of the Mauritius Creole; "boys and professors resisted, *pères de famille* listened to the tales of their children, and resented the supposed offence; anonymous scribblers filled the newspapers with their complaints: editors readily admitted them into their columns, and people as readily believed them; an angry feeling spread through the colony, and pupils were removed, until at length the numbers that filled the lists at the end of 1858, were reduced to one-fifth, or thereabouts, at the end of 1859."‡

We must confess that this issue does not surprise us. To conciliate the priesthood, religious instruction is excluded. But in excluding this, the school authorities deprive themselves of the very influence which of all others is most promotive of good order and subordination; and when, irrespectively of this, they come to enforce discipline, it is not surprising that they are met with opposition and rebellion. Moreover, when teachers of schools consent to forego the great duty of religious instruction, we have no security for the wisdom and good temper of their proceedings.

As, in educational matters, difficulties present themselves, so likewise in the government and administration of the colony. "The community," observes the Governor, "in its English, French, Creole, African, and Asiatic varieties, is too mixed, and the Creole popu-

* Blue Book: Report exhibiting the state of Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions, pp. 103, 104.

† See a full account of this in the "Church Missionary Gleaner" for November 1860.

‡ Government despatch, Blue Book, p. 103.

lation have been too long accustomed to the old *régime* of dependence on Government, to render any great change at all desirable at present; and their tastes, habits, or predilections are not sufficiently English to enable them thoroughly to understand and appreciate what English people know and admire as free institutions, &c."*

Evidently there is some binding element needed to be introduced into the midst of this disunited population, so as to give them common interests, and dispose them to co-operate in the attainment of objects conducive to the general prosperity. We know of but one such element—Gospel truth in its purity, cleansed from the adulterations of Rome. This needs to be introduced like leaven into the mass. In the presence of so great a duty, we are thankful that there is on the spot an English bishop, characterized alike by clear views of Gospel truth, by undoubted personal piety, and zeal tempered with wisdom and love. We trust that the earnest wish of his heart may be answered in the increase of an effective and devoted Church-of-England ministry, and that funds will be placed largely at his disposal for the opening of Scriptural schools, and the employment of such agencies as he may consider most suitable to the circumstances of the colony. We are well aware of the difficulty of his situation. Controversial action is likely to embitter and irritate; and yet, so far as Romanists are concerned, without something special to awaken attention, simple Gospel preaching is too often disregarded. Christianity in the Mauritius requires some special introduction to the attention of these mingled populations, unlike in other respects, but too much resembling each other in carelessness about their souls.

Now it appears to us that Missionary efforts among the immigrant population of Mauritius will present Christianity precisely in the light which is most desirable, and afford to it the very recommendation that is needed.

We have already stated the reluctance of the free negro to field work. The same temper may be traced in the emancipated population of our West-India islands, and is the necessary reaction from a condition of compulsory labour. It is one which will continue to produce its inconveniences, until the impressions of former wrongs have become less vivid, and lost somewhat of their sharpness of outline. From these difficulties originated the idea of importing free labourers, not from Africa, but India, where the masses live on as their fathers did before them, without improvement in their temporal circumstances, receiving the lowest wages, and depressed to a scale of existence little superior to the irrational creation. So commenced the importation of coolies. The planters of Mauritius needed their bone and muscle; the peasantry of India were willing to come in the hope of bettering their condition and receiving higher wages than their home market was capable of affording them. The British Government stepped in, by wholesome regulations so to direct and guide the experiment that it should be without injury to either party, and that its entire distinctiveness from every thing which should savour of slave-trading operations might be throughout preserved.

It is evident that the character of the proceeding mainly depends on the reliability of the transacting medium; that it be one which can intervene with authority, and which will not fail to use impartially the power which it has to prevent evasion of engagements on the part of the coolies, or injustice and oppression on the part of the employer. Where such equipoise can be introduced, the immigration of free labourers into lands whose productive powers are locked up from the want of hands to till them, may be pursued without the system degenerating into a disguised slave-trade. But we fear that the instances are rare in which an intervention of this kind, alike powerful and loyal, can be secured. If a Government, engaging in transactions of this kind, is, after all, nothing but an agency for the planters; if its promises of protection are mere deceptions to ensnare the native the more easily; then scenes may be expected to ensue of the same stamp with those which have accompanied the progress of the open and avowed slave-trade. British authority may be depended upon in this matter, the more so as the coolies of India as well as the planters of Mauritius, are alike subjects of the British crown: and if, at any time, unjust acts should be permitted, the voice of public opinion will make itself heard on behalf of the oppressed.

The following points may be referred to, as exhibiting the care which is taken in carrying out the system. The annual importation is regulated according to the real wants of the colony, so as to guard against overcrowding. Government agents are appointed in the chief towns of the three Indian Presidencies, so as to prevent kidnapping, such as has been practised in the Isle of Bourbon, the coast of China, and other places. "These agents explain to intending emigrants the terms of their engagement, procure ships for their

* Government Despatch, p. 108.

conveyance, and superintend their embarkation."* Improvements, such as experience dictates, are being introduced from time to time. Last year new regulations came into force. Engagements between the planter and the labourer had been prohibited, except upon the shores of Mauritius or within the limits of the colony: they may now be entered into, under proper control, in India; and numbers of coolies leave the dépôts there as the engaged labourers of planters with whom they have already made the binding contract through the safe medium of Government agency. And thus the immigrant has now two courses open to him. He may come under an engagement, made in India, to serve a particular master in Mauritius; or he may come under an engagement to the Government, but free to select his own master on his arrival.

With respect to the voyage, "the number of the Hindus embarked is proportionate to the tonnage of the vessel. Two children count for one full-grown man. When the stranger reads that the "Akbar" has arrived at Mauritius with 277½ coolies, he must not imagine that the unfortunate Goolab or Ramosamy has left the half of his body behind him. There is an odd child on board, that is all."

On the arrival of the vessel at her destination, and her being able to show a satisfactory bill of health, "the Government Protector, or his representative, goes on board, and conducts the immigrants to the Bagne, a large building situated near the shore, and used as a dépôt for their reception." Otherwise, the ship is placed in quarantine. The necessity for such precaution is obvious. Ships constantly arrive with cholera or small-pox on board. In February 1859 there were no fewer than 2314 immigrants simultaneously under quarantine for small-pox.

In connexion with this feature, improved regulations are being introduced. Greater caution is enjoined in the care and examination of intending immigrants prior to their embarkation; while, on the Mauritius side, more ample accommodation is provided at the lazarettos.

Mauritius has benefited by coolie labour. The increase on its produce has been marvellous. It yielded of sugar in

	French pounds.
1812 . .	969,260
1851 . .	137,373,519
1852 . .	140,000,000
1858 . .	237,108,958
1859 . .	247,463,245

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 169.

The coolie population in the colony amounted

In 1847, to 55,187
In 1859, to 201,979.

It is to this increasingly large population that the attention of the Church Missionary Society has been directed, as affording a suitable field for Missionary effort. The immigrants are in circumstances which render them much more accessible than in their own country. There, amidst the dense masses of population, the old superstitions are being continually enacted before their eyes, and the ideas connected with them are being ever reproduced in the mind, so that it becomes proportionably difficult to escape from them. They are present in every direction to the eye, and the ear is filled with their sounds. But in Mauritius the coolies are an isolated body. There is nothing from without to reflect back upon them the old idolatrous notions, and maintain their existence in the mind. If they are to live on and influence the man, they must be upheld from within. External circumstances are no longer promotive of idolatry, but disconnected from it, and adverse to its continued action. If it is to live on and rule, it must draw upon the man himself for its sustentation, and be strong in the force of principle and conviction. Idolatry, shorn of its external aid, the force of sympathy, and prevailing opinion, its feasts and scenic representations, and thrown for support on whatever hold it has on the understanding and the heart, soon fades. The Hindu finds he can do without it; that he can neglect its ritual without prejudicing his own position. This growing indifference subjects him to no caste penalties which he cares for. His employment is not interfered with; his wages come to him regularly; he is exposed to no persecution that is of any moment; he is free to take his own way, and pleasure himself after his own inclinations. The old faith becomes enfeebled, and the trammels of the old tyranny relax. The result is such as might be expected—"the coolies can scarcely be said to have any religion." "The Hindus have no regular place of worship, and it may be affirmed without exaggeration, that the great mass of Indians in the colony are without religion of any kind." Even the Mohammedans grow enfeebled in their fanaticism.

There is one great religious festival observed once a year by the whole Indian population. It corresponds with the Mohurrum, and is known in the Mauritius as the Yamseh. "Originally it was celebrated only by the followers of Mohammed, but now it is

regarded as a sort of general festival, in which all may take part. It is the rival of the Fête de Dieu in extravagance and absurdity, and is generally known as the Indian Fête de Dieu, to distinguish it from that observed by the church of Rome." Contributions are levied on all classes by a begging procession, the money thus collected being expended "in the construction of the gouhn, a species of pagoda made of bamboo, and covered with tinsel and paper of different colours. It consists of three storeys, each of which seems to rise from the interior of the other, the one at the base being the largest. The services of the most skilful workmen among the Creoles, Indians, and Chinese are secured for its construction, which sometimes occupies four months." The great procession takes place in the evening time, when the gouhn is borne on poles resting on the shoulders of Mozambique negroes, who are hired for that purpose.

"It is not without a sort of barbarous magnificence. The gilt and coloured paper, with which its sides are covered, is lighted up within by lamps suspended from the roof, and without by paper lanterns attached to every angle and pinnacle of its pointed architecture, like the lights attached to the branches of a Christmas-tree. These lanterns are shaken by the movements of the bearers, and their flickering light is reflected from the gilt sides of the gouhn, giving it at times the dazzling appearance of a temple of solid gold. It is preceded by a sort of torchbearers, who carry at the end of long poles illuminated lanterns of glass, representing the sun, the crescent, and certain of the stars. The procession moves with slow and solemn step, regulated by the monotonous dirge-like chant of the mollahs."*

In this procession the destruction of the gouhn was wont to be an essential part of the religious rite. Lighted at its four corners, it was dropped into water, the lower part submerged, while above the flames spread from storey to storey; "but of late years it has been rescued from fire and water, and reserved to take part in the procession of the ensuing year."

Thus separated for a season from the great mass of Indian population, the coolies of the Mauritius are peculiarly accessible to well-directed Missionary operations. They are quite open to us. "But unless a strenuous effort be made by the Protestant church at home to send Missionaries to instruct them in the simple truths of the Gospel, like the coloured population of the Mauritius, at the time of the emancipation, they will fall into the hands of the priests of Rome. That church has done nothing for them as yet: she has had her hands full with the Creole population, which had a prior claim on her attention." Let, then, the pernicious action of that system be anticipated. A successful Missionary work amongst this people will be productive of results the most important as regards themselves: this is manifest. At present they are steeped in moral degradation. "The grossest social disorders are practised without shame." But what a reaction for good on others would not a powerful work of evangelization amongst them be productive of? How it would tell on the shores of India! "No doubt India is the stronghold of heathenism, before which the battle of the cross must be fought and won; but Mauritius is one of those outposts, the capture of which would contribute much to the final overthrow of that stronghold. The coolies in Mauritius come from the different parts of the three Presidencies, some of which are so remote as to be beyond the pale of Missionary enterprise. After the expiry of their engagement, many of them return to the places of their birth."

There is constant intercourse between Mauritius and the continent, and "almost every ship that sails for India conveys immigrants to their native land." In what condition shall they return—instructed and evangelized, or as ignorant and more demoralized than when they left? They must exercise an influence for good or for evil; for having in their travels acquired wealth, they will command a certain amount of respect among their countrymen. How valuable they might prove! They might be so dealt with, that, on their return to their own land, they may be as leaven introduced into the mass. Fragments of nations have often been used for this purpose. Broken off by adverse circumstances, political changes, and convulsions, from the masses to which they originally belonged, or going forth in a spirit of adventure and commercial enterprise, they have been transferred to some new country, and have come within the reach of that Christian teaching and instruction which was not to be found in their own dark land; and becoming there recipients of the Gospel, and undergoing a happy transformation, they have gone back to be messengers of mercy to the parent stock at home. This is the process which has been going forward in Sierra Leone, and in this consists the importance and value of that Mission, that individuals have been brought

* "Creoles and Coolies," p. 186.

there from inaccessible localities, to which they may eventually return, no longer as heathen, but as Christians. Why should not the free coolie immigrants be regarded in the same light? Brought together from various parts of the peninsula, they are far more easy of access than at home. Untrammelled by caste, they are more free to act, and are not afraid to receive the visits of the Missionary.

It was, so to speak, incidentally that the attention of the Church Missionary Society was directed to the immigrant population of Mauritius. The Rev. David Fenn, connected with the North-Tinnevelly Itinerancy, visited Mauritius in 1854, for the recovery of his health. He found at Port Louis a little congregation of Tamilian Christians, under the instruction of Mr. Taylor, an agent of the Madras Bible Society, and he aided him in his work. His letters first awakened the attention of the Parent Committee to the importance of Mauritius as a field of Missionary labour; and two Missionaries, transferred from India, one from the north and the other from the south, are diligently occupied in spreading abroad the knowledge of the Gospel in the Bengalee and Tamilian languages.

The encouragement in this undertaking, so far as it has progressed, has been beyond our expectations. "In almost every instance," observes the local Committee in its report, "the employers of the Indians have expressed not only a willingness to authorize their visits to the camps, but a lively satisfaction in witnessing the endeavour that is made to enlighten the gross darkness of their labourers. A more convincing proof could not be desired of the earnest desire of these gentlemen to promote the welfare of the Indians than the welcome thus given to the ministers of religion aiming to impart to them the instruction needful for reasonable and immortal beings. It refutes the reproach, that the masters look upon their servants only as if they were cattle, requiring nothing else than to be well housed and fed. Some instances in which the reception of the Missionary has been most cordial and courteous are those in which they have introduced themselves to proprietors to whom they were entire strangers. Not less gratifying, generally speaking, is the hearing they gain from the Indians themselves. Extensive visible results are not to be immediately expected, and even if long delayed, it is no just cause for discouragement. The seed sown in the earth germinates in secret, concealed beneath the soil, before even the tender blade appears above the surface; and the word of God in human hearts has been compared to such seed by One to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no mysteries are hidden. Instances, however, might be cited of evident good effected by these labours."

In the journals of the Missionaries themselves there is much to verify these observations. Our Missionary to the Tamil immigrants, the Rev. Stephen Hobbs, speaks of one estate to which he had been repeatedly invited by the proprietor, to see what could be done for the spiritual benefit of the labourers. From him he received a most cordial reception. He conducted him round the camp in the cool of the evening, taking a lively interest in all that passed between the Missionary and the people. He wished that a school should be commenced. Mr. Hobbs' reports teem with like instances.

"*Nov.* 20, 1859.—Set out on foot for A——. I found the proprietor (an entire stranger to me, and I had come without an introduction), and immediately stated my object. Nothing could exceed the courteous and cordial kindness of his reply. 'A Missionary is truly welcome, Sir, on my establishment, and I have the greatest pleasure in requesting you to pass wherever you wish on your excellent business, and to return as often as you find it convenient and desirable.' He begged me to sit down, and pressed me to take refreshment, and regretted that, as he resided in town, his means of hospitality on the spot were not very superior, assuring me that, such as they were, I was always welcome to them. After expressing myself as well as I could in indifferent French, as he could not speak English, I repaired to the camp, which is very large, and abounding in Tamils, but the time was too far spent to allow of my fully enjoying the occasion. A sirdar placed a chair in a place shaded from the declining sun, which was still warm, and I had a nice conference with a few, who grouped round me for a short time. A Roman Catholic, amongst the rest, questioned, and listened with great eagerness, and hoped I would come often to instruct him, and remind him of the things he had formerly learned.

"*Dec.* 16—Passed in the morning to R—— B——, where I had not been since the change of proprietors. Found Mr. —— in the sugar-house, and introduced myself, briefly explaining my object. I meet with a kind reception almost everywhere, but never did and never shall enjoy a richer profusion of courteous hospitality than on this occasion. It was a favourable moment, as the breakfast bell for the

labourers was just about to sound, and I had a pleasing interview with many of the people, though a hurried one, as they have but little spare time out of the hour allowed them for breakfast. It is one of the largest assemblies of Tamil people I know in the island, and the sight of numerous children running about revived the strong desire I had often expressed to the former resident proprietor to see a school provided for them. I found there a Brahmin, highly educated, who told me his father had held a situation of high rank in Tinnevelly. He did not wish to be a school-teacher, but said, if a school were opened, he would gladly attend to it, and put the master into the proper way of teaching. I felt truly humbled that the Lord, notwithstanding my many imperfections, should indulge me with such accumulated proofs of his gracious acceptance.

Dec. 17—Before taking leave of Mr. W——, I mentioned to him a plan I had devised for the formation of an endowment fund, to be in no way connected with my Mission, but to be left to accumulate until a sufficient sum was invested to support a resident clergyman in the district for English and French duties. He entered warmly into the plan, and headed the list with the liberal contribution of 100*l.*"

The Rev. Paul Ansorgé, our Missionary to the Bengalee and Hindustanee-speaking people, bears similar testimony—

"I have also made several excursions to the districts Pamplemousses, Rivière du Romport, Flacq, and went once with the bishop to Black River. Whenever I have gone to Indians, I must say that they usually receive me friendly. They bring soon any sort of seat, and if it be nothing but a basket turned upside, I have soon ten or twelve, sometimes a larger number, around me, listening attentively to my address. On other estates I have had sometimes almost all the men of the camp attending, and been enabled to put before a good number our Saviour's love for poor sinners. As I get more and more boldness to speak in Hindui, I feel that my sphere of labour extends itself more and more. Here I meet a Bengalee, there a man from the Northern Provinces, and he is delighted to hear me speak to him in his language. On another occasion I meet a Mussulman, who is well pleased when I read to him in his Hindustanee a few passages of Scripture. I find in general a much greater hardness of heart among the Mohammedans than among Hindus. I got from Calcutta, some months ago, a number of Hindustanee, and a few Hindui tracts, for which I have been very thankful. On my visits I very often meet in a camp some one supplied with a copy of a part of Scripture. Now and then some Indians show their friendly feelings towards me by asking me to accept something to eat; and on several occasions, when I did not accept this, they offered me a shilling, or a rupee. Only a few days ago, when I was speaking to some women, who were sitting before a hut, and preparing for their meal, one of them, when they had listened very attentively, asked me to accept a sixpence. She said she would gladly give me more, but she had no more. I first declined taking it, but she urged me to accept it. I took it then, and told her I would use it for the poor. There came lately some Indians to me, asking for a Gospel. I inquired where they lived, and visited them frequently. I had much hope that they would follow our Lord, but on my last visit I found that they had gone to some other place, but I did not hear where to. On my excursions I meet with the geatest kindness and hospitality, as well from Roman-Catholic as from Protestant proprietors. I have now so many places where I am sure to find friendly reception, that without difficulty I can go about."

But we must refrain from further extracts, however interesting.* Enough has been said to show that the work is most encouraging, whether viewed in relation to the planters or the people. The proprietors welcome the Missionary, and give him ready access to their people: the people also welcome him, and are willing to be taught. What more can we require? If we have the seed and the field before us, ready prepared, in which it is to be sown, what remains but that we should go forward and do the work?

We regard the immigrant population of Mauritius as a field ready prepared for the seed, from which a rich harvest in due time may be expected. And will not this react for good on the general population of the island? As to the great mass of them, a nominal Romanism covers over an indifference to all religion. But is not this easily to be accounted for? They have been neglected even by their priests. Now the Church of Rome is labouring zealously to transmute them into bigoted and prejudiced Romanists; but she has not yet had time sufficient to accomplish this. It is then just the moment for scriptural Christianity to step in and assert its claims. In what way can it do it so effec-

* For interesting details of this Mission see "Church Missionary Record" for Oct., 1859, Nov. 1860, and Oct. 1861.

tually as by these unobtrusive, disinterested efforts for the conversion of the poor heathen coolies? These gentlemen planters and others must hear what the Missionaries teach, and they are observant of the results; and when these results appear—when they see the heathen moved, and coming forward to be instructed and baptized, and little groups of Christians raised up, who unite in worship on the Lord's-day—what proofs have they not here of the truth of Protestant Christianity, proofs better than a thousand arguments! Let an unmistakeable work of evangelization be wrought amongst these heathen coolies, and all Mauritius will be aroused. It will be a new thing amongst that mingled people, one unprecedented in the history of their islands. A realized Christianity, one whose energy for good is demonstrated by the effects that it produces, this is what they need, and this we trust is about to be afforded them.

Only let us, as a Missionary Society, address ourselves with determination to the work. This immigrant population, of upwards of 200,000—more than double the Maori population of New Zealand—is not only important, from its numbers, but still more so from the relation which it bears to India, and to the general population of Mauritius. It is well worthy of special attention. It is well to have there two experienced Missionaries, and three native lay agents, but we require more. There are other languages to be dealt with besides the Tamil and the Bengalee: we read of Mahratta and Telugu. In short, in the Mauritius there is congregated a people representative of many of the tribes and races of India. What a locality for a strong Mission, effectively worked—one, the results of which will not fail to tell back on the various Presidencies of India. And then, besides the people from India, there are between 6000 and 7000 Chinese, and also Magalashes and East Africans of various races.

Captured slavers are occasionally brought in to the Mauritius, and the Africans found on board, as on the Western Coast, are liberated. These victims of the East-Coast slave-trade, brought from countries lying far in the interior, to which Europeans have yet had no access, become thus an important element on which Missionary effort may be brought to bear, if so be, in in due time, like their brethren on the West Coast, they may become messengers of mercy to their countrymen. Some fragments of a letter* from the Bishop of Mauritius bring out with much force of interest the tie thus formed between Mauritius and the continent of Africa.

"To-day I have made a discovery in which I rejoice very much.

"Yesterday I inquired particularly into the history of the poor liberated Africans, and found an interpreter with them, who had come to the place, five years ago, from the Macqunas country. His description of the sufferings of which these children had told him was very heartrending. Until the interpreter came, no one knew what was the matter with the poor children. 'Amai, Amai,' was their one cry. When he came he said it meant *mother*. Then followed accounts of how they had been torn from their mothers.

"This morning a body of Africans came early to see us. After prayers, I sat down and talked with them. They described their country, &c. I told them of my visit to their countrymen yesterday. When I mentioned the name, Macqunas, they said 'That is our country.' 'Do you know the language?'—'Yes.' 'What is the word for mother?'—'Mayaga.' When I look to the Polyglotta† given me by the Committee nine years ago: on turning to the map, I see Matatan along the Mozambique territory; and on referring to Matatan, p. 19, XI. 5, I see that Amai and Mayaga are names for mother. This gives me a clue. I question them fully, and make them give me equivalents in Creole for words in Matatan. Poor old men! they laughed most heartily at my knowledge of their language; and I felt most thankful for this additional connexion with East Africa. Their recollection is quite wonderful, and the accuracy of the book most satisfactory. May it please God to make this discovery a means of preparing us here to help on the evangelization of that dark region of the earth!"

In concluding this article, we may be permitted to ask one question. Who will help to kindle up a light in the Mauritius, the bright reflection of which shall fall westward on Madagascar and Africa, and eastward on India and China?

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* May 4, 1861.

† "Polyglotta Africana," by the Rev. Dr. Koelle.

ENGLISH MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CENTRAL ASIA.

In previous Numbers we have directed attention to the increase of Russian influence in Central and Eastern Asia, her absorption of new territories, and the remarkable and rapid extension of her frontier. Each mail brings out new facts, and shows with what energy she is working out her plans. The Shahs of Kokan and Bokhara are at open enmity; and as both have solicited the aid of Russia, she has the opportunity of intervening to her own advantage. The Russians are reported to have concluded an alliance with the chief of Tashkend, and to have occupied that city with troops. Such is the news from Cabool. Further, the correspondent of the "Delhi Gazette" in Cabool, reports that "an ambassador from the king of Kokan arrived in Cabool on the 5th of June, on his way to Peshawur, where he intended to ask the aid of troops from the British authorities. If his proposals were not favourably received, he was to go to Constantinople. The Ameer was informed that a treaty has been concluded between Russia and China, by which the former obtains charge of seven cities of the Chinese, situated near the boundaries of Yarkund and Kashgar, close to Turkistan, and leave to quarter troops in any of the cities. The Russians are also said to have agreed to assist the Chinese with troops against the British and Kokanees when needful. Whatever truth there may be in these reports, it is evident that Central Asia is at present in a very excited state."

It is also evident, that if England be disposed to let Central Asia alone, Russia will not do so. What is to be done under such circumstances? Shall we content ourselves with strengthening our frontier lines, and permit Russia to consolidate her power over the steppes and mountain ranges of those vast territories; or if her influence is to be checked, how shall it be done? Assuredly it will not answer for us to remain indifferent: these aspirations must be checked, but it must be done by commercial, and not by political competition. We must meet, not as military rivals, but as merchants, in the markets of China, Thibet, and Turkistan. We, too, must have our exploring expeditions, which shall penetrate through intervening territories, and open up new lines of communication and new markets to our British and Indian merchants. The moment is most opportune for such movements: the necessity of extending our influence into Central Asia is obvious and recognised, and, we may also add, the great effort has commenced.

In the direction of China, the treaty of Tien-tsin has opened doors as well for the merchant as the Missionary, of which instant advantage should be taken. "The port of New-Chang is to eastern Tartary what Kurrachee is to Afghanistan, and through it we should export the rich fleeces of Manchouria." It is true some discouraging reports have been put in circulation respecting it. It is described as situated in a low, flat, swampy country. Standing on a creek, eight miles from the main river, and eighty from its mouth, it is approached by a very tortuous stream, which is full of sand-banks, yet there are traces of traffic and intercommunications with the countries beyond, which may render it worth while to investigate more closely the capabilities of the place. About fifteen miles below New-Chang, the river forms into two branches, one of which, called Wy-leaou-ho, runs on about 330 miles to Le-mun-tun, a place of great trade, while the other, called Le-leaou-ho, goes on to Mardu. There is a large junk trade, the Tien-tsin and Shantung junks loading at Tai-taze, and those from Ningpo and Shanghae at Yenko, the exportations consisting of peas, beans, tobacco, peacake, oil, and drugs. No doubt our woollens here would find a quick demand, nor should enterprising men be deterred by Yenko being "a filthy place of mud-houses built in a swamp, and the streets full of uncleanliness," all which may be true, yet no one thinks of regarding Wapping as a specimen of the rest of England.

We are happy to find that the Rev. Joseph Edkins, of the London Missionary Society, has recently removed from Shanghae to Tien-tsin. Wherever our troops or merchants go before, our Missionaries should at least follow. He found there the American Missionaries referred to in a previous Number. "Tien-tsin lines the Peiho and Grand Canal for four miles, and is at present in a flourishing condition. It is, after Pekin, the largest city in the province of Chili, and it is said to contain half a million of people. It has grown up within two centuries on the new land formed from the sea by the Peiho river, and it appears likely to increase in size. It is garrisoned by French and English troops, and will be held for at least another year, probably longer. Among the English officers and men there is a band of zealous and faithful Christians. Besides the regular services

conducted by the army chaplain, there is a meeting every evening in an upper room."

The opportunities of usefulness in Tien-tsin itself are encouraging. Mr. Edkins observes—"I find that public preaching in the temples here is remarkably well received. The last two Lord's-days I had good audiences at the north and west gates, where the temple courts are well suited for gathering a congregation of passers by." The position, moreover, is exceedingly important, as affording a centre of operations in the province of Chili. "Two branches of the Peiho enter it here, and, besides, there is the Grand Canal, which terminates here by joining its waters to those of the Peiho." Pekin is not accessible, the British Ambassador declining as yet, for political reasons, to issue passports for that purpose. If the object be to coax the Emperor back from Tartary, we do not think it will be attained. He is reported to be building at Zehol. Meanwhile this delay in using a treaty-right may be interpreted by the Chinese as a surrender of it, and when it does come to be acted upon, new complications may arise.

Looking from north to middle China, the great Central Provinces are beginning to be opened up, and Europeans are penetrating into the interior. An exploratory trip of much interest has recently been accomplished by some gentlemen from Canton to Hankow, and thence by the great river to Shanghae.

"The travellers, R. F. Thorburn, Esq., Dr. W. Dickson, and the Rev. Messrs. Beach and Bonney, left Canton on the 11th of April, in native boats, with passports and other requisites for travelling through the interior provinces, their main object being to learn as much as possible of the country and its inhabitants.

"It will be seen, by reference to the maps of China, that the Tung-ting lake, the greatest in the empire, occupies a central position, so that the city of Yoh-chau, near the Great River, at the mouth of the lake, is about equally distant from Canton and Shanghae, nearly due north from the first, and west by south from the latter city. Europeans have, in many instances, travelled over the Meiling Pass, through Kiangsi, across the Poyang Lake, and on the Great River, but seldom, if ever before, have they taken the more westerly route through the province of Hunan. The whole trip was performed without any serious accident, or any interruption by imperialists or insurgents, the people and officers everywhere showing themselves civil and obliging, with one or two exceptions to be noticed in the sequel.

"Passing up westward from Canton, by Fahshan, the travellers took the north branch of the river, and ascended it till they crossed the northern frontiers of the province and reached I-chang Hien, the first city in Hunan on their route, a distance of 357 miles in nineteen days. From I-chang they proceeded, by land, through a valley to Chin Chau, thirty miles in two days; thence onward by river in boats, which brought them across the Tung-ting Lake, and down the Yangtsze to Hankow, 756 miles in eighteen days: there they embarked on the Saginaw, and arrived at Shanghae.

"Up through the province of Canton the progress was slow, the boatmen rowing, or poling, or tracking nearly all the way against a strong current, and not unfrequently, in the upper part of their course, over rapids and through deep gorges. The face of the country was exceedingly diversified: low and level, and subject to the ebb and flow of tides at first, then hilly, and soon high and rugged. Here were to be seen rich and extensive fields of grain and the mulberry, there lofty ridges of mountains, and almost everywhere villages, hamlets, or farmhouses, and occasionally brickkilns, limekilns, dépôts of salt, &c. Some of the mountains were covered with forest-trees, such as the pine, camphor, &c. At one place they saw ox-carts carrying coal from the mines to the river-side, where it was put in boats for Canton.

"Between the southern and northern watersheds the travellers found the country, not high and rugged, as might have been anticipated, and as it is at the Meiling Pass, but low and smooth, and the road broad, flagged with large stone, and crowded with coolies and mules carrying merchandise. Their own party was increased by a score of chair-bearers, and a still larger number of baggage-coolies. While on their land trip, some popular excitement was got up on two occasions; first, by a crowd of people pressing into their upper room at an inn, when the floor broke from under the intruders; and again, as they were entering a hotel at Chin Chau, when the soldiers and people came into collision, and our travellers 'thought it best to rest on their arms for the night.'

"Downwards, through the province of Hunan, their progress was less slow and more easy than it had been on the southern declivity of the mountains. As they passed on to the north, marked changes were visible, both in the general aspect of the country and in the character of its inhabitants. The people seemed more 'tame,' and of a smaller stature, and so the face of the country seemed

less bold, and the products of the soil less luxuriant. Instead of granite and limestone rocks predominating, red sandstone was more abundant. Coal was plentiful and very cheap; and as they advanced down the river, the Lai-kiang, cities, towns, and villages became more and more frequent and populous. Tea and hemp were among the grand staples.

"From the time they took their boats at Chin Chau, fourteen days brought the travellers to Yoh-chau, at the mouth of the Tung-ting Lake, near the centre of the Hukwang, the two lake provinces, Hunan and Hupeh.

"These two provinces together have an area of more than 144,000 square miles, with a population, ten years ago, of more than 45,000,000; and though the one now traversed by the foreigners may be less fertile than the other, yet it is of greater extent. If Hupeh is the 'granary of the empire,' Hunan is not less rich in its natural products. Its mines possess gold, silver, and probably other metals, with abundance of coal; its quarries afford beautiful specimens of granite and marble; its highlands are well stocked with wild game; its lakes and rivers teem with waterfowl and fish; while its fruits and vegetables are not few, nor of inferior qualities. The western parts of the province are inhabited by independent mountaineers—the many and various tribes of Miautsz, 'children of the soil,' or aborigines.

"How far the rivers of Hunan will be found practicable for steam navigation is yet to be ascertained; the great Tung-ting Lake, and many of the rivers that flow into it, will probably afford easy navigation for boats of light draft.

"Through the whole trip, from Canton to Yoh-chau, no part of the country was found occupied by rebels: in many places, however, traces of their devastations were still visible, especially in the temples and altars of the pagan deities.

"Taking it all in all, this first journey through the southern, central, and eastern parts of China Proper must be regarded as a good move in the right direction, and the gentlemen may well be congratulated on account of their good success, which no doubt will stimulate others, not only to take the same course, but also to travel into regions beyond, and to more remote, yet not less inviting regions of 'the flowery land.'"*

Hankow is now the seat of a British Consulate. The yamun selected by Mr. Parkes for the Consul's use is situated at Wuchang; but, in consequence of the threatening aspect of the rebel forces in the neighbourhood, that city is under martial law, and the various yamuns are occupied by imperialist forces. For the present, therefore, the Consul remains at Hankow.

"He landed with a guard of marines and two constables on the 26th April, and took formal possession. The building he occupies is nearly in the centre of the city. The foreign concession is at the eastern end of the city, with a fair proportion of water-frontage. Vessels of the largest draught can lie alongside, the bank having eight fathoms close to. Hankow Reach is an extremely fine one; its extent from the Middle Shoal to the Han-yang Shoal being about six miles, and from one mile and a-quarter to three-quarters across. Plenty of room for turning, and good anchorage throughout. The present anchorage is a little beyond the river Han.

"The towns of Han-yang and Wu-chang are both walled; the latter large enough to deserve the name of a city. Both have, within the walls, hills from 100 to 300 feet high, while Hankow is perfectly flat.

"The Braves are of the lowest rabble from the surrounding country. They seek opportunities to create a disturbance, and annoy foreigners. The tradespeople are glad to see the foreigners amongst them, and conduct themselves respectably, but with inordinate inquisitiveness, as might be expected amongst those who have seldom seen any foreigners, and never one of the fair sex."*

The availableness of Hankow as a commercial entrépôt becomes increasingly evident. It lies 145 hours steam from Shanghae, while for the descent some sixty hours suffice. Its occupation is seasonable and important, and is calculated to give a new direction to much of that commercial enterprise which has hitherto been endeavouring to find an outlet, by the Mongolian steppes, to Ourga and Kiachta.

The Yang-tze-kiang, the River, as it is termed by the Chinese, or the Great River, as in the last treaty, is the great artery of China. "Its size and mercantile importance will best be realized from the fact that it is twice the length and breadth of the Ganges, and is the second largest river in the world. The Ganges, with all its windings, is only 1570 miles from its source to its mouth: the Yang-tze is not under 3000 miles, and is navigable to a point 1100 miles from Shanghae by large steamers: for some hundred miles above that there is deep water, to which

* "North-China Herald," June 1, 1861.

* "North-China Herald," May 1, 1861.

the removal of an obstacle, much less than that in the Godavery, would allow steamers to penetrate. Unlike the Ganges, the whole volume of water does not lose itself in tidal creeks, but pours out into the Pacific in one vast stream sixty miles wide. By a ship which has once made the trip, no pilots are required. Rising in the snows of the Kuen Lun mountains, it enters China Proper, not 300 miles from Suddya in our province of Assam. Up to this point it is believed to be navigable by boats, for vast rafts of timber, laden with hill produce, pass down. It is to be regretted that Captain Blakiston's expedition left the river at a point 1200 miles from Shanghae, to proceed overland to Ching-too, the capital of Szechuen, the most westerly province, and thence to Lassa. Our only chance now of proving whether China cannot be most easily entered from India by the Berhampooter to Suddya, and thence to the Yang-tze, rests with Captain Smyth; and we trust he will not leave the matter undetermined. Down these 1100 miles, from I-chang to Shanghae, the river rolls through provinces of virgin fertility, whence proceed the teas and silks which find their way to Canton and Shanghae, and which, on the other hand, our cottons and woollens slowly reach, both imports and exports being subjected in transit to the 'squeezing' of the mandarins. Till the anarchy caused by the invasion of the rebels, and the folly of the imperialists, ensued, the plain of the Yang-tze was the garden of China. From it there runs north, to Tien-tsin, the Grand Canal, up which used to float the whole supplies of Northern China. At a point higher up, the great trunk road from Pekin to Canton crosses the river. Where the Yang-tze flows past the Poyang Lake, it receives several navigable streams, which run through the black-tea districts to the west; while those from the eastward open up the green-tea districts. The Shanghae merchants who accompanied Admiral Hope's expedition, describe the Poyang lake, and Kiu-kiang, the chief town, as the centre of a most extensive network of river and canal communication. What Kiu-kiang is at this point, Hankow is still more, 200 miles farther up. It stands on high banks at the junction of the Han and Yang-tze rivers, a little below the Tung-ting Lake. There the expedition found that the treaty had been published, and the merchants were eager to trade. There, at Kiu-kiang, and at Chin-kiang, between Shanghae and Nankin, we have established Consuls, and trade is already brisk. At Hankow, our yamun stands at the eastern end, with large river frontage. Vessels, we are told, of the largest draught can lie alongside in eight fathoms of water. The description of the reach, stretching for six miles in length, and about a mile and a half across, shows that it far surpasses Calcutta Garden Reach.

"In all our past commerce with China, we have been confined to the produce of three sea-coast provinces, inhabited by sixty millions of people, or only a sixth of the whole population, on the most moderate calculation. Yet, under all our difficulties, we have created a trade of 60,000,000 sterling in less than twenty years. In 1857, the trade of Shanghae alone was about 27,000,000. To what will it not grow in other twenty, when it becomes to the Yang-tze what Calcutta is to the Ganges? It will be the wealthiest city in Asia, the emporium of a river traffic unprecedented. Already its merchants are bringing out their river steamers."*

An able analysis of our trade with China was delivered by Colonel Sykes at the recent meeting of the British Association, Manchester, from which we introduce one passage—

"In 1814, the total amount of imports and exports on British account was about 5,750,000*l.* In 1826, the value exceeded 7,000,000*l.*; and, for the last five years of the East-India Company's monopoly, the average value of the Company's, and the private trade in which they permitted their servants to engage, approached 10,000,000*l.* Since the Act of 1853, which deprived the Company of their monopoly, a rush of competing interests has increased the trade fully fourfold. In 1856, the value, independent of the opium trade with India, amounted to 17,526,198*l.* The exports exceeded the imports by nearly 4,000,000*l.*, which must have been paid to China in silver; but as the balance of trade between India and China has always been in favour of India, the silver from Europe found its way to India, through China, in payment for opium; and this fact assists to account for the silver which pours into India annually, and does not leave the country again."

Colonel Sykes, in the above *resumé*, adverts to the fact, that the balance of 4,000,000*l.* which was against us, had been met by the sale of opium.

If that unhappy article of opium had not interfered, we are persuaded that the cottons and woollen goods of England, if honest and well selected for the Chinese market, would have sufficed to turn the balance in our

* "Overland Friend of India," July 4, 1861.

favour. But the opium injured legitimate commerce, not only by distracting the minds of the people, but by impoverishing the customer, undermining his health, and in every way unfitting him for healthful and economical pursuits. Had the opium been unknown, the issue of the trade would have been altogether different. Instead of India being paid for opium, England would have been remunerated for her fabrics; we should have avoided expensive wars; and our position before God, and China, and the world, would have been far otherwise than it is at present. But we have hope for the future. It would seem as though the article of opium was about to be eliminated from our trade with China. Indian opium does not meet with the same demand that it used to do on the coast of China, and has fearfully gone down in value.

The Bengal opium has fallen in price "from 240*l.* a chest, at which it sold two months ago, to 140*l.*, which it hardly realizes now. The visit of the members of the Shanghae Chamber of Commerce to Hankow, the great commercial mart of the Yang-tze-kiang, revealed the fact, only before suspected, that indigenous opium is largely cultivated, that it sells below the price which excise opium commands in India, and at just one-half the rate fetched by the Malwa drug. In the face of this fact it is most unlikely that the Indian Government will add the increased export duty of 10*l.* a chest to the Malwa opium as they announced months ago, or that the large quantity of both Malwa and Bengal opium which is this year expected will make up for the decrease in price. Instead of opium realizing this year 6,107,561*l.* as expected by Mr. Laing on the supposition that it would bring, as it did last year, 175*l.* a chest, it is doubtful if it will yield five millions."

The diminished sale for it in China may be accounted for in a variety of ways—the desolation and impoverishment caused by the civil war, the determinate opposition of the Taepings to the use of opium, confirmed as that fact is by the fresh testimony of Missionaries on the spot, and the growth of opium by the Chinese themselves. We entertain hopes, therefore, that the Anglo-Indian authorities will abandon its cultivation, more especially as a new demand on the industry of India has arisen which it will require all their resources and energies to meet, namely, to take up the position which has been hitherto occupied by the cotton states of America, to raise cotton for the English market, and yield that by free labour which has hitherto been forced by slave labour. Our commercial position, as a nation, has been hitherto anomalous and painful. We have, by raising a revenue from the growth and sale of opium, fed the opium mania on the coast of China; we have, by the admission of slave-grown sugar into our ports, without any differential duty, encouraged the planters of Cuba to prosecute the slave-trade, and import fresh cargoes of Bozals; and we have, by our exclusive reliance on slave-grown cotton for the supply of our factories, upheld the domestic institution, and encouraged Virginia to breed, and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, &c., to buy and work the slave. Let us trust that the elevation of India into an important field for the growth of cotton, will disembarass us of these *mésalliances* in the east and west.

But, looking above Hankow, on the upper waters of the Yang-tze-kiang, we are reminded of the overland party referred to in a previous paragraph, which, after parting from Sir James Hope's expedition at the entrance of the Tung-ting Lake, had gone up the stream with a view of reaching Tsching-too, the capital of Szechuen, the most westerly province of China, and proceeding thence to Lhassa. Major Sarel, one of the party, has communicated to the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society the following description of the great river from Hankow to Kwei-Chau-fu, 1300 English miles from Shanghae—

"From Hankow to Yoh-chau, at the entrance to the Tung-ting Lake, we were taken in tow by Admiral Sir James Hope; and as that part of the river was surveyed by the naval officers, Capt. Blakiston did not commence his chart until we left Yoh-chau.

"Nothing remarkable was met with between Hankow and Yoh-chau: this town is situated at the entrance to the Tung-ting Lake. I consider it well located for a trading port, as more merchandize apparently comes into the Yang-tze by the lake than by the upper part of the Great River. There is water conveyance from it through the lake by a canal, which joins the river about four or five miles above King-chau: this is a shorter route than by the river, but we travelled by the river in order to make a chart of it, so that I can give no information of the country through which the canal passes. The boatmen said there was not sufficient water in it for steamers. After leaving Yoh-chau, the river becomes very tortuous. (I ought to mention that at Yoh-chau we observed a great number of sheep grazing: this is the only place we have seen them on the river, and very few cattle have been seen.) The country on both banks is flat; and immense sand spits reach into the river, which are

uncovered with water at this time of year: the land is cultivated everywhere with wheat and beans.

"King-chau is a flourishing town, and a great number of Sze-chuen junks come there, bringing salt, tea, sugar, and tobacco, and taking back cotton, raw and manufactured. Coal is brought by way of the lake and canal from Hu-nan. The town is populous, being inhabited by Tartars and Chinese: the numbers given us were absurd. It is five days by land from Hankow. I give the value of different articles as follows (1 Mexican dollar = 1000 cash)—tea, 140 cash per catty; charcoal, 1800 cash per picul of 100 catties; flour, 29 cash per catty; these were the prices we paid, so that the articles are probably cheaper.

"From King-chau to Itu the country is flat and cultivated as below. At Itu mountains first commence, and continue to I-chang, or Y-lin, as it is called on some old maps. The current is here not so rapid as lower down, and wherever we got soundings we never found less than four fathoms in mid-channel. At I-chang a great number of junks were collected, but they were generally full of Braves, who were being sent to Sze-chuen to put down the robbers that have lately become very troublesome there. There is not much indication of trade. We met a fleet of about 200 junks with Tartar troops on their way to Hankow to oppose the rebels.

"About two miles above I-chang the hills contract to a precipitous gorge, about eighty yards in width: the current becomes here much stronger, and shortly after the rapids commence, and between I-chang and Kweichau Fu we had to ascend seven or eight of them. At this time of the year they would not be practicable for steamers. From the marks on the faces of the cliffs, the water at times rises seventy or eighty feet, but in a place where the rocks are almost vertical, I should think the current would increase so much that no steamer could stem it. Except close to the rapids, there are generally strong eddies which the country boats take advantage of, and might be of service to steamers; but as these rapids extend almost the whole way from I-chang to Kweichau, such a break (supposing the river to be navigable above) would present a serious obstacle to navigation. In a great number of places, in the gorge between I-chang and Kweichau, coal is worked in galleries driven into the hill sides close to the river: it is worked into bricks with water, and sent in boats down to I-chang, which place they reach in a day.

"About Kweichau the poppy is cultivated, and opium made: we were asked nearly four dollars a catty for it, but the prefect of the district said that its proper cost was little over two dollars. Raw silk was seen in some shops. Mexican dollars have always been current at 1000 cash: we have no more, or they would probably be current here. We got yesterday seventeen hundred and twenty cash for a tael of silver."

"NOTES.—On the maps of the Jesuits, as given in Du Halde, folio edition, London, 1738, the latitudes and longitudes of cities are laid down from *Pekin*, and also from *Paris*. According to that authority Pekin is east of Paris,

by Gaubil,	113°	51′	30″
by Koegler,	114	20	00
by others,	114	00	00

"From Greenwich, as given in the 'Chinese Repository,' vol. II. p. 433, Pekin is east long. 116° 45′. In both these authorities, the latitude of Pekin is the same, viz. 39° 55′ N. With these figures, the position of the cities named in Major Sarel's paper may easily be determined.

"Yoh-chau Fu, lat. 29° 24′ 00″, long. 3° 34′ 05″ W. from Pekin; King-chau Fu, lat. 30° 26′ 40″, long. 4° 23′ 40″ W. from Pekin; I-chang Fu, lat. 30° 49′ 00″, long. 5° 18′ 10″ W. from Pekin; Kwei-chau, lat. 30° 57′ 36″, long. 5° 50′ 27″ W. from Pekin; Kwei-chau Fu, lat. 30° 09′ 36″, long. 6° 53′ 30″ W. from Pekin.

"All these cities above Yoh-chau, namely, Kingchau, I-chang, Kwei, and Kweichau, stand on the left bank of the river; Itu (or Ee-too Hien) stands on the right bank, about equally distant from Kingchau and I-chang."*

Other letters convey similar information that below I-chang Fu, 364 geographical miles above Hankow, and 948 by the river, or, in round numbers, 1100 English miles from Shanghae, the Yang-tze is navigable for steamers of considerable size, but that at the distance of about three miles above that city it suddenly, and altogether changes its character, and "narrowing to less than one-half its former width, rushes with a strong current through a long gorge, with stupendous cliffs rising on either hand. At fifteen miles above I-chang the first actual rapid exists at this season (April 12th), and from thence upwards, as far as we now are, about eighty-three miles above I-chang, its course is through a continuous mountainous country, passing through several more gorges, and obstructed occasionally by

* "North-China Herald," May 25, 1861.

rapids. But there is no want of water, for the river is very deep in these narrows."*

It does not, however, appear that these rapids will necessarily preclude the ascent of steamers at other periods of the year, when the waters rise.

That spirit of enterprise and exploration which marks British action on the side of China is also, we rejoice to say, beginning very decidedly to manifest itself along our great Indian frontier; and there is an increasing conviction that the time has come when, opening new routes of communication with Western China, Thibet, and Tartary, we should penetrate through the passes of the Himalaya, and extend English influence amongst the nations beyond.

Pegu, in this respect, assumes an attitude of importance. Attention has been directed to the practicability of communication with Western China by ascending the Irrawaddy, and penetrating through the Burmese territory to Bamo. Much difference of opinion prevails on this subject. The Messrs. Sprye have applied themselves for a series of years to collecting and studying all attainable information of each route by which inland China Proper can be approached by traders from the west—native, British, or Russian. The lines of road and passes from India, over the Himalaya mountain ranges and across Thibet, from the Hindu Coosh, in the extreme north-west of our territory, to Burmah on its extreme east, including the routes of Nepaul, Sikkim, Bootan, and Assam, were especially studied. These gentlemen are fully convinced of the practicability of the eastern Pegu route. Colonel Phayre has addressed himself to a practical solution of the question, by directing a route survey to be made of the line to Esmok. Meanwhile Christianity is illuminating the mountain tops of Pegu and Burmah. It is spreading from tribe to tribe of Karens. Availing itself of the agency of a willing and devoted people, it seems as though it would outstrip the spirit of commercial enterprise, and be first to reach Yunnan.

Through Nepaul and Sikkim communications may be opened with Thibet. From our frontier at the foot of the southern region of the Himalayas to the Thibetan frontier by Katmandoo is about 236 miles, transit across which, by bullocks and coolies, occupies twenty-four days, exclusive of halts. From the Nepaulese frontier to Lhassa there is a distance of 399 miles, capable of being traversed with merchandise in 30 days. Thus from the point where water-carriage is left in India, namely, Govindgunge, at the foot of the southern region of the Himalayas, to Lhassa, there is a total distance of 635 miles, requiring fifty-four days for the conveyance of goods. This is a short distance when compared with the Russian routes in Central and Northern Asia. Sikkim, lying to the east of Nepaul, presents a shorter route to Lhassa, although throughout there are the same mountain difficulties. Sikkim is "a narrow

* Since the above was in type intelligence has reached this country that the overland expedition through China and Thibet has been unable to carry out its object, and has returned to the coast. The particulars are as follows—"From Kwei-chau-fu they proceeded to Wan, from whence, being unable to obtain coolies or animals, they continued their course by the river to Chun-king, which they reached on the 28th of April. Here the Tartar General refused to see them; and the French bishop, who had been a resident in the Province of Se-chuen for twenty-five years, warned them that there was a plot on foot to murder them. However, through his assistance, they were enabled to procure a guard; but no assistance whatever was rendered them, and they were compelled to submit to great extortions. It appears, that in this part of the country nothing had been heard of the treaty.

"They now passed several large cities, all more or less closed from fear of the rebels, and arrived at Sui-chow on the 18th of May. Here they found an army of Braves encamped outside the city, nominally for its protection; but such was the insubordination of the soldiers, that they were actually fighting among themselves, and the gates were closed against them. The travellers, too, could not gain admission, but were informed by the prefect, that if they wished to see him they would have to be pulled over the walls in baskets, an honour which they declined. To add to the unpleasantness of their position, the prefect informed them that they could not possibly proceed either by land or by water, as the whole country was in the hands of the rebels.

"Their only chance now was to reach Ping-shan, and to find some outlets from thence; but on arriving at that place on the 25th of May, they could neither obtain coolies, animals, or boatmen; and on requesting permission to remain there until they could receive a reply to a letter they had despatched to the Viceroy at Ching-tu, relating to their difficulties, the people declared that if they did not clear out within a certain time they would fire on them. The next day they returned them the letter to the Viceroy, which they would not forward, and carried their threat into execution, without, however, doing any damage. That night the city was attacked by rebels, and the travellers were fired at. They then retreated to Sui-chow; and finding the obstacles to their journey insuperable in the present disturbed state of the country, they returned to Shanghae, which they reached on the 9th of July.

"The object of the expedition has not, therefore, been accomplished; but there can be no doubt that much valuable information has been acquired, which will turn to good account in the future, and we shall wait with considerable curiosity a longer and fuller account of this important expedition."

strip of territory, which has on its north-east frontier the Chumulhari Peak, rising 24,000 feet above the sea, and on its north-western frontier the more lofty Kinchin, which rises full 28,000 feet above the sea level. The pass from Sikkim into Thibet is by the ravine of the Lachen stream, under the latter peak. From that pass the route to Lhassa is also *viâ* Shigatze, which is distant from the pass about ninety-five miles." The treaty with the Sikkim Rajah is thus valuable, as opening an important route of communication with Thibet.

On the practicability of these passes, and the necessity of using them, the following observations, from Mr. J. D. Hooker, of Kew, are of importance—

"India, it is believed, will eventually become the greatest tea-producing country in the world. Central Asia, from Thibet to Siberia inclusive, is the largest tea-consuming area in the world, but it does not produce a leaf of tea. Sixty miles only intervene between Thibet and the British tea-plantations in Sikkim, but all the tea consumed in Thibet comes from China, 1000 miles to the eastward, and over numerous chains of lofty mountains.

"The Russians are as great tea consumers as the Asiatics, and they are rapidly pushing their outposts southward and eastward, towards the Himalaya; but neither does Russia contain in all her vast dominions one acre of tea-producing land.

"I have spent many months among the Thibetan people in North Sikkim and Nepaul, and can testify to the eagerness of the natives to procure good tea, and even bad tea, for I could offer them no more acceptable present than a few spoonfuls of leaves from my mouldy stock of Assam congou; this was because the only tea they have is what was the sweepings of the manufactories of China, softened with bullocks' blood, and pressed into moulds, with all sorts of impurities, which composition, as 'brick tea,' is their most dearly-prized article of diet, affording meat and drink, and serving as the current coin of the country. The Thibetans are, further, most eager to procure broadcloths, cutlery, and a great variety of English wares and Bengal produce, for which they barter shawl-wool, salt, borax, musk, flour, gold-dust, amber, turqoises, copper, sheep, and ponies of a breed which is invaluable both in the plains and hills of India.

"With regard to the alleged difficulties of the passes, it is enough to state that every bit of wood used in house-building in Thibet goes across the Himalaya, and that in one day I have counted several hundreds of yaks, mules, ponies, sheep, goats, dogs, men, women, and children, crossing a pass upwards of 18,300 feet high; every biped and quadruped loaded, according to its powers, with planks of wood, rice, millet, Indian corn, sugar, tobacco, spices, bamboos, rattans, cotton and silk stuffs, and numberless other products of the Himalaya valleys, to be bartered for brick tea, Chinese crockery, and the articles I have enumerated above.

"Again, no circumstances that came under my observation in India so surprised me as the fact that upwards of 1000 continuous miles of British frontier were closed to British trade and enterprise; a frontier, too, that divided countries more diverse as to their physical characters, their natural products, and, consequently, as to their several wants, than any other two on the face of the globe. I have never ceased to urge, when opportunity offered, both in India and England, the importance of opening up this frontier by a route through Sikkim, believing, as I do, that the trade in tea between India and Thibet will eventually do more to benefit the latter country, than, perhaps, any other whatever."*

In the same strain writes the "Friend of India" of May 16, 1861—

"In India, our frontier marches save a few breaks, continuously with that of China, from the Brahmapootra to the Indus. Down the passes of the Himalayas, at all our settlements, at Darjeeling, Almora, Mussoorie, Simla, and the Indus, the productions which are now carried by toilsome marches thousands of miles over deserts and mountains to Russia, ought to flow; while our hardware and broadcloths ought to take the place of the inferior and expensive articles which are fabricated in Russian factories. At the close of the first Sikh war, which so extended British influence in Thibet, the Government of India asked Sir John Davis to induce the Emperor of China to send deputies to Ladakh for the purpose of conferring with us on the best means of opening the trade. We despatched commissioners to wait their arrival from Pekin, but the second Sikh war broke out, the conference was postponed, and Vans Agnew, one of our representatives, perished at Mooltan. On the conclusion of the war, commissioners were sent from Simla to Ladakh a second time, but the Chinese envoys, wearied with waiting, had returned home. Since that time no attempt to re-open negotiations has been made. But Lord Dalhousie immediately ordered the construction of the Hindostan and Thibet road as a path for the expected

* "London and China Telegraph," Aug. 15, 1861.

traffic. The Sutlej is navigable for steamers to Roopur. Thirty miles from that point, at the foot of the Himalayas, the road begins, and winds past Simla up the Sutlej valley to the borders of Kanawur. Apart from commercial reasons, Kanawur is of immense value to India. It may be said without exaggeration that no part of Asia boasts such an exquisite climate as this province. Unlike the other Himalayan sanitaria, it is beyond the influence of the monsoon rains. For the invalid it is superior to England. It is the only place under our rule where children can be reared as well as they would be in England. The present road should be continued through the province, so as to open it up to Europeans, and should end only at Ladakh. That, as the most central point between Cashmere, India, and China, should be made the great entrepôt of trade for Central Asia. Some sixty miles, if we are not mistaken, would complete the line to the Chinese frontier, and open up Kanawur, at a cost of only 1000 rupees a mile.

"Settlements of Europeans dot the Himalayas, and the number of settlers will annually double when waste lands may be secured on the same terms as in the colonies. The tea-trade grows annually in importance. Russian influence has been mightily increased by the last treaty. Our treaty gives us equal rights, if we choose to exercise them. The navigation of the Indus has been this season opened to a higher point than ever before. Sir Robert Montgomery has directed his attention to the question of fairs. Kurrachee eagerly courts increased trade. The Sikkim treaty will allow the Cashmere merchants resident at Lhassa to send their gold, silver, ponies, musk, borax, wool, turquoise, silk, and mungeet, through the Chola Pass; and, in exchange, to take our broadcloth, bleached goods, tobacco, and pearls. Till this trade is established, Mr. Eden's suggestion of an annual fair at Darjeeling, either in November or April, when the passes are open, should be carried out. We have made a good road from Darjeeling to the Teesta. The Sikkim authorities will complete it to the Chola Pass, and anticipate no difficulty in inducing those of Thibet to repair the line to Phagri, whence there is an excellent road to Lhassa and Jigutishur. But besides this, two duties lie before the Government of India, and both may be discharged at a trifling expense of either money or labour. The Simla road should be at once continued through Kanawur to Ladakh. A commercial and political mission should be sent to Ladakh, or elsewhere on the north-western frontier, to meet either the subordinate authorities there, or envoys from Pekin. Conjointly they should make the existence of the Tien-tsin treaty known, should ascertain the capabilities of the country, and wants of the people, and should establish marts or fairs as the foundation of a healthy trade which will more than rival that of Nijni-Novgorod and Astracan."

Our readers must not conceive that nothing has been done in anticipation of a forward movement, and a grand invasion of Central Asia by English influences of a benevolent and ameliorative character. Indian officers, under the direction of their Government, have done much towards the opening up of the regions beyond. "Captain C. M. Elliot commenced a magnetic survey, on a scientific basis, in 1845, in the Eastern Archipelago, and the Schlagintweits were appointed to complete it in 1854. They, for the first time, fixed the latitude and longitude of Spiti, Ladak, and Balti, in Western Thibet. They were the first Europeans who crossed both the Karakorum and Kuen-lún ranges, which run parallel with the Himalayas into Turkistan, and established the fact that the Karakorum, and not the Kuen-lún chain, is the great Central Asia watershed, whence the Hoang-ho and Yang-tze find their way into China, the Cambodia into Anam, and the Indus, with its tributaries, into the Punjab."

Again, Captain S. G. Montgomerie, of the Bengal Engineers, has accomplished a survey of Cashmere, which "shows him to be deserving of the highest scientific honours. He has erected a trigonometrical mark on a point 21,483 feet above the sea; he has fixed the position of Leh, the capital of Ladak, and of the well-known Gya peak in China. From Leh to Skardo, the capital of Little Thibet, he has made a topographical survey of the whole valley of the Indus, extending, with neighbouring valleys, over an area of 12,000 square miles. The triangulation and topographical work of the country, up to the Chinese frontier, he has completed. The survey may now be easily joined on to that of Russia, and the project of Colonel Everest be carried out, in the measurement of the arc between Cape Comorin and Nova Zembla, a space of 70 degrees. Only five of these degrees, in Chinese territory, remain to be surveyed. The operations of the Cashmere series extend below lat. 36°, while the government of Tobolsk comes down below lat. 42°."*

But further information on these movements must be deferred to our next Number.

* "Overland Friend of India," July 22, 1861.

ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR.

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA, VIEWED IN ITS BEARING ON MISSIONARY EFFORT.

THE great work of spreading throughout the earth, co-extensively with the command of Christ, the knowledge of the Gospel, is greatly hindered by the jealousies which exist among nations, their rivalships and feuds. These are barriers more difficult to be surmounted than mountain chains or separating seas. Contiguity, instead of inducing amity, occasions too frequently a mutual repulsion, and nations are distrustful of each other in proportion as they are near. It was necessary for the well-being of the human race that it should be divided into nationalities, and therefore God confused their tongues at Babel, giving to men, instead of one common speech, many and diverse languages. But it never was the divine intention that this distinctiveness should degenerate into mutual jealousy and hatred. Happily, God, in his all-wise arrangements, has provided correctives for this tendency to separation, which at least moderate its action, and make it the interest of men to cultivate international communications. The difference of climate, and corresponding varieties of production, render the inhabitants of various lands dependent on each other for the conveniences and even necessaries of life. Our own position in this particular is very remarkable. The exports from foreign countries are among the ordinary and most needful articles of domestic use. The breakfast-table is furnished from many lands. There is to be found, not only the yield of English soil and climate, but of the far West and East. Beside the bread of native growth, appears the sugar of Cuba, the coffee of Ceylon, the tea of China. The various departments of domestic economy present the same admixture; and thus the men of one nation find the productions of other countries so needful to them, that they aspire to the possession of them, and are willing to barter in exchange the growth and yield of their own country. Hence arise interchange and traffic; and so strong is this tendency, that it sets aside the vulgar prejudices which alienate races, and, with remarkable persistence, carries forward its action, in despite of fiscal restrictions, and even amidst the dangers of open war. When embittered hostilities prevailed between France and England, contrabandists concerted and arranged their plans, and thus clandestinely, if in no other way, the natural course of barter was carried on. And if war and the severity of revenue officers have proved unavailable to prevent commercial intercourse, much less physical difficulties. Through mountain passes, open only for a brief period of the year, at other times blocked up by snow, the fearless trader makes his way, and becomes the pioneer of a traffic, which, as the mutual advantage of it is discovered, expands into magnitude and importance. The first connexions are of slight texture, like the filaments of the gossamer, mere tentatives, carried forward amidst much peril; but gradually acquiring strength, until, like the jhoolas, or rope-bridges of Kunawur, they become firm enough to sustain the transit of many passengers.

Regarding commerce as a valuable auxiliary in correcting those mutual antipathies which have so embarassed the free action of the Gospel, we desire to see its legitimate extension in every practicable quarter, for the circle of Missionary usefulness proportionably expands, and new tribes and countries are brought within our reach. We prefer to take advantage of the improvements of commerce, rather than to follow in the tracks of war. The sword is a scourge which God permits to come on nations for their iniquities. Its progress is marked by human suffering, and we cannot but deplore its occurrence, even although, as the result of the conflict, a pathway be opened into countries previously inaccessible to Gospel truth. To desire war, even for the attainment of such an end as this, is inconsistent with the spirit and tendencies of the very Gospel which we are anxious to promote. We must not do evil that good may come; and thus we cannot but deeply deplore the civil war in America, even although it should end in the emancipation of the slave. Nations, which have in the midst of them the Christianity of the Bible, possess a safe and efficacious mode of solving, without intestine strife, all social difficulties. Let the Bible only be free, and its truths unimpeded in their action. They will not fail, by a secret and persuasive influence, to moderate the opinions of men, and bring them to unanimity on all vital points; and this we are persuaded Christianity would have done in the American Republic, if only the churches of the South had been faithful to their trust, and had refrained from using the Bible as a prop for a debasing system, which that very Bible, in its own way, will eventually extirpate from among the children of men.

The more dissimilar the climate and productions of two countries, the more opportunity is afforded for commercial intercourse. Such are the circumstances of England and India. They are, in this respect, admirably adapted to each other. A glance at the table of exports and imports suffices to demonstrate this. India yields coffee, rice, indigo, sugar, together with that which is so essential to our factory population, and is at present an object of so much solicitude—cotton; while, in return for these and other products, England exports to India the raw materials which she has received, wrought up into manufactured goods, together with metals, treasure, and other items, and thus there are interchanges to the value of upwards of many millions.

Usually, however, between two countries thus dissimilar as to climate and productions, and therefore fitted to supplement each the deficiencies of the other, a great distance intervenes, as in the case between England and India, and the expenses of transit being added to the original value of the articles, render them less accessible to the masses of the population on either side, and interfere with a larger expansion of the traffic. It is not often that two countries are to be found, their frontiers ranging side by side with one another, and yet presenting marked climatorial dissimilarities. Wherever such a phenomenon presents itself, we should expect to find the opportunity energetically improved, and commercial intercourse in full action. Such countries are India, and the regions of Central Asia. North of the Himalaya are mountain ranges, elevated plateaus, and table lands, while to their south extend the fertile plains of the Ganges, and the varied districts of tropical India. This gigantic chain, extending in a direction from south-east to north-west, constitutes throughout the boundary between the races of Hindu and Thibetian origin, and divides "two countries more diverse as to their physical characters, their natural products, and, consequently, as to their several wants, than any other two on the face of the globe." The distinctive character of the two countries, as to climate and productions, may be traced in the gradations of vegetation which are to be found on the southern slopes of the dividing mountains. "Immediately below the snow-line the flora is almost the same with that in the high plains of Tartary, to which may be added rhododendrons and andromedas, and, among the herbaceous herbs, primroses appear. Lower down, vast tracts are covered with prostrate bamboos, and European forms become universal, though the species are Indian, as gentians, plantagos, campanulas, and gale. There are extensive forests of coniferæ, consisting chiefly of pinus excelsa, deodora, and morinda, with many deciduous forest and fruit-trees of European genera. A transition from this flora to tropical vegetation takes place between the altitudes of 9000 and 5000 feet, because the rains of the monsoons begin to be felt in this region, which unites the plants of both. Here the scarlet and other rhododendrons grow luxuriantly; walnuts, and at least twenty-five species of oak, attain a great size, one of which, the quercus semi-carpifolia, has a clean trunk from eighty to one hundred feet high. Geraniums and labiate plants are mixed, in sheltered spots, with the tropical genera of scitamineæ, or the ginger tribe. Bignonias balsams, and camellias, grow on the lower part of this region.

"It is remarkable that Indian, European, American, and Chinese forms are united in this zone of transition, though the distinctness of the species still obtains: the triosteum, a genus of the honeysuckle tribe in America; the abelia, another genus of the same, together with the camellia and trecyrtis, are peculiarly Chinese. The daisy and wild thyme are European. A few of the trees mentioned descend below the altitude of 5000 feet, but they soon disappear in the hot declivities of the mountain, where the erythrina monosperma and bombax heptaphyllum are the most common trees, together with the millingtoneæ, a tribe of large timber-trees, met with everywhere between the Himalaya and 10° N. lat. The shorea robusta, dalbergia, and cedrola, a genus allied to mahogany, are the most common trees in the forests of the lower regions of these mountains."*

At the foot of the range, under the shelter of the high mountains which screen the plains of Hindustan from the Siberian blasts, tropical vegetation at once commences, and the earth, so long as a sufficiency of irrigation be afforded, yields its fruits with a lavish abundance.

No stronger proof can be afforded of the productive powers of the soil of India, than the fact that it yields so abundantly with such little help from man. In many places the earth is little more than scratched, the native plough being one of the simplest pieces of rusticity imaginable. "Yet, with this rude and apparently inefficient instrument, is nearly the whole surface of the

* "Somerville's Physical Geography," chap. 24.

vast plains of India tilled; and indebted, under a beneficent Creator, to its generous and prolific soil, are luxuriant crops of every kind abundantly reared and reaped by its uneducated inhabitants." Indigo, rice, coffee, sugar, and now tea, cotton, silk, are among the articles we most need, and which India, if fairly dealt with, is capable of yielding with a redundancy sufficient for the supply of her own wants and ours also. The catalogue of its vegetable riches would be too lengthened for us to introduce, nor, indeed, is it necessary we should do so. For ages the richness and variety of its products have excited the attention of the western world, and stirred men to enterprise. Its forests abound in valuable timber, many of the woods grown in the Himalaya and Deccan forests, as well as those in Central and North-western India, possessing great strength and durability. Its fibrous plants are numerous and valuable, and, amongst them, jute, which, twenty-five years back, was scarcely known in England, but is now largely used for cordage, canvas, and similar purposes. Medicinal plants, dyes, seed-oils, and spices are abundant. The bread-corn is of great variety, and in districts where rice is not *cultivable*, maize is freely grown, millet, and other fine grains. Of fruits there is an astonishing variety. The vine grows wild in the forests; the plantain, banana, guava, mango, date, areca, palmyra, cocoa-nut, and many others, are all Indian. It is not intended to be implied that this fertility is universal, and the rich productions equally distributed. India has its deserts and arid tracts, its elevated table-lands as well as fertile plains; nor are we to confound alluvial Bengal with rocky Busahir, nor sandy Tinnevelly with exuberant Travancore. Still, with all these diversities as to surface and climate, which must of necessity be found in a vast area, co-extensive with the whole of France, Spain, and Great Britain, India, in productive capabilities, is not to be surpassed by any portion of the earth, and if in the hands of a population energized by pure Christianity, so as to have its latent resources developed and brought into action, is able to minister to the conveniences of Europe, as well as to meet the exigencies of the less-favoured countries to its north.

Nor are the high and temperate countries of Central Asia so barren and destitute as that they have nothing to offer in exchange for the varied and rich productions of India. Bokhara and Khorasan have their raw silk; Afghanistan its raw fruits, gum arabic, rose leaves, assafœtida, yellow amber, medicines, sulphur, dyes, spices; Bokhara its gold; Tartary its horses, besides the light articles which come in from various quarters, such as Persian silks, and Japan and Damascus blades, ermine and sable furs, silk, and cotton. Of this latter article there is at the present time an increased importation into Russia from Khiva and Bokhara. The quantity just announced as having been brought to the fair at Novgorod is 18,000 cwt., and, although only 2 per cent. of the annual consumption in Russia, "is sufficiently large to indicate that a supply exists in those quarters capable of rapid development, especially as it appears that an additional quantity of 36,000 cwt. is to arrive within the next two or three months. Hitherto the aggregate annual value of the Russian trade with Bokhara and Khiva, in all kinds of goods, has been estimated at only about 240,000*l.*, but cotton alone is now likely to figure for at least 150,000*l.*"*

The animal productions of the Thibetan countries are of especial value, and amongst them may be mentioned the shawl-goat of Ladak.

"The common domestic goat of Ladak is the well-known shawl-goat, which thrives only in the most elevated districts. It is bred in Ṇubra, Zanskar, and Rukchu; but the finest wool is brought from Ruthog and Ngári, which formerly belonged to Ladak, and from Chang Thang, or the southern and mountainous districts of Khotan. The fleece of the shawl-kid is soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It is used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and is exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat is only shorn once a year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Umritsur, Lahore, Loodiana, Ambala, Rampur on the Sutlej, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the *entrepôt* between the other shawl marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour."†

Another species of wild goat is the Thibetian ibex, or skyin.

"Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the skyin is larger that the Euro-

* "Times," Oct. 11, 1861.

† "Cunningham's Ladak," &c., p. 214.

pean ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering. The skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states, that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into the valleys. In Ladak they are also snared at night, and in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft tender fleece, which, in Kashmir, is called Asali Tus. This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool, of a light-brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth called tusi, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high prices of the tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animals, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost of picking is charged to the price of the tus, or fine wool. Moorcroft says, that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the nigogua, furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom."*

Nor is it only the singularity of animal life for which Central Asia is remarkable, but its abundance. The herds and flocks possessed by the nomades of the steppes are prodigious in extent. Ten thousand horses and camels, oxen and sheep, in proportion to this vast herd, are not too many to belong to one proprietor. "It is a splendid sight," observes Atkinson, "watching these enormous herds and flocks spread over the steppe, nor is it uncommon to see a herd of 8000, or 10,000 horses. more than 1000 camels, 20,000 horned cattle, and 50,000 sheep."

Thus in many points, too numerous to be detailed, the countries north and south of the Himalaya are fitted for mutual intercourse. Nor has such intercourse been altogether wanting. The inter-Himalayan races, chiefly Indo-Thibetans, are peculiarly a carrying and trading population. A rapid review of some of the frontier provinces will suffice to exhibit this. And, first, the British province of Kumaon. Ascending from the plain country below, the traveller surmounts the first range of hills, and, at an elevation of 8700 feet, beholds "a scene which the painter and poet can alone describe, but which can never pass from the mind of him who has once beheld it. A chaotic mass of mountains lies before us, wooded hills, and deep ravines, and dark blue ranges, rising one above the other; and behind all, piled up into the sky, the snowy peaks of the great Himalaya. He who has seen this view, or the still finer ones that are to be obtained from other parts of Central Kumaon, may feel quite satisfied that he has seen the most sublime and astonishing of all earthly spectacles."*

Here, north of the great peaks, yet south of the water-shed line, which "lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation," are found the homes of the Bhótiya, or border tribes.

"The only parts of the Bhótiya districts which are habitable are the narrow valleys lying between the great snowy ranges which run down to the south from the water-shed of the chain, in which flow the principal sources of the Ganges and the Káli; and by far the greater portion of the tract consists of mountains, which are either covered with perpetual snow, or the elevation of which is too great to admit of any human habitation. The Bhótiya villages are all situated to the north of the great peaks, which are found, for the most part, near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow. They have an elevation above the sea varying from 7000 to more than 12,000 feet; and as their inhabitants depend almost entirely for subsistence on their trade with Thibet, it is not far from the truth to say, that those villages are generally the most prosperous which are situated the nearest to the passes and to the marts of Hundes, and therefore at the greatest heights and in the most inhospitable climates.

"It has been already mentioned that the water-shed line lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation. The great peaks of the chain, many of which in Kumaon exceed 23,000 feet in height, and one of which, Nanda Devi, approaches 26,000 feet, are almost always situated near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow, on great transverse ranges that run down from the water-shed of the chain. Owing to this structure, the climate and vegetation, the two most important influences with regard to the inhabitants of the country, are entirely different in the Bhó-

* "Cunningham's Ladak," &c., p. 200.

* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1852.

tiya districts from those which we find at similar elevations further south. On the southern side of the great peaks, the country is everywhere within the influence of the summer and winter rains of India. We have a damp climate, and a luxuriant vegetation, up to 12,000 feet above the sea; and the line of perpetual snow descends to a height of almost 15,500 feet. When we pass to the north of the great peaks, the contrast is most striking. Here we find a dry climate, almost beyond the influence of the periodical rains; the magnificent vegetation has ceased; as we proceed northward, the air and the soil become constantly drier and more arid; the fall of snow, as well as that of rain, gradually diminishes; and, as we approach the water-shed of the chain, and the Thibetan plateau, which in this part of the Himalaya are the northern limits of the belt of perpetual snow, the snow-line, under the hostile influence of the climate, recedes to an elevation of between 18,000 and 19,000 feet above the sea. . . . .

"The great elevation, and the rigorous climate of the Bhótiya valleys, necessarily exercise a most important influence on their inhabitants. The villages are only occupied for rather more than half the year, from April to November; the whole population migrating regularly every winter to a more genial climate to the south of the great peaks of the chain. One poor and uncertain crop, consisting of barley and buck-wheat, and, in smaller quantity, of wheat and the chúa amaranth, is obtained each year at the Bhótiya villages. The sowing takes place in May, and the crops are cut in September and October.

"But the Bhótiyas derive from their fields a very small portion of their means of subsistence. 'Trade forms the primary object of importance to the Bhótiyas, and is the principal, if not sole consideration which retains them in the unfertile villages of Bhót, now that waste lands of a far superior quality in the northern pergunnas everywhere present themselves for occupation. The adjoining province of Thibet holds out peculiar attractions to commerce. Subjected by the rigor of its climate to perpetual sterility, it depends on the surrounding countries for almost every commodity both of necessity and of luxury: to remedy these deficiencies, it has, at the same time, been furnished by Nature with a variety of valuable products; its rivers and deserts abound with gold; in its lakes are produced inexhaustible supplies of salt and borax; while to its pastures it is indebted for wool of an unrivalled quality.'

"The Bhótiyas possess a complete monopoly of the carrying trade with Thibet, and this they jealously guard by every means in their power. . . . .

"The agricultural productions of Hundes (Thibet) being utterly insufficient for the support of its inhabitants, the country depends for subsistence almost entirely on its trade with the countries lying to the south of the Himalaya. Grain, being the greatest necessary to the Huniyas, forms the chief article of export from Kumaon and Gurhwal. Next in importance are coarse cotton cloths, broadcloth, sugar, hardware, tobacco, spices, and a variety of miscellaneous commodities. The chief imports are borax, salt, wool, *pasham* or shawl-wool, woollen-cloths, and shawls, mostly of inferior quality, silks, ponies, cow-tails, &c. . . . .

"Sheep and goats serve as the means of transport for nearly the whole of the grain, salt, and borax, and generally of all articles that are not very bulky. They are usually purchased by the Bhótiyas from the people of the country immediately to the south of the great peaks, where the fine pastures render the breeding of these animals an easy and a profitable occupation. A sheep can carry from fifteen to twenty pounds, and a goat twenty to five-and-twenty pounds; but the ordinary loads are considerably less. All articles, which can be so conveyed, are placed in small bags made of coarse woollen cloth, and covered externally with leather. Two of these, united by a band, are placed across the back of the animal, one hanging down on each side. These bags are called *karbach* in Kumaon, and *phancha* in Gurhwal. Bulky articles are carried chiefly on *jubus*, the cross-breed between the yak of Thibet and the common Indian cow. Being better able to bear the changes of climate to which the trade exposes them, they are preferred to the pure breed of the yak. The jubu is the produce of the male yak with the Indian cow. The other cross-breed between the two species is called *garju*: it is considered very inferior to the jubu.

"It is not until towards the end of June that the snow melts sufficiently to enable the Bhótiyas to cross the passes with their sheep and cattle. During this and the preceding month the grain and other articles of trade are conveyed from the lower hills to the Bhótiya villages. A large quantity of grain is also delivered there, in these and the succeeding months, by the inhabitants of the pergunnahs lying to the south of the Bhótiya valleys, the whole being carried on sheep and goats, precisely in the same manner that is followed among the Bhótiyas. They barter

their grain for salt at the villages, being prevented by the Bhótiya monopoly from making their own bargains in Hundes.

"In June the Bhótiyas begin to transport the grain and other commodities to Hundes, and till October the flocks constantly ply backwards and forwards with the productions of the two countries, the principal Bhótiyas generally remaining themselves in Hundes to superintend operations. The women and children are, for the most part, left at the villages, to perform the necessary duties of looking after the crops and getting in the harvest."*

Kunawur is another province of British India which abuts upon Chinese Tartary, the population of which, like the Bhótiyas, is occupied in carrying and trading. This secluded region, rugged and mountainous in an extreme degree, is "terminated on the north and north-west by mountains covered with perpetual snow, from 18,000 to 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, which separate it from Ladak, a large extent of country running along the banks of the Indus from the vicinity of Garoo to the limits of Kashmir. A similar range of the Himalaya, almost equal in height, bounds it to the south; on the east it is divided from the elevated plains of Chinese Tartary by a lofty ridge, through which are several high passes; and on the west lies Dusow, one of the divisions of Bussahir."†

The Kunawurrees are all traders and their chief riches consist in large flocks of sheep and goats, that furnish them with wool, which, together with raisins, they exchange for grain. In November many of them come to Rampore with wool, and a few go to the plains to purchase merchandize for the markets of Garoo and Leh, and they likewise visit the fair at Hurdwar. Most of them go to Leh or Garoo in the summer months; in which countries they travel much at their ease, compared to what they do in Kunawur. None of these carry loads, for the roads are so good that all their merchandize goes upon horses, mules, asses, yaks, goats, and sheep: many ride upon horseback. The people who stay at home look after the vineyards and attend to their flocks, which, for four or five months, are sent to pasturage high up in the mountains."‡

Kunawur is inhabited only on the banks of the Sutlej and other large streams; and the villages, which are from 7000 to 12,000 feet above the sea, are thinly scattered." With the exception of the upper parts, it is well wooded, the most common trees being pines, oaks, and birches. "The face of the country presents deep-worn valleys, confining rapid streams, divided by precipitous mountains of amazing height, most usually veiled in everlasting snow."

Some of the valleys are of exceeding beauty. Such is the Buspa valley, through which runs the river of the same name. "Its head is limited by snowy mountains of surprising height, the upward part, for about twenty-five miles, being bounded by barren and unwooded ranges, mostly covered with perpetual snow. The inhabited country then begins, and extends for twenty miles to the Sutlej." The dell is at first narrow, from a quarter to half a mile, the level space being often thickly clad with woods, but soon expands into a breadth of six miles. It is neatly laid out in fields and gardens of peas, beans, and turnips, watered by numerous canals, and studded with rural cottages and villages. There are many shady avenues of apricots and widely-spreading walnuts, while the river glides along in an expanded bed of sand and pebbles, which it divides into islands, overgrown with berberries and willows. The verdant cultivation and numberless groves and bowers of fruit-trees are strongly contrasted with the rugged rocks on either hand, which present naked and impracticable crags, frowning in the most terrific forms, or now and then scantily wooded with a few stunted pines."

Passing through Spiti, the north-eastern angle of the Punjab, we enter the dominions of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and we find the people of Ladak, the frontier province on the north-east, engaged in similar occupations. The people of Kunawur are generally "called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race, while those of Ladak are pure Bhotis, of strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and short in stature, when compared with the tall Kashmiri, or their Hindu and Chinese neighbours.

"The chief source of wealth in Ladak is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories. This trade it owes entirely to its centrical situation between Kashmir and India on the south, and the Chinese provinces of Yarkand, Kotan, and Kashgar on the north. It is the *entrepôt* between Kashmir, where the shawls are manufactured, and the Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-Thang, where the shawl-wool is produced. It supplies north-western India with tea, shawls, wool, and borax, and the Mussulman provinces of China with opium, saffron, brocades, and shawls. These are the staples of the trade through Ladak; but the number of

* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1852.
† "Gerard's Koonawur," pp. 1, 2.
‡ Ibid., pp. 79, 80.

smaller articles that are interchanged is very great. Many of them are quack medicines of very doubtful properties; but the most curious items are undoubtedly the export of sugar to Yarkand, and its after import in the shape of sugar-candy. The gur, or coarse sugar of Kashmir, is carried a long journey of two months and a half to Yarkand, where it is refined and crystallized; and the sugar-candy is again carried over the same long journey back to Ladak and Kashmir. The Yarkandi sugar-candy is certainly very white, but it is surpassed in colourless transparency by that of Bikanir."

It will not be necessary to go further into these details. The commercial activity of these frontier provinces, under very disadvantageous circumstances, evidences the strong tendencies to mutual intercourse which exist between countries so unlike in climate and forms of productions, and yet so contiguous as India and Thibet.

Meanwhile the progress of events is tending to the removal of obstructions, and is preparing for the merchants shorter and safer roads. Great changes have recently taken place in the Dardu districts, Gilgit, Yasseen, and Hanzanagar, which lie to the northward of Kashmir, beyond the Indus river. Through these districts lie the shortest roads from the Punjab and Kashmir to Yarkand. Yet for years past they have been so infested by the robber clans of Nagar and Hoonza, as to be *almost* closed to any thing in the shape of a merchant. These districts of Gilgit and Yasseen, were conquered and annexed by the ruler of Kashmir in the summer of 1860. The effects of this are in some respects likely to be very salutary. The robber clans of Hoonza and Nagar will be kept in check by the Dogra force at Gilgit, and a wholesome restraint be exercised on all the petty tribes lying between Gilgit and the Cabul territories. It is hoped, therefore, that the traffic from Iskardo, the capital of Bultistan, to Yarkand, will be resumed, and in consequence be greatly increased. From Hoonza to Yarkand there are three roads, one that takes twelve, another eight, and another, it is said, not more than four days.

Our own acquaintance with these countries is much enlarged by the progress of the Kashmir series of the great trigonometrical survey of India. The position of Leh, the capital of Ladak, has been fixed, as well as that of several points in China. Topographical sketches have been made of the whole of the valley of the Indus from Iskardo to Leh, besides other adjacent valleys, the entire tract, about 12,000 square miles, embracing all sorts of ground, from an altitude of 27,000 feet, down, in a few cases, to 8000 feet above the sea. It includes 300 square miles of glaciers, for the most part of the larger kind. "There is hardly any portion of the upper valley of the Indus without glaciers, but they are largest and abound most near the great Himalaya and Karokorum ridges."*

These scientific and exploratory expeditions, providing, as they do, increased facilities for international communications, are alike interesting and important. Along the entire range of the north frontier of our Indian possessions they are in progress. To the information introduced into our last Number we now add such further intelligence as may have reached us.

In the direction of Pegu, prompt measures have been taken to ascertain the feasibility of opening communications through Burmah with Yunnan, and other countries to the north. The "Calcutta Englishman" reports—

"Dr. C. Williams took his departure from Rangoon in the steamer of the 2nd of August, *en route* to Amerpoora, where he goes on a political mission to the Burmese court. There he will be in communication with Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, and will negotiate with the king for permission to undertake the expedition through Northern Burmah and the Himalaya passes into the Chinese province of Yunnan.

"Dr. Williams is an assistant-surgeon in Her Majesty's 68th Regiment, stationed at Rangoon, and, since his residence in Pegu, has devoted much of his time to the study of the Burmese language, in which he is a proficient, being also possessed of attainments which qualify him to accomplish efficiently the enterprise upon which he is bent, should the permission of the Burmese authorities be fortunately obtained.

"One great geographical problem which will be solved in carrying out the proposed expedition will be the decision of a point now involved in total uncertainty and obscurity, namely, into what stream the great Sampoo River, which flows from east to west in Central Asia, debouches its waters. In most of our maps it is arbitrarily marked as taking a southerly turn, and pouring its flood into the great volume of the Burhampooter, and so reaching the ocean; whereas some assert that it takes no such bend, but still continuing its eastern course, unites with the Irrawaddy, and so gains the sea.

"A communication, not very lucid and

* "Captain Montgomerie's Memorandum."

intelligible, has been received here from a French Missionary vicar, now, and for many years past, residing in Thibet, who asserts that the Sampoo forms no connexion whatever with the Burhampooter, but continues its easterly course to join the Irrawaddy, and so reaches the ocean; and this interesting question will be one of the first cleared up by Dr. Williams's expedition. The difficulties of the new route from Burmah into the Chinese province of Yunnan cannot be great, as there is a considerable and regular trade carried on through it between the two countries; and it is with the view to carry a line of British commerce over the same ground into Southern China that the present political mission to the Court of Ava has been undertaken, preliminary, it is to be hoped, to the British officer continuing his journey into the Celestial Empire, with the sanction of that Court.

"The present King of Burmah is not without some sentiments of enlightened policy, and, it is believed, would freely consent to the passage of British merchandise through his dominions, were it not for his natural dread of political and military difficulties hereafter arising, which might make him regret, as so many Asiatic potentates have done, the establishment of too free communications with us, who are believed by our neighbours in the East to carry—first, bales, packages, and casks, to be almost invariably followed by swords and other aggressive weapons."*

In the direction of the Spiti valley and Ladak a new exploratory expedition has been ordered by Lord Canning, and the following officers have been selected—

"Captain Smyth, Bengal army, to command; Mr. Meddlicot, geological department; Dr. Boustead, Bombay army, for the botanical and natural-history department and medical charge; Lieut. Jackson, engineers, draughtsman. A Mussoorie correspondent of the 'Times of India' says that the expedition will start from Simla about the close of the ensuing cold season. 'The course chalked out is up the valley of the Sutlej, thence turning off at the junction of the Spiti river, following its course, crossing by the Parang Pass into the valley of the river of that name, thence by the Lanak Pass to Haule in the valley of the Indus. Some are of opinion that beyond the snowy range north of the Spiti valley the expedition will have to contend with many and formidable difficulties. It is well known that the Chinese Tartars do not like the idea of Europeans visiting their districts. Mr. Wilson, the famous Himalaya sportsman, has frequently told me that it is very unsafe to venture beyond the boundary of Spiti or Ladak. In 1853 I visited the Spiti valley, and was encamped at Damku, the highest village north of the river. During the few days I stopped here I was negotiating with the Lafa (the head man in the village) for permission to pursue the route by the Taree Pass to Wangpo in Tartary; and with the view of inducing him to a compliance, which, notwithstanding all he had said, I still thought he might be empowered to grant, I sent a present, first of some coarse shawls. In return I received a couple of sheep: afterwards, at different times, grapes, sugar, and tobacco were sent, and were politely acknowledged by a present of ghee and flour. But he assured me that his order against the intrusion of foreigners could not be infringed, and that no lucrative inducement, however great, would have any effect upon his resolution. The early enterprising travellers—Gerard, Strachey, and Moorcroft—were never able to penetrate into Chinese Tartary, although the attempt was often made. I hear that Captain Basevi, of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and Mr. Meddlicot, of the Geological Survey, are to accompany the projected expedition to Tartary. The British Government is evidently looking forward to the opening out before long of the interior of China to Europeans. When this event shall have taken place, there will indeed be a fine new field for research spread out before us.' It was also believed that the Indian Government had now under consideration the 'project of forming an exploring party to assemble in Assam, ascend that portion of the Himalaya range which bounds that province on the north and east, and, if possible, find a passage through the passes into the Province of Yunnan, in the south-west of the Chinese empire.'"*

In the "Homeward Mail" of Sept. 28th we find the following notice of another exploring expedition—"We learn from the Hills that a party, consisting of Lord W. Hay, Colonel Torrens, and Captain Clarke, left Simla on the 17th of July for Thibet and Kashmir. They intend to leave the beaten track of the Kote Kangra, to cross the watershed through the Dunken Pass, and over the river Singhey Chu into Thibet, which they must have reached by this time. Their road will then lie along the right bank of the

* "London and China Telegraph," Sept. 28, 1861.

* "Homeward Mail," Sept. 9, 1861.

Singhey Chu direct to Leh, the grand thoroughfare of commerce between Thibet, China, Turkistan, and Russia, on one hand, and Kashmir, Punjab, and the plains of Hindustan, on the other. From Leh, after a few marches further on the Thibet side, they recross the water-shed into Kashmir, and so home."

The necessity of opening up new channels for commercial enterprise is apparent. There has been, in the year 1860—61, as compared with 1859—60, a falling off in the external commerce of Bengal, the figures standing thus—

1859—60 : Total Rs. . . 32,554,956
1860—61 : ,, . . . 30,842,754

The decrease has been entirely in imports, on which there has been a falling off to the amount of 2,997,418*l.* Cotton and woollen goods have largely shared in the depreciation, to the amount of 1,350,000*l.* and upwards. *It is* said that the amount of goods remaining in the bonded warehouse is Rs. 76,90,130.

Exports, however, have increased to the amount of upwards of a million. In sugar, jute, rice, linseed, the increase has been considerable. These articles, in seven years, have more than doubled their export. "*The* rise in export of gunny bags and cloth, and of tea, is enormous. The former is a new trade, employing numerous English engineers, mills, and machinery, in the vicinity of Calcutta, and yielding large profits. The cotton of Bombay, the rice of Pegu, the grain of North America, the wool of Australia, and *the* sugar of the Mauritius, are packed in Bengal gunny-bags. For a quarter of a century indigo has remained almost stationary or has even slightly declined. As the export of Indian tea has risen, the import of China tea has decreased, showing the extent to which the former is now consumed in the country. In 1853-54 China tea was imported to the value of 27,193*l.*; in 1860-61 to the value of only 8122*l.* The export of cotton wool was most trifling, and was almost entirely to China and Singapore. It was of the value of 67,391*l.* in 1859-60, and a few pounds less last year.

"The main part of the trade of Bengal was with the following countries—

	Imports.	Exports.
"Great Britain, per cent. .	72·4	32·3
France ,, .	5·4	4·3
China ,, .	3·4	20·9
North America ,, .	0·8	6·9
Australia ,, .	4	1·2
Singapore ,, .	2·7	4·5
Mauritius ,, .	1	3·2."*

The preponderance of imports over exports in the direct trade with Great Britain is worthy of observation. It shows that new channels for the sale of British imports need to be opened, and in such circumstances the opportunities of trade with Thibet are not to be despised. "The *Indian Empire* quotes the returns which Mr. B. Hodgson, when our Resident at Khatmandu, obtained from the Nepalese Government, of the trade between Thibet and British India, through Nepal. The imports were Rs. 356,000 of thirteen annas each in value, and the exports from Thibet into Nepal were Rs. 727,400, or say the value of the whole trade thirty years ago was 100,000*l.* The goods from India were chiefly broadcloth, pearls, and corals, and the Thibetan goods, gold and rock-salt. 'The chief dyeing and cloth-manufacturing towns in Eastern Thibet are Chitishur and Chitung, but they are so completely incapable of meeting the ordinary demand, that an injunction is annually issued by the Lhassa Government prohibiting the sale of cloth to the general public until the whole of the Lamas of the Gelupa monasteries at Gendeng, Dephong, and Sera, are supplied with the yearly clothing which they receive from the Government. Now at Gendeng there are 3300 Lamas, at Dephong 7700, and at Sera 5500; so that these manufacturing towns are apparently unable to keep up a stock in hand of even 16,500 pieces of cloth; and the laity and Lamas of the less favoured monasteries are kept without cloth, whilst the requisite amount is being worked up.'"

We have no doubt that the Thibetan market, once opened, will afford a much larger opportunity for the sale of British manufactured goods than is generally imagined. Only let the English goods be honest English goods, and no chicanery about them. There is too much of this at home; but abroad it is absolutely ruinous, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. Atkinson, from whose able work we have, in our last Numbers, so largely quoted, and whose death at Walmer during the past August we grieve to record, sounds a solemn admonition on this subject—

"In 1849 a considerable quantity of English calicoes reached Yarkand, Kokhan, and Tashkend. They were printed in the two latter towns, in patterns to suit the taste of the people. From their superior quality and price the Tartar merchants were induced to purchase the goods and carry them in their trading expeditions among the nomades of Central Asia. They also found a ready sale, and the people were delighted with their new garments. Several of these kalats were shown to me, and their superior quality com-

* "Friend of India."

mented on by their owners. All were anxious to possess them: thus the articles had at once established a character and a trade.

"The following year, when the merchants visited Kokhan and Tashkend, they obtained similar goods, and these were still more appreciated by the Kirghis. In 1851 the Tartar traders bought their goods as usual, which, in appearance, resembled those of the former years. These were taken by the caravans into distant regions, and they also met with a ready sale; but, alas! the purchaser soon discovered that he had been victimized; the material proved to be complete trash, and the discovery caused a great reaction. It was a fact well known in Siberia, that agents for English houses were in Kokhan, and, from all I could learn, they were natives of India. This was not only a disreputable transaction, but a most foolish experiment, which has done considerable injury to trade among these tribes."

On the importance of fairs the same writer adds the following remarks—

"From personal observation I am induced to believe that the best mode of opening a trade into Central Asia will be by establishing fairs. These should be at one or more points near to the passes in the Himalaya, or, perhaps, one great fair as far up the Indus as possible, would be best. This I deem preferable to the English plan of consigning goods to agents either in Yarkand, Kokhan, or Tashkend. Once these fairs are established the Tartar and other merchants will attend and purchase the necessary articles for the people among whom they vend their wares, and this would soon be felt in Nijne Novgorod, as the distance from the Indus is but little more than half of that from Semipalatinsk to Novgorod.

"If the agents for English houses were located in any of those towns it would create jealousy: the Tartar merchant would fear that an attempt might be made to push the trade into Central Asia, and deprive him of his legitimate profit. Besides, these men are thoroughly acquainted with the tribes, and know all their wants: they are industrious and energetic in their calling, travelling over thousands of miles with their caravans. They know every part of the country, and where to find the tribes at all seasons of the year: it is by them that Russia distributes her merchandize over Central Asia."*

Atkinson gives a list of the most important articles required by the Kirghis; for this we must refer the readers to his book.

Meanwhile, India is gathering up her scattered strength, and preparing herself for the work which is before her. Her railways, as they extend, are binding her together, and giving her concentrativeness. "The completion of the great viaduct over the Nerbudda is an earnest of the near approach of the time when the Baroda and Central-India line will pour the cotton of Guzerat into Bombay. Another section of the East-India line will be open immediately to Sahabgunge, and, before October, to Bhaugulpore; and really strike the Ganges, which it has failed to do at Rajmahal." Of the south-west line, from Madras to Beypore, 207 miles are open, from Madras to Salem, and thirty-two from Beypore; the remainder of the 405 miles being expected to be open by January next. Some idea of the magnitude of these undertakings may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Turnbull, the chief engineer of the Company, at the opening of the East-India railway to Rajmahal in October last—

"The railway will be 1414 miles *in length*, of which nearly 400 have been opened, and 227 not begun. It may be confidently predicted that a very few years more will suffice to finish the main line from Calcutta to Delhi. The cost to all appearance will not exceed 15,000*l.* a-mile, including rolling-stock. This is a satisfactory result, compared with the generality of English railways, when we consider the magnitude of some of our works in this country. For example, on the 128 miles just opened, there are no less than seventeen and a-half millions of cubic yards of earth-work, which gives an average of 137,000 cubic yards a mile. The average of English railways is about 70,000 cubic yards a mile. On the same length we have no less than 425,000 cubic yards of brickwork, or 3300 cubic yards a mile, and other works in proportion. The Adjai bridge is the largest single work on this part of the line: it is 1800 feet long. A good idea of the length may be conceived when I mention that the river Hooghly, at Armenian Ghat, is of the same width of 1800 feet, and that the river Thames at London Bridge is exactly half that width."*

Of the importance of these intercommunications in a vast territory such as India, whose very extent constituted its weakness, separating the various provinces from each other, and impeding sympathy and united action, all must be convinced; nor can we forbear introducing an extract from a speech of Lord Canning, delivered on the occasion just referred to, in which he touches on the facilities which will be thus afforded of re-

* Atkinson's "Regions of the Amoor," pp. 291-2.

* "Overland Friend of India," Oct. 22, 1860.

troducing the elements of improvement and civilization into the wild districts of India.

"There are large and high reasons for wishing success to this great enterprise. To remind you of them, I need not trouble you with figures or maxims of political economy. I need only to ask you to call up in your minds what we have all seen within the last twelve hours. We began this day's journey at a spot washed by the tides of the Bay of Bengal, and within a stone's throw of the anchorage of some of the noblest ships which, to the furtherance of commerce and all its attendant blessings, the skill and enterprise of our fellow-countrymen have launched upon the ocean. We have ended it in an inland district, 200 miles off, where not only are the uses of the great highway of nations uncared for and unknown, but where the very name of the 'black water' is a word of mystery and terror. We began our journey at the chief seat of western trade and civilization on this side of the globe, the head-quarters of England's power in Asia, and we have closed it almost under the walls of the ancient capital of Bengal and Behar—the city of Gour—which, little more than two centuries ago, was not surpassed by any in India for its busy population and magnificence, but which now lies a mass of tangled ruins and rank forest, tenanted by wild beasts, reeking with fever, and void not only of human industry but of human life. In travelling between these two points—points of such striking contrast—we have passed through a country teeming with population and covered thick with all that is necessary to the sustenance of man. We have skirted a district abounding in mineral wealth, and already eagerly seizing the opportunity, as yet imperfectly afforded to it, of pouring this wealth into the great centre of activity in Calcutta. We have been carried through the wild country of the Santhals, one of the rudest and wildest races of India, but a race not insensible to kindly government, and who, if their hills and jungles had been as accessible five years ago as they are now, would have been at once checked in a purposeless rebellion. Lastly, we find ourselves standing on the bank of the great Ganges, at that point at which it is to the interests of commerce that the tedious and uncertain navigation of its low waters should be exchanged for a short and secure land carriage.

"If, then, it be destined, as without presumption we may believe it to be, that to British science and British enterprise shall be committed in India the noble task of bringing security, comfort, and comparative wealth within the reach of races as yet ignorant of these; of extending the field of profitable industry to them; of supplying the wants of some by the superfluities of others; of enhancing prosperity where it exists, and of reviving it where it has drooped and decayed; of promoting fellowship between men, and of bringing light into dark places; if these, I say, be the functions allotted to the science and enterprise of our fellow-countrymen in India, then I declare that I do not know where in the map, not of India only, but of the world, a spot could be found, presenting within the short compass of one day's journey, so complete an epitome of all the opportunities for usefulness and good which attend on well-directed enterprise, as does the country through which we have this day passed."

The Hindus, as a people, have suffered under a jealous and exclusive system, the purport of their false religion being to isolate them and keep them separate from other men. Thus they have become extremely contracted in their minds, morbid and bigoted. Let us endeavour to counteract this by bringing them into communication with one another, and with their fellow-men of other races. Let us afford to them facilities for travelling and the prosecution of commercial enterprise, and show them that the rewards of industry come within their reach. All this will help the action of the Gospel, by drawing out their dormant energies, and making them feel like other men. The migrations to the Mauritius and Ceylon will thus be beneficial; they will come back less exclusive and more open and accessible. While the Tamilians and Bengalees go southward, let the hardier sons of the Punjab and the North-west Provinces come into communication with the men of Thibet and Tartary and Cabul, and in the business connexions which they form, they will unconsciously prepare the way for the advance of the Redeemer's Gospel and kingdom. Above all, let Christian men be on the alert, that all scientific improvements, and increase of communication between man and man, be used self-denyingly and diligently for the advancement of that kingdom which is righteousness and peace.

There is one vast section of British India which has not been touched upon in this survey. We have done so purposely, desiring to reserve it for a separate article, to which, from its great importance, it is well entitled—the provinces of the Indus.

RECENT GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

We have attended many Committee meetings of the Church Missionary Society of deep interest and importance, but assuredly none more so than the General Committee of October 13th. It presented very strongly-contrasted features, a diminution of supplies, and an increase of opportunities for action; while the decision arrived at, under circumstances of no inconsiderable difficulty, may well command attention, and enlist, on behalf of the Society, increased sympathy and support.

The discouraging feature first came forward for consideration, and assuredly it was sufficiently grave and deserving of attention. The financial position of the Society is unsatisfactory. The sources of revenue are not so fruitful as they were wont to be. The contributions received are decidedly less than they were at the corresponding period of last year, itself, to a considerable extent, an inferior year, and therefore far below the average of five years. In the view of last year's deficiency, measures have been adopted to reduce the expenditure, and the estimates from the various Missions have been cut down to the extent of 7000*l*. But unless the springs and fountains from whence the income is derived be more vigorously put into action, and a speedy and decided improvement take place, we shall have, at the end of the year, a much more serious deficiency to deal with, and the Church of England's great Missionary Society for the evangelization of the heathen world will be found in circumstances similar to those in which so many of the great American Societies find themselves at the present moment, constrained to the painful task of contracting the sphere of their operations at the very moment when the opportunities for extension are most numerous and encouraging; the national circumstances, however, on either side of the Atlantic, being widely different, the great American Republic being distracted by civil war, and England being at peace and in prosperity.

The causes of this declension remain to be investigated. Diverse influences, we think, are in operation to produce this result: we cannot, however, touch this subject now. But facts like these are not unlike the action of the break upon a railway train: their tendency is to lessen speed, and that so forcibly, that, like the passengers in the train, we look out to see whether we are about to be brought to a stand-still. Such feelings, however, are but for an instant. We look up and take heart, remembering that the work is of God, and that He, whose are the silver and gold, will not leave us without sufficiency of means to carry on the work which He has commanded to be done. Still, however, whatever may be our hopes and expectations, the duty of the Committee is plain, and a scrutiny was directed to be instituted into all the details of the Society, in order to ascertain whether further retrenchment was possible, and wherever it was found practicable, there immediately to enforce it.

But scarcely had this been decided upon when the Committee was brought under influences of a very different character, and urged, not to a contraction, but to an immediate enlargement of its sphere of operations. Letters were read from individuals of high position and influence in a distant land, bringing before the attention of the Committee certain openings for usefulness of great promise, and urging prompt action with respect to them. They came from the Punjab.

Of all sections of British India, none are more important than the provinces of the Indus, and that, in whatever light we regard them—strategetically, commercially, or in a Missionary point of view.

These provinces are now entirely in the hands of England. In 1843, Sindh was wrested from the Ameers; in 1849, the Punjab was annexed; and in 1852, the abolition of river dues opened the Indus to commerce, which, notwithstanding Lord Ellenborough's proclamation in 1843, had remained virtually sealed.

Of their importance, strategetically, we shall say but little. It is not our sphere, nor are we competent to deal with it. That ambitious projects are entertained of some future opportunity arising, when the Cossacks of the North shall succeed in forcing a passage into the plains of India, is not at all improbable. But let it be remembered, that, in the good providence of God, the gates of entrance into India, the Khyber, Goleree, and Bolan Passes, are in the hands of those to whom the Punjab has been given, and that with railway communication between these points, along the base of the Suliman range, and that with these advanced posts leaning by railways and military roads on a powerful base of operations in the rear towards the Sutlej and the plains of Hindustan, while direct communication with England lies open by the Indus, the position is sufficiently

strong to assure us, if, indeed, God be for us, as to the future. Our danger, as experience has already shown, lies not from without, but from within.

But of the commercial importance of these territories we may be permitted to speak more fully, and in this respect they are valuable in a twofold point of view; first, because of their own productive capabilities; and secondly, because they are the intermediate territories through which intercourse may be maintained, not only between Central Asia and Hindustan, but between Central Asia and England.

And first, as to the capabilities and productive powers of these provinces. In considering the position of Sindh we are reminded of Egypt and its river. The Indus and the Nile present some strong features of resemblance. Each river has its source in lofty mountains, lying far in the interior of their respective continents, and from these, after a prolonged course, finds its way to the alluvial deltas through which lies its entrance to the ocean. They have each their periods of inundation, by which the low regions are fertilized, and subsequently yield their abundant crops. In Sindh the flats are covered to a wide extent with water, which leaves behind it a fertilizing slime; and so rich is the soil, that no manure of any kind is used, though it regularly produces two crops every year, and sometimes three. There is scarcely a vegetable production which, during the progress of its two harvests, Sindh is not capable of yielding—wheat, rice, maize, indigo, sugar-cane, cotton, &c. The peculiarity of both these provinces is, that if irrigation be withheld, tracts become desert; but if this be abundantly afforded, the grateful soil responds by its plenteousness of harvests; and as the supply of water is so necessary, the natural provision for it is proportionate in the five streams of the Punjab, and the mighty channel of the Indus. All that is needed is that man should rightly use these gifts of Providence, and, by canals and tanks, treasure up the element of fertility, and turn it to account.

Of the productiveness of the Punjab, when, by the formation of canals, the streams of its five rivers are led forth in a network of irrigation throughout the land, we have abundant evidence: wherever the thirsty soil can drink in water, there is fertility and abundance.

"There is perhaps no inland country of the globe which possesses geater facilities for commerce than the Punjab, and there are few more rich in the products of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Intersected by five navigable streams, it is bounded on the west by one of the largest rivers of the old world. To the north it has the fertile and the fruitful vale of Kashmir to limit its sceptre, so placed, that it can export without trouble its costly fabrics to the neighbouring kingdoms of Persia and Tartary, China, and India. Situated between Hindustan and the celebrated *entrepôts* of Central Asia, it shares the advantages of their traffic, while it is itself blessed with an exuberance of every production of the soil that is useful and nutritious to man. The productions of the Punjab relieve it from any great dependence on external resources. Its courtiers and chiefs may robe themselves in the shawls of Kashmir and the strong and beautiful silken fabrics of Mooltan. Its citizens and husbandmen may wear the cheap textures of the native cotton. Every animal may be bountifully fed on the grains indigenous to the country; and a range of mountains, entirely composed of salt, furnishes that necessary ingredient of food, while the upland parts yield condiments and fruits to season the daily bread."

Such is the testimony of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, one fully justified by the variety and value of the products of these provinces. And first, coal deposits are available, a most essential requisite, if the Indus is to be traversed by steam-vessels. In sinking a well, about twenty-eight miles westward of Kotree, a seam of coal, eighty feet thick, was found, and another lower down, one and a half foot thick. Again, grain of all descriptions is produced luxuriantly in Upper and Middle Sindh, and the wheat of the Punjab is the best in India. Considering the quantity of unreclaimed land capable of improvement, and the great productive power of the people, the Punjab must be regarded as a corn-producing country, capable of yielding, if stimulated by a ready market, a large surplus of cereals, the more especially so, as the costly means of irrigation provided by the Baree Doab canal, and other subsidiary efforts, come into operation.

The salt-trade of the Punjab is of the utmost importance. Since the establishment of British rule it has greatly increased. "The increase of the population, the pacification of the province, the great diminution of the land-tax, the abolition of import and export duties, have caused an enhanced consumption of salt among the agriculturists and lower orders. Considerable quantities are exported to the eastward, and to the north as far as Jummoo and Kashmir." "The supply is inexhaustible, arising from a complete range of salt-hills, running from the Indus

to the Jhelum, of the mines of which the Government has a monopoly."

There is one product which England especially needs, and which the Punjab is capable of giving—cotton. "Along the banks of the Punjab rivers lie tracts of land admirably situated for the growth of cotton, and this one article, if properly cultivated, would afford material for commercial transactions of the most extended character. We observe, that during the last sowing season more cotton had been sown in the Punjab than in any former year.

Such, then, are the capabilities of the Punjab, if only the water-supply be sufficiently provided for. This has been at all times a felt necessity in that country, as manifested in the ancient, and even modern, though abandoned, water-courses which we found on taking possession of it, and to the clearance and improvement of which the attention of the authorities was at once directed. These canals and water-cuts, on which the harvests of whole districts and the livelihood of hundreds of thousands are dependent, are classed under three divisions, the Derejat, the Mooltan, and the Baree Doab canal, the latter being a gigantic system of canals and collateral branches, carried out entirely at the expense of the British Government, the effect of which will be to change the Baree Doab, in which Lahore and Umritsur are situated, and within the limits of which are located, that important section of the Punjab population, the Manja Sikhs, into a well-watered garden, and distribute that fertility which has hitherto been confined to the narrow strips along the river banks, over the entire surface of the Doab. Of the magnitude of these works, as exhibited in channel excavations, head works, hill torrent embankments, falls and rapids, escapes and bridges, &c., it is impossible for those at a distance to form a just conception. The engineering difficulties have been immense. Again and again have the embankments been assailed by the invading floods of the Ravee, and breaches made. But the damages were persistently repaired, and the works strengthened, until they were rendered stable enough to resist their assailant. Then the hill torrents, whose old channels were crossed by the path of the canal, resisted this encroachment on their vested rights, and bitterly and impetuously assailed the intruder. These had to be grappled with, and have been partly stemmed and partly diverted. The total mileage of the canal will be 466 miles. We have dwelt somewhat on this great undertaking, exemplifying as it does the largeness of aim and persistency of effort by which they ought to be characterized, who, having put their hands to the great Missionary enterprise, are engaged in the great work of opening up ducts and channels by which the waters of life may go forth to fertilize the moral deserts of our world.

While such efforts are being thus energetically put forth to develop the productive energies of the Punjab, and cause the land to yield with liberality its varied and important harvests, the facilities of communication with England are being remarkably improved and increased, so as to bring these provinces, which are capable of yielding so much that is valuable, into direct and rapid intercourse with the mother country, enabling us to receive of its cereals and cotton, and to give back our piece goods and woollens, as well as other manufactured articles to the Punjabees.

And first, there is the town of Kurrachee, occupying a position scarcely less favourable for commerce than Alexandria, with a spacious harbour, protected from the sea and bad weather by Munorah, a bluff, rocky headland projecting south-eastward from the mainland, and leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. Its value was manifested and tested during the campaigns on the Sutlej, when thousands of tons of military stores were imported into its harbour. It may therefore be regarded as the natural port, not only of Sindh, but of the Punjab and Central Asia. From Kurrachee to Kotree, the port of Hydrabad, the Sindhian capital, a railway has been completed, by which all the sinuosities and intricacies of the delta portion of the river are avoided. "From Hydrabad up to Mooltan, five hundred and seventy miles, the river is broad and sufficiently deep for a flotilla of powerful steamboats, capable not only of drawing large flats, but of carrying passengers." The Oriental Inland Steam Company is on the point of establishing, on this portion of the river, steamers and barges, swifter and capable of carrying far larger cargoes than any vessels hitherto sent out for river traffic in India. Two of these steamers have safely arrived at Kurrachee. The cargo vessels of the Company are especially adapted to the duty of carrying large quantities of cheap merchandize with profit, at low rates of freight. The communications of the valley of the Indus are being rapidly completed by the railway in construction from Mooltan to Lahore, in length two hundred and fifty miles. The survey of a line from Lahore to Peshawur has been perfected, and also that of another

branch from Sukkur, *vid* Shikarpore and Jacobabad to Dadore, near the Bolan Pass, with a view to draw into the valley of the Indus the trade of Lower Afghanistan and the surrounding countries. A line from Kotree to Deesa, so as to come into communication with the Baroda and Bombay railway, has been also decided upon.

"Northern India has two natural divisions; first, the provinces of the Ganges and its tributaries; secondly, the provinces of the Indus and its tributaries. In the first, or easterly division, the stream of trade and wealth must ever flow down the valley of the Ganges to the natural outlet of Calcutta. In the second, or westerly division, if the power of art and science be brought to the aid of nature, the commerce should follow the direction of the Punjab rivers to the Indus, then down the valley of the Indus towards the rising port of Kurrachee, which is destined to be to the north-west of India what Calcutta is to the north-east. A line drawn north to south, somewhere near Agra and Delhi, will form the probable boundary of the two natural subdivisions. And if the same facilities be created westward which exist eastward, then all the commerce west of the line will follow the Indus to Kurrachee, in the same manner as the commerce on the east follows the Ganges to Calcutta."

Let us now look at the population of these provinces. The most productive districts are of little use unless there be the hands to till them. The Punjab territories, according to the last census, "contain eighty-one thousand square miles, twenty-nine thousand villages, and a population of nearly thirteen millions of souls, or a proportion of one hundred and fifty-five persons to a square mile"—a sparse, rather than a dense population for India. "In the North-western Provinces there are four hundred and twenty persons per square mile by last census; in Bengal, three hundred and eleven persons; in the Madras Presidency, one hundred and seventy; in the Bombay Presidency, only one hundred and fifty-six; in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, one hundred and twenty-two." "On the whole, the Punjab is one-fourth less populous in proportion to its area than the United Kingdom, and about as thickly peopled as either France, Prussia, Austria, and Italy." "On the other hand, it is not more than half as populous as the most densely inhabited parts of the world, such as Holland, Belgium, Northern Italy, China, and the Gangetic provinces of India."

This population is of diverse races and religions. Of the races may be enumerated Jats, Gugurs, Rajpoots, and Pathans. Of these, the Jats are the most prominent, having formed the core and nucleus of the Sikh commonwealth and armies. As to religion, the population may be distinguished into Hindus, Mussulmans, and Sikhs, there being only 5,352,874 Hindus to 7,364,974 Mohammedans. The precise number of the Sikhs is not known: compared, however, with the other sections, they are numerically feeble, and are being rapidly absorbed into Hinduism.

If to the thirteen millions of the Punjab we add some one million two hundred thousand for that of Sindh, we shall have the total population under direct British rule in the provinces of the Indus.

To the improvement of this population the attention of the Punjab authorities has been directed. If the soil needs irrigation, the people need healthful influences. Without these, the human character, under the blighting influence of sin, becomes increasingly deteriorated, and men, placed in the most advantageous of providential circumstances, are found indisposed and unequal to their improvement. By wholesome legislation, and the energetic administration of justice, much has been accomplished in the suppression of outward evils, such as dacoity, gang-robbery, Thuggee, infanticide; and the Punjab, under British rule, enjoys a measure of peace and good order unknown in its previous history. But more than this needs to be done. A population, so long as it remains under the influence of false religions, can never be regarded as reliable, nor is there any security for their good conduct as to the future. They are like the waters of the ocean, the peaceable aspect of which may at any time be broken up by unexpected storms. There was no actual outbreak in the Punjab during the memorable period of 1857-58, yet were the circumstances critical; and any serious reverse before Delhi might have completely changed the aspect of affairs. We repeat, so long as the populations under our rule remain enslaved to false religions, we have no guarantee for their continued loyalty, for false religions are not ameliorative of character: they do not introduce right principles into the heart, or enable a man to the control of self. By such influences as emanate from them, a contented, happy, industrious, and loyal population cannot be produced. It is, then, the true policy of rulers to look favourably upon all wise and discreet efforts to introduce the light and happy influence of Gospel truth amongst an ignorant population. The actings of pure Christianity are all in

favour of good government: they open out to the man new prospects, and acquaint him with new and elevating principles of action. They teach him to be quiet, and work with his hands. The spread of Christianity amongst heathen subjects must, to an immeasurable extent, strengthen the hands of the Christian ruler, and facilitate the discharge of his arduous responsibilities. The ruler who discountenances the introduction of Christianity amongst the heathen masses entrusted to his Government, repudiates that influence which of all others would most advantage him, and prepares for himself merited retribution. The authorities of the Indus provinces have seen this matter in its true light, and it is with their sanction that the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have occupied as stations various prominent points. From Kurrachee upwards may be traced a chain of such Missions. Beginning with that seaport, they advance to Hydrabad, Mooltan, Umritsur, Kangra, and Peshawur, stations occupied at the present moment by some twelve Missionaries, who, in varied languages, and amongst various people, are engaged in the arduous work of disseminating a knowledge of Christian truth.

Now, it is with respect to these territories that the Church Missionary Society at the present moment finds itself called upon to undertake new Missions, as well as to strengthen and render more effective the already existing Missions. There is a portion of the Punjab which we have as yet left entirely untouched, the Derejat, or Damin, which stretches between the Suliman mountains and the Indus. It is named the Derejat, from the two districts of Dera Ishmael Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan, into which it is divided; and is also called Damin, which signifies "border," because of its position along the base of the Suliman range, which separates our trans-Indus territories from the wild Pathan tribes within those ranges. These two Dehra districts, with two collateral ones on the other side of the Indus, are under the commissionership of Colonel Reynell Taylor; and it is this officer, by whom British rule is administered over a population in the four provinces of not less than half a million, who has directed our attention to the fact, that in all this territory no Christian Missionary is to be found, and who encourages us to the commencement of such a work, by the offer of a donation of 1000*l.*; assuring us at the same time that he has not taken this step without the knowledge and sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who, as an expression of his goodwill, has promised 100*l.* for each one of three stations to be formed in the Derejat, at the two Deras already mentioned, as well as at Dera Futteh Khan.

In considering the circumstances of the Derejat, with a view to the commencement of Missionary labour, there is one point of peculiar interest and importance. We have already stated that the provinces of the Indus are valuable, not only because of their own inherent capabilities, but as affording opportunity of intercourse with the countries of Central Asia; and as, along the North-India frontier, there are border tribes which act as traders and carriers between the countries to the north and south, so on the Punjab frontier a similar class of men is not wanting. These are the Lowanee and Powindu merchants, the great carriers of the Afghan trade. "They have their homes about Ghuznee, where they spend the summer. Since the trade *viâ* Tatta and the Indus was extinguished, in the latter end of the last century, these people have supplied themselves with sea-borne goods *viâ* Calcutta. They descend the passes before they are blocked up by snow, between Ghuzni and the Indus, in vast caravans of eight or ten thousand souls—the whole tribe moving bodily—men, women, and children, and cattle, their goods being on camels and ponies. Arrived on the Derejat, they leave the aged men, women, and children in black felt tents, with their flocks and herds, in the rich pastures bordering on the Indus, while the able-bodied men push across the Punjab with their goods for sale, either in that province or on the banks of the Ganges. The leading merchants precede the main body on dromedaries, taking with them a few samples, letters of credit, &c., make their purchases at Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Mirzapore, and even Calcutta, and return with them express; collect their families and flocks, and force their way up the passes. Their numbers generally enable them to compound with the tribes of the mountains for a reasonable amount of black mail, but they have sometimes to fight their way."*

Of this commerce with Afghanistan and Persia, Mooltan is a chief *entrepôt*. The Afghan traders arrive there in October and November. Some of them remain there and dispose of their goods through native agents; others go down the Indus to Kurrachee; and others, preparing themselves for a longer journey, proceed to the Gangetic provinces. Others, again, coming from Southern Afghanistan, strike the Bolan Pass in Beloochi-

* M. Frere, Esq., Commissioner of Sindh.

istan, find a market at Shikarpur, or reach the Indus at Sukkur, and push on to Kurrachee.

Through the wild mountain tribes which occupy the frontier ranges, these men have to force their way, traversing the passes in martial array, and merging for the time the character of the merchant in that of the soldier. An advanced guard precedes the long file of camels laden with merchandise, armed men protect the flanks, and a powerful guard closes up the rear; but on emerging from the mountain passes on the plain country of British India, their arms are laid aside, for there peace prevails, and they no longer need to defend themselves; and these men who enter the Punjab armed to the teeth, may be seen with nothing but a staff in their hand, as, clothed in long camels'-hair coats, they lead their camels through the plains of Hindustan. The return caravans from Hindustan reach Mooltan in April, whence they return to Afghanistan. They usually reach Cabul about the beginning of June, and thence prosecute their journey to Bokhara. At this *entrepôt* they meet imports from Russia and from China. The Russian imports are white cloths, muslins, chintzes, broadcloths, velvets, furs, inferior cutlery, and jewellery. The Chinese imports consist principally of China ware, musk, bullion, and tea. Besides these, Bokhara yields valuable products of its own, such as silk, wool, lambskins, and cotton. "The silk is chiefly produced on the banks of the Oxus, where the mulberry grows in the most luxuriant manner, and nearly all the inhabitants are engaged in rearing the silk-worm during the summer months. The lamb-skins of Bokhara are renowned throughout the East, and are only procurable at Karahool, a small district lying between Bokhara and the Oxus."

Thus the Afghan caravans, which emerge through the passes of the Suliman into the Dera Ishmael Khan district, are laden with a variety of merchandize—silks and wools, groceries and spices, furs from Russia, gold with the Bokhara stamp, although extracted from the Ural mountains; dyes, books, clothes, and metals. "About 20,000 camels are said to be employed in this trade, exclusive of horses and mules. A large number of armed retainers accompany the caravans, besides 8000 servants."

The Golaree Pass is that which is principally used by the Lowanee merchants. It is the middle route from Afghanistan to Hindustan, as the Khyber is the northern, and the Bolan the southern. It holds its course along the channel of the Gomul river, which, after piercing its way through the mountain chain, crosses the Derejat, and enters the Indus, Dera Ishmael Khan lying immediately to the north of the point of junction. Southward of the Golaree is another pass, which is also used by them, the Zerkunnee Pass, which runs at the base of the lofty square-shaped mountain called "Solomon's throne" (Tukht-i-Suliman), from which the entire range, running parallel for 300 miles to the Indus, and forming our westward frontier, derives its name of Sulimanee. Still further to the south, and "nearly opposite to Dehra Futteh Khan, is the Vooch, or Korah Pass, faced by the British outposts of Doulalwalla and Vehoa. This point is of some topographical importance, as constituting the boundary line between the Puthan and Belooch tribes, the latter extending along the lower half of the Derejat frontier. Amongst these tribes, running past the town of Sukkee Lurwar, a place among the hills of some sanctity, and venerated both by the Hindus and the Mohammedans, lies the pass of the same name, one of the chief thoroughfares to Candahar; immediately to the south of which dwells the tribe of the Gorchanees, whose hill frontage of twenty miles long is intersected by not less than thirty passes, of which Hurrund, at their southern limit, is the most important. "Near Hurrund the great Sulimanee range, having run in an almost straight line parallel to the Indus for 300 miles, approaches its termination, and joins the Mara Mount, which leads on to the Murree hills, behind which lies the tableland, where Kahun, the capital of the Murree tribe is situated. In front of these Murree ranges there rises a series of sterile rocky hills, which run towards the Indus, and form themselves into an apex near the Gundharee peak, approaching to within a few miles of the river bank. It is at this point (Shawulla) that the conterminous boundary of Sindh and the Punjab has been marked off." Westward of Kahun lies Dadur at the mouth of the Bolan Pass, the great route from Northern Sindh to Candahar. Its total length, as it winds its way through a tortuous succession of ravines and gorges, and then across the Brahoo chain of mountains, is between fifty-four and fifty-five miles, the elevation of the entrance being 800 feet above the sea-level, and that of its outlet at the western extremity, 5793 feet. At the western side there is no descent, the route opening on the Dasht-i-Bedowlut, a plain as high as the top of the pass. The Bengal column of the army of the Indus, which, in 1839, advanced to place Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul, was six days toiling through

this pass, amidst great hardship, the baggage cattle falling dead by the wayside, and the stream of the Bolan river being tainted by the bodies of the camels that had sunk beneath their loads, while the Beloochee free-booters, hovering about, cut off couriers, murdered stragglers, and carried off baggage and cattle.

The time is now come when these passes should be employed for a different purpose; and the Lowanee merchants may become, in the good providence of God, subservient to the introduction of the Gospel into the uplands of Central Asia. They are of a manly, open, and resolute character; men of metal, who are not afraid to speak out boldly their convictions and sentiments, nor, if won to the belief of Christianity, would they hesitate to make it known in those interior countries which are at present inaccessible to the European Missionary.

There is also another class of people, to which Mission stations in the Derejat would give us access, the border tribes occupying the ranges beyond our frontier. Of these, the Wuzurees are the most important. They hold the rugged and lofty hills on the north-western border of the Dehra Ishmael district, that is the valley of the Bunnoo, and the plains of Murwat and Tank. The hills on either side of the Golaree pass are in their hands. They are a numerous tribe, subdivided into various sections." "The birth-place of this race would seem to be the snowy range, which runs to the south-east of Jelallabad and Cabul. From this range they appear to have moved downward towards the Derejat border. They are noble savages, of pure blood, pastoral habits, fierce disposition, and wild aspect. They can muster, probably, were the whole tribe united, as many as 20,000 or 30,000 fighting men, and, if combined, might make themselves formidable. But though they are less addicted to internecine contests than other hill tribes, and are so far united, they are yet not apt to join all these forces together against an external foe. They are bold and ferocious, but, as soldiers, not equal to the more martial tribes. Many of them live in tents, or in temporary dwellings resembling tents; in the winter frequenting the more genial clime of the lower ranges, and in the summer retreating to feed their flocks in higher altitudes. Some of them have engaged in cultivation, and have encroached on the weaker tribes of the plains: of these, again, many will only cultivate during the cold months, and, as the heat approaches will reap their crops and retire to the mountains. But the tendency to extend their cultivation, and even to settle in the plains, has of late years been increasing among the Wuzurees."

It is the fact that a portion of these people has already settled in the plains of the Derejat, which brings them at once within the reach of Missionary effort, and a promising commencement made there may rapidly extend itself to the more inaccessible portions of the tribe. To such an enterprise there is much to encourage. Colonel Reynell Taylor, whose knowledge of this people is very great, says of them,—"I have always held to the belief, that if a man have leisure to study the characters of the men of Puthan tribes, or communities under his charge, can make himself acquainted with individuals, and show interest in their affairs, knowledge of their previous history and position, &c., that he would generally be able to acquire an apparently wonderful amount of influence over them." Of the Wuzurees, more especially, he adds — "They are the most unanimous of all the Afghan tribes that we are acquainted with: they never quarrel among themselves; safeguards are always respected by them; and though proverbially addicted to plundering, I have known large bodies of them live from one year's end to the other without falling into any impropriety of the kind. Every quarrel among them is settled by arbitration and discussion, and I never heard a Wuzuree complain of another Wuzuree having robbed or defrauded him." Of their fidelity to engagements he observes —"I never remember to have heard of a Wuzuree, or body of Wuzurees, enticing an enemy into their power by false overtures, and then wreaking their vengeance on him, nor of their undertaking to guide or guard a man or kafilah through their country, and then falling on it. . . . I have observed several instances where my own subordinates had acquired such perfect confidence in the good faith of the Wuzurees, that they were willing to go any where among them on the safeguard of the Mullicks." In religion they are by profession Mohammedans. The degree of influence which it exercises over them may be estimated by the following anecdotes—"I have heard many stories, supposed to illustrate the charge of barbarism in religion, &c., made by more polished Afghans against the Wuzurees. One I remember, was of a Wuzuree, who, after an earthquake, said that he really now had some idea that there was a God, since he had seen him shake so much earth at once. Elphinstone tells a story of a Wuzuree who, when engaged in his devotions, heard the alarm cry that a kafilah

of merchants was approaching, upon which he left his prayers, went and joined in the attack and plunder of the kafilah, and, returning with his share of the booty, entered the mosque and completed the unfinished balance of his prayers. Some of the bystanders, who were much scandalized by his conduct, reproved him sharply for it, asking how he could dare to leave his prayers for so unhallowed a purpose, and then return and finish them: he replied, he had been instructed it was not good to pray when you had any worldly care or matter on your mind, and if, by chance, you found it impossible to prevent your thoughts dwelling on it, it was better to leave your prayers for the time, go and get the wordly matter settled, and then return with an undistracted mind to your devotions." Of their quickness in reply, Colonel Taylor gives the following humorous specimen. He was presiding over one of their jirgahs, or councils, when part of the council requested leave to say their prayers, and proceeded to perform their devotions in the verandah of the tent. "Looking at the men praying, I said to the chief that it was a pity that men who were so particular in their religious observances should be so careless about some of the cardinal virtues advocated by all religions, such as speaking the truth, so that the very men who were then on their knees would presently come before me, and not scruple to attempt to deceive me about their crops, revenue, &c. A Wuzuree Mullick replied immediately that it might be so: I was no doubt correct. There was probably some radical defect in their religious conduct, as God had thought fit to confer a Hakim (Governor) on them after so many ages of independence."*

Such are the leading features of the new Missionary work proposed in Colonel Taylor's letters to the Committee, and ably advocated by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Colonel Martin, who attended the Committee with that object. Nor was the Society urged only to the enlargement of its labours in the Punjab, but entreated to strengthen the stations already commenced, so as to render them more vigorous and effective. The Missionaries at present in that country are numerically unequal to the arduous duties they have to discharge. A glance at one of the most important of our stations, Peshawur, and the perusal of the following *resumé* of its exigencies, drawn up by one of the Missionaries, will convince our readers that we must act more decidedly, if we would act more successfully.

"The Mission at Peshawur, from its position as the furthest outpost of Christian Missions on the north-west frontier of British India, is one of the most important stations which the Church Missionary Society occupies. Separated from India proper by the Indus, and distinguished as well by nature as by the people inhabiting the Peshawur, or, rather, the Cabool valley, Peshawur has always held a most prominent place in the history of Central Asia. It is the high road to India from Central Asia, the ancient Ariana, from Cabool and Kandahar, from Bactra and Samarkand, from Bokhara and Khiva, and destined by nature to be a great rendezvous for all the various nations and tribes inhabiting the Kohistan of Cabool, the Suleiman mountains, the vast plains of Tartary, and even Southern Russia. Situated at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, the natural outlet of Central Asia into the plains of India, Peshawur has always been the connecting link between Western and Eastern Asia. As its very name imports, Peshawur (a corruption of the Sanskrit Purusha-pura) has been, from the earliest times, a city of men, *i. e.* a populous city of the Arians, and with Cabool (the Sanskrit Kābura) one of the earliest strongholds of the invading Sanskrit people. At the time of Alexander the Great the Kohistan of Cabool and the valley of Peshawur were still in the hands of the Arians, who from thence seem to have extended their conquests into India proper. The quick eye of the Macedonian conqueror saw at once the importance of the place, and leaving his invalided soldiers as a stock of colonists, he founded here the city Niraca. In the steps of Alexander the Great, all the following conquerors of India tread, whose invasions were mere transient deluges, and not permanently changing the conditions of the aborigines. At the time of Mahmud of Gazni, the Afghans first effected a permanent settlement in the valley of Peshawur, expelling, or extirpating, the aboriginal Hindu stock, a small remnant of whom sought and found a refuge in the interior Kohistan, and has always kept up till our times a most deadly struggle against their Mohammedan oppressors. This remnant of the ancient Hindu inhabitants are the so-called Kafirs, who will in no long time form a great object for Missionary endeavours, if the plans should succeed to invite them down again into the valley of Peshawur.

"From the foregoing brief sketch, the importance of Peshawur may be gleaned, especially in regard to Missionary enterprise. Of nearly all the tribes of Afghans, repre-

* Report of Col. R. S. Taylor,

sentatives may be met with at Peshawur; and, during the cold season, Persians, Usbecks, Tartars, merchants from Bokhara, Balkh, Samarkand, and Khiva, flock here together, and it is a common sight to see Russian leather, China ware, furs, and China tea, imported by the land route, exhibited for sale in the bazaar of Peshawur. To this must be added, that Peshawur forms now part of the British territory of India, and natives of every part of India, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, throng now in the mixed crowd of the wild and half savage-looking mountaineers.

"Peshawur must therefore not be put on a level with other Indian Missions. It is a Mission by itself of a peculiar character, and requiring particular care. In the first instance, the people with whom the Missionaries have to deal are widely different from the stamp commonly met with in India. They are bold, and, to a certain extent, unruly; free in speech, and still more so with their arms, ready to shed blood in an angry moment; but at the same time, they are more manly and open to argument, inquisitive, and fond of discussing religious subjects. The Afghans are the best Mussulmans, religious in a far higher sense than the half-Hinduized Mussulmans of India, whom they consider little better than heathen; bigoted in the extreme, and ready to kill any Kafir; greedy and avaricious, like all Asiatics, and treacherous as a by-word. Mountaineers have never been famous for their learning, and the least so the Afghans. They are ignorant and stolid, so that they know little more of Islam than the bare Kelimah, or Mohammedan creed. But at the same time they always evinced a great inclination to mystic speculations and contemplations; and if we believe their own books, Afghanistan must be full of Mohammedan heretics. With a people of this stamp, a Missionary has a hard stand; and yet I am fully convinced that there are more hopeful signs at Peshawur than I have seen elsewhere.

"In the first instance, the people on the whole are very willing to listen to the Missionary's message of peace, if he brings it forth in a quiet and peaceful way. Their hearts are more or less open, and often touched, as I have seen many examples. The seed must be sown in hope, and it will spring up in its proper time, when the Lord shall give it increase.

"Amongst so diverse a population as that of Peshawur, Missionary labour must needs be divided, and as the first condition of a Missionary's usefulness is a thorough knowledge of the language in which he has to address the people, this point cannot be too highly pressed, and ought always first be taken into consideration. Preaching through the medium of an interpreter or catechist should be done away with, if possible.

"The languages which should be studied and practised at Peshawur are, according to my own experience, the following—

"1. For the city of Peshawur, a knowledge, and that a thorough one, of Persian, is absolutely necessary. The most people speak and understand Persian, and like to be addressed therein. A Persian preacher can command a congregation as soon as he opens his mouth. All sciences are taught at school by the medium of Persian, from which all technical terms are taken, even in Pushtoo: the latter language is never taught in schools, and left to be picked up as best it can.

"2. Pushtoo, or Afghani, is necessary to address the Afghans proper, and the peasantry of the valley, as well as the rude mountaineers, who know no other language. It is a hard tongue, difficult to be mastered, and uncouth in pronunciation. Its study is beset with difficulties of all kinds, especially on account of the absence of proper books and translations.

"3. Hindi, or Hindki, is necessary to reach a not unimportant branch of the inhabitants, the descendants of the aboriginal Hindu stock, which, since the conquest by the Sikhs, has been augmented considerably by an influx of Gurmukhi-speaking settlers and traders, and lately by Hindu troops and servants, and all sorts and conditions of men from India proper. I have practised myself occasionally in Hindi, and always had a respectable audience.

"4. Hindustani is required, as everywhere where British rule has extended. The Government offices are mostly served by Hindustani men, the greatest part of official business is transacted in that language, and Hindustani has become the medium of school instruction. Nearly everybody has some smattering of Hindustani; the servants, the troops composing the garrison, are spoken to and commanded in Hindustani; in one word, it is the official language of India, and all natives who aspire to Government situations are labouring hard to get it up as best they can."

Such is the importance, and such are the corresponding requirements of Peshawur. Four languages demand attention; and for this diversified work we have at present on the spot only three Missionaries.

Again, the Sikh population demands special

attention at the present moment. Sikhism—a politico-religious system—has lost its power. Its political prestige was destroyed on the banks of the Sutlej, and the subsequent annexation of the Punjab to British India. Religiously it differs little from Hinduism; and into this latter creed the Sikhs are being rapidly absorbed. They fall back upon it, in their ignorance of any better. It is just the moment to present Christianity to their attention; and Umritsur, the religious capital of Sikhism, is precisely the centre from whence to urge such efforts. The great mass of the Manja Sikhs—the very core and heart of that people—is grouped around. According to the last census, there were in the districts of Lahore and Umritsur alone not less than 127,000 Sikhs; and if to these be added the contiguous districts of Goordaspoor, Goojranwalla, and Sealkote, there arises a total of some 200,000. Yet at Umritsur, there are only four Missionaries, one of whom is taken up by the educational work of the Mission. Again, at Mooltan, the importance of which has been already pointed out, there is at present only one, recently arrived, and therefore inexperienced, Missionary.

Are these provinces of the Indus deserving of vigorous action? We know none more so. Whosoever holds the Punjab dominates over the North-western Provinces, and, through them, over Bengal. Let Christianity obtain a position there, and it will command attention, and, like a city set on a hill, shed its light far and wide. There, in these provinces of the Indus, we find a confluence of languages and races; and through these, as they are won over, the truths of the everlasting Gospel may permeate the millions of Hindustan, or penetrate the rugged passes of the frontier mountains.

What then, under such circumstances, was the Committee to do? On one side, warned of a diminishing income; on the other hand, invited to the immediate improvement of the most promising opportunities. The one consideration seemed to forbid a further advance; and, in the presence of it, the representatives of this great Society, assembled in solemn deliberation, felt like the Israelites when the sea shut them in. But then it was, that "the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." And to us, in that moment of deliberation, the message from the Punjab seemed to be as the Lord's voice in his providence, saying, "go forward." And we have so resolved, although, in doing so, we seem about to descend into a sea of difficulty. But we are on the path of duty; we cannot turn back. We must needs go forward; and we expect to see, as we advance, the waters divide, not miraculously, but by the prompt and energetic efforts of our friends throughout this favoured country. We would labour for our God and his truth; for our fellowmen and their eternal interests; for our country and the consolidation of its rule over India; for our church, in the vindication of its character as a Missionary church; and we summon all who esteem these objects valuable, and worth contending for, to join us in a new and grand effort to plant the Gospel standard more extensively over the plains of the Punjab. Let Christian England give us the men: to no more noble enterprise could they be consecrated. Let Christian England give us the means: on no more noble service could they be expended. Oh for a new impulse from above! Let the tide return, and the breath of heaven fill our sails: let the vessel get under weigh, for the time is short, and souls are perishing!

JAPAN.

We have widely departed from the original prospectus of this Number. Japan was intended to occupy the prominent position, forced as it has been on our attention by the singular events of which the last mails have brought us intelligence. But the proceedings of the General Committee for October came in unexpectedly, and presented themselves with so much of interest, that to deal with them at once became an imperative necessity. Thus Japan has been displaced, although the engraving intended to accompany the article retains its position, like a house, which, having suddenly collapsed, retains the ornamental features still adhering to the walls. We must bespeak the indulgence of our readers, proposing as we do to correct one anomaly by the perpetration of another in our next Number, when we shall hope to introduce an article on Japan, together with a view of the rugged defiles of the Bolan Pass, to which reference is made in this Number. Thus the articles and their respective engravings will be alike severed from each other; but the confusion may be rectified, and order restored, when, the yearly

Numbers being completed, the bookbinder proceeds to unite them in one volume.

Our engraving presents to our readers the residence of Mr. Rutherford Alcock, the British Extraordinary to the Imperial Government Envoy of Japan. It is one of a series of temples belonging to an extensive Buddhist monastery. A garden, with a pleasant grove of trees, and a fish-pond stocked with golden carp, surrounds one end of the residence, the grounds in which the building stands being enclosed by a railing about nine feet in height, supported at intervals by little buttresses of pine-wood, in order to secure retirement, and keep out nightly assassins.

This residence was the scene of that deadly attack which was made on the morning of July 5th, by a band of armed assassins, evidently with the intention of murdering the entire legation before assistance could arrive. Providentially the English gentlemen, although taken by surprise, and ill provided with weapons of defence, were enabled to keep their enemies at bay until the arrival of the Yakoneens, or Japanese guards, by whom, not without loss of life to themselves, the assassins were overpowered. The Yakoneens acted for the Government; the assassins were the hirelings of the feudal lords, or Daimios, who dislike the entrance of the foreigner into the land, fearing lest their tyrannical oligarchy would lose somewhat of its power. Assassinations are the usual mode in Japan of getting rid of disagreeable persons, nor is the Government, which is set at defiance by these princes, as the kings of England were in feudal times by the overbearing nobles, always able to prevent these revengeful deeds. The official quarter, which surrounds the Tycoon's palace and gardens at Yeddo, is the chosen battle-field where the grandees of the empire decide their feuds; and there, at the beginning of the present year, the Goteiro, or regent of the empire, was assassinated in the open day. If the Government were acting with complicity, and really desired the murder of the British officers, it were easy for the Yakoneens to have kept away until the bloody deed was done; or, if they did appear, they might have taken to flight after a pretended effort to interfere. Instead of this, the battle was a severe one, and of the Yakoneens several were killed, and many more wounded. But for their prompt interference, every life would have been sacrificed. To make the Government responsible for outrages to which it is itself exposed, and which, in fact, it has no power to prevent, would be unreasonable and unjust. But we think it likely that Japan is nearing a crisis, and that the nobles, finding the Government faithful in its engagements to the foreigners, will break out into open rebellion, and endeavour to overthrow it; and thus here, in this distant and hitherto isolated empire, there are changes and impending revolutions, reminding us of the divine determination—"I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more until He come whose right it is; and I will give it Him."

Japanese civilization is like the lacquer ware of that singular country. It presents a polished surface, but the interior will not bear inspection. The more we examine into the condition of this people, the more manifest and overwhelming are the evidences of their moral unhealthiness. To them the words of Isaiah may with justice be applied. "From the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrefying sores. They have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." They need the speedy application of the grand specific, the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations.

It is a question how far Japan is open to Missionary effort, and on this subject very opposite opinions have been expressed. The Bishop of Victoria, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has thus expressed himself on this important point—"I am sorry to have to inform you that all the Protestant Missionaries now in Japan concur in the view that it is highly impolitic and inexpedient, in the present temper of the Japanese Government, to attempt any distribution of a Japanese version of the Holy Scriptures among the people. Even the native teachers who assist them in acquiring the language evince considerable alarm, anxiety, and even dismay, whenever Luke's gospel in Japanese is produced, and the conversation is drawn to the subject of Christian doctrines. The Missionaries all believe that, by degrees, a conciliatory course of avoiding any violence to their prejudices, and a cautious abstinence from directly aggressive Missionary action, will prepare the way for more enlarged Missionary operations. At first, both at Kanagawa and Nagasaki, efforts were made by the custom-house native authorities to compel the Missionaries to deliver up all Christian books. As the native officials do not regard Chinese books with the same prejudice as books translated into Japanese, it is probable that the Delegates' version of the Bible in Chinese, and also tracts and books in that language, will for some time be the only available

medium of communicating religious truth to the Japanese. Every educated Japanese can read the Chinese character."

It would appear, however, that there are some amongst the Missionaries who do not concur in these opinions; and statements, of a kind identical with those contained in the letter just referred to, having been made by the Bishop of Victoria, at the Dublin anniversary of the Church Missionary Society in April last, have brought forth the following reply from the American Episcopal Missionary, the Rev. J. Liggins—

"The bishop is represented as having said, 'I believe that the receiving of a copy of the Holy Scriptures, or the reading of the Bible, would entail certain death on any Japanese subject.' This statement of Bishop Smith will be read with great surprise by Missionaries who have sold many copies of the word of God to the Japanese, and who have yet to learn of any such fearful consequences resulting as he speaks of. Before the bishop's visit to Japan, the writer had sold sixty copies of the Scriptures and books wholly religious; besides two thousand magazines, partly religious and partly secular. This was during the first ten months of Missionary labour in Japan, and since that time the demand for religious books has gone on increasing.

"In a letter recently received by the writer from the Rev. Mr. Verbeck, of Nagasaki, he says, 'I have lately sold sixty copies of a new work which contains a complete summary of Christian truth.' The Rev. Mr. Brown, of Kanagawa, writes that he 'has sold two hundred copies of the New Testament to the Japanese.'

"But not only does the sale of hundreds of copies of the Scriptures prove that there is little foundation in fact for the belief expressed by Bishop Smith, but the treaties lately concluded with Japan expressly provide against any such dreadful occurrence as a Japanese subject being put to death for possessing a copy of the Bible. An article of the American Treaty, which is also found in the other treaties, provides 'that the Japanese shall be permitted to buy whatever Americans may have to sell, the only exceptions being opium and firearms.' Mr. Harris, the author of the treaty, told me, that he had this article worded as it is, expressly to cover the sale of the Scriptures, and other Christian books, by the Missionaries; and that he should interfere at once if there was any attempt to violate it."

We are inclined to think that the true state of things lies between these two extremes, and will be found embodied in the following sensible letter from Mr. Liggins, dated a month earlier than the preceding one.

"As some persons, because Japan is not opened to Missionary labours to the extent they wish it was, speak as if it were not opened at all, it seems necessary to state what Missionaries can do at the present time in that country.

"1. They can procure native books and native teachers, by which to acquire the language, and of course the acquisition of the language is, during the first few years, a principal part of their duty.

"2. They can, as they are able, prepare philological works, to enable subsequent Missionaries and others to acquire the language with much less labour, and in much less time, than they themselves have to give to it; and each, in the course of a few years, may make his contribution towards a complete version of the Holy Scriptures in the Japanese language.

3. They can furnish the Japanese, who are anxious to learn English, with suitable books in that language, and thus greatly facilitate social and friendly intercourse between the two races.

"4. They can dispose by sale of a large number of the historical, geographical, and scientific works prepared by the Protestant Missionaries in China.

"Faithful histories of Christian countries tend to disarm prejudice, and to recommend the religion of the Bible; while works on true science are very useful in a country where astrology, geomancy, and many false teachings on scientific subjects generally, are so interwoven with their religious beliefs.

"5. They can sell the Scriptures and religious books and tracts in the Chinese language, and thus engage in direct Missionary work. As books in this language are understood by every educated Japanese, and as the sale of them is provided for by an article of the treaty, we have here a very available means of at once conveying religious truth to the minds of the Japanese.

"6. As the keeping of the above books for sale brings the Missionary into constant intercourse with the people in his own house, and as very many of them make inquiries about Christianity, an excellent opportunity is thus afforded him for explaining to them what Christianity is, and of urging home its claims upon them; and here is another very important way of carrying on direct Missionary labour.

"7. They can, by their Christian walk and conversation, by acts of benevolence to the poor and afflicted, and by kindness and

courtesy to all, weaken and dispel the prejudices against them, and convince the observent Japanese that true Christianity is something very different from what intriguing Jesuits of former days—what unprincipled traders and profane sailors of the present day —would lead them to think it is.

"Living epistles of Christianity are as much needed in Japan as written ones; and it would be very sad if either are withheld through a mistaken idea that Japan 'is not open to Missionary labour.' . . .

"But perhaps it may be asked, 'Is it not still a law that a native who professes Christianity shall be put to death?' To this an affirmative answer must be given; but it should be remembered that another law was passed at the same time, which declared that any Japanese who returned to his native country, after having been, for any cause whatever, in any foreign country, should be put to death. As this latter law, though unrepealed, is not executed, so it is believed that the law against professing Christianity will in like manner not be enforced.

"In conversing with Mr. Harris, the United States Minister at Yeddo, on this subject, he stated that he had used every endeavour to have this obnoxious law repealed, but without success; a principal reason being that the Government feared that it would form a pretext for the old conservative party to overthrow the Government, and again get into power. What the 'Liberals' even did concede, resulted in what was feared; though, owing to the energetic conduct of the Foreign Ministers, and the influence of the Liberal party in Japan, the 'Conservatives' were compelled to adopt, in great measure, the 'Liberal policy.'

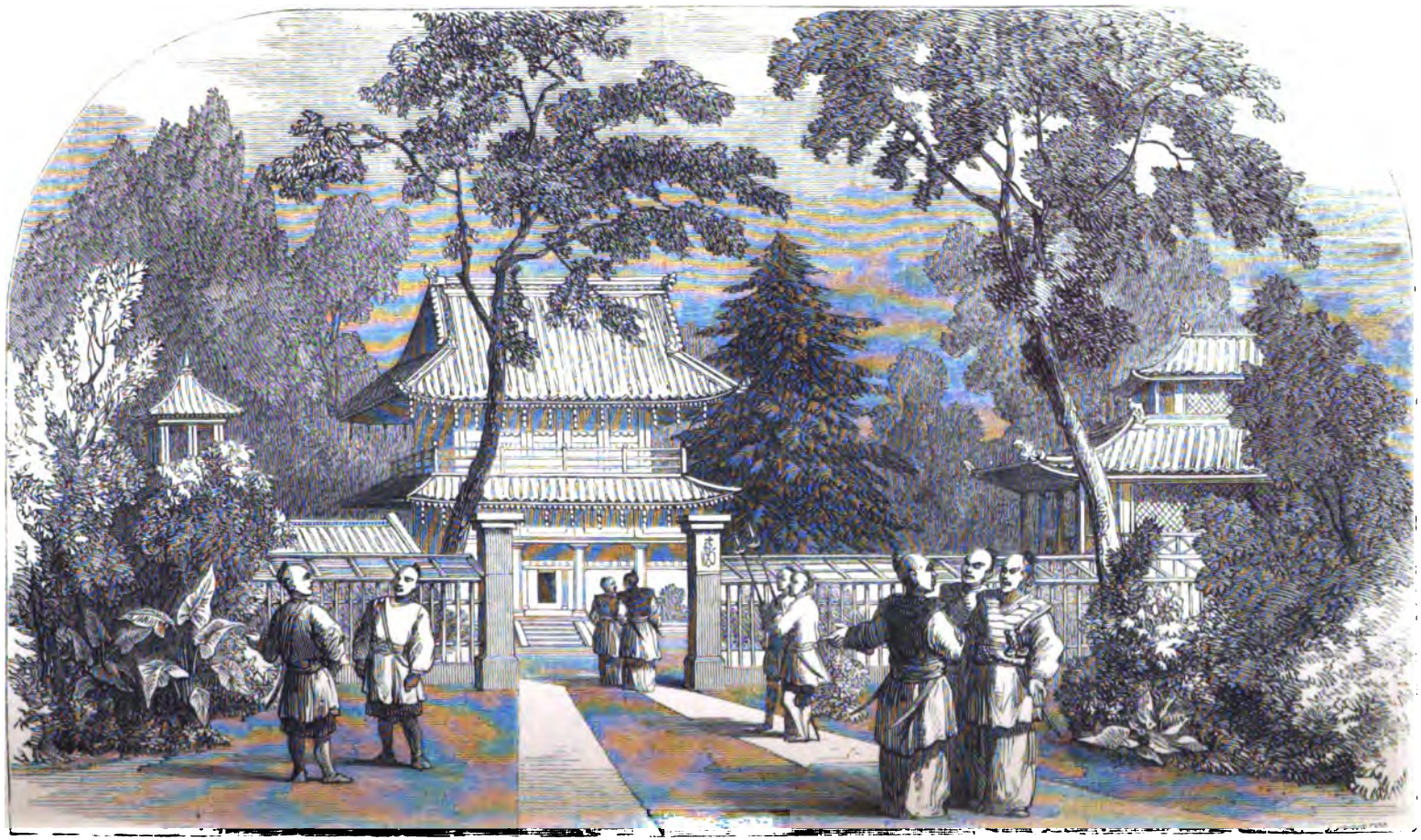
"'I do not believe,' said Mr. Harris, 'after all that the other Foreign Ministers and myself have said on the subject, that this law will ever be enforced; but if it should be, even in a single instance, there will come such an earnest protest from myself and the representatives of the other Western Powers that there will not likely be a repetition of it.'

"The non-repeal of this law, therefore, while it is a matter for regret, is nevertheless not to be adduced as a proof that Japan is still closed to Missionary effort; but only as a reason for a prudent course of procedure on the part of the Missionaries."

There is, then, a law which dooms to death any native who professes Christianity. It is true that as yet there has been no enforcement of this law, and the American Minister is of opinion, that in consequence of the protests made on this point by himself and other foreign ministers it never will be enforced. Still it remains unrepealed, and while this be the case, it may be called into action at any moment by some marked instances of conversion to Christianity, and that in despite of the remonstrances of the American or any other foreign Missionary. Now we are of opinion that we have reached an era in the history of God's dealings with mankind of a character so peculiar that no nation will be permitted to retain such an obstructive enactment on its statute-book, without being subjected to visitations more or less severe, as circumstances may require it. The great earthquake has gone forth, whose mission is to level with the dust all obstructions of a political character which would interfere with the fulfilment of the divine command, "Preach the Gospel to every creature."

Meanwhile there is much, no doubt, of preliminary work which may be done by Missionaries; nor should the existence of a sanguinary law on the Statute Book of Japan prevent us offering the Scripture, either in Chinese or Japanese—so far as we possess the latter—to the natives, as we have opportunity. And now, on this new field field of labour, the Church Missionary Society is invited to enter. The great American Societies, which have so zealously and successfully carried on the great work of evangelism amongst the heathen, are feeling severely, in the diminished pecuniary support which they are receiving, the effects of a calamitous war. The sad necessity for most painful retrenchment is being forced upon them, and those prosperous Missions by which they have been disseminating the light of truth, and guiding the lost to Christ, must be, if not given up, at least enfeebled in their action. We Christians of England have been accused of not sympathizing with our Transatlantic brethren in their present painful circumstances. No words will serve to reassure them on this subject. We must reply by actions. It would be a glorious vindication of British Christians from such a charge, if, as a thank-offering for the peace which we enjoy, contributions to the Missionary work, instead of diminishing, were so increased throughout this land, that we should be enabled, not only to maintain our own Missions, but assist our American brethren to maintain theirs.

The Church Missionary Society has been invited by American Missionaries returning from Japan to take up the work in that country, from whence they are constrained to withdraw. Let our friends throughout England say what answer we shall give them.



RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH EMBASSY, YEDDO.

INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE IN INDIA—THE RIGHT WAY OF DOING IT.

"It is with pain that we have once more to draw attention to the obstructions offered by the Church Missionary Society to the increase of the Indian Episcopate." Such is the opening sentence of the "Colonial Church Chronicle" for September 1861.

We had hoped, by previous papers and explanations, to have so far prevailed with the "Colonial Church Chronicle" as to free it from the misapprehension under which we regret to find it still labours, namely, that the Church Missionary Society is engaged in offering a series of deliberate obstructions to the increase of the Indian Episcopate, and therefore that it merits public reproof and condemnation; a painful duty, to which our worthy cotemporary appears to consider himself imperatively called, and endeavours to discharge with much self-denying zeal. No one is more to be pitied than the man who afflicts himself to fulfil that which he considers to be a duty, but which, in fact, is such only in his own imagination; and when an individual is seen expending his resources so unprofitably, the natural impulse is to convince him of his error, and awaken him to a correct perception of the actual state of things. It would have been well if the false enthusiasm which obscured his vision had been dispelled from around the worthy knight of La Mancha, before he committed himself to the dangerous absurdity of charging the windmills, and splintering his spear against such rough antagonists. The "Colonial Church Chronicle" appears ambitious to emulate so peerless an example. With undiminished zeal, again and again, on its Rosinante, it enters the lists as the reprehender of the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and expends its time and energy in tilting, not even against something so substantial as a windmill, but against a phantom evil which has no existence, save in the imagination of a few mistaken persons. Repeatedly have we deprecated these aggressions, but our remonstrances remain unheeded, and we are once more very reluctantly compelled to stop a moment, if so be we may soothe down our worthy impugner, and persuade him to abandon a proceeding which he assures us is painful to him, and which we can assure him, so far as the convictions of the Church Missionary Society are concerned, is labour lost.

The charge, often answered, yet still reiterated against the Church Missionary Society, is that it obstructs the increase of the Episcopate in India, and thus contravenes its own professed principles, and therefore, as a false knight, guilty of appropriating a motto which is not its own, that it deserves to have its shield reversed, and to be banished in ignominy from the lists.

Surely our past services might plead at least so far on our behalf as to claim for us a hearing, and, until that had been conceded, prevent any prejudgment of our case. Surely the Church Missionary Society has rendered service to the Church of England. This good knight has been often in the field; and his casque and shield bear upon them the indents of the strokes he has received. Full fifty years he has been doing battle. He has been an old crusader, and, far away in Oriental lands, he has borne the cross, and endured hardness. Some trophies have been won, nor is he unwilling, if such a proceeding be deemed requisite, that a comparison be instituted between the services he has rendered, and those of any other Church-of-England Missionary organization. In magnitude and importance they yield to none. If the truth must be told, they are the most numerous, the most widely distributed, the best consolidated, and the furthest advanced towards Church organization. Native churches have been raised up, east and west, north and south. The doctrine taught and believed amongst these churches is that which Scripture reveals, and the Church of England has expressed with such fidelity in her Articles. Their religious worship is framed and conducted according to the Church-of-England Prayer-book, which, in every instance where a new language is brought into action as a channel for Missionary instruction, is carefully translated by the Missionaries of the Society, and placed, with the vernacular Bible, in the hands of the converts and their children. Thus important accessions to Christianity and groups of converts who regard the Church of England as the mother Church from whence their Christianity has been derived, have been gained through the labours of the Church Missionary Society. In writing thus, we are constrained to say with Paul of old—"I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you." And certainly, in view of the results which have been obtained through the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and the honour

which God has put upon its work, it might expect at least so much of deference, as to have the explanations which it offers on points connected with its policy and course of action, accepted and believed.

On the ground, then, of past services, the Society claims to be heard on its own behalf, while once more it disclaims the accusation so often brought against it. The Church Missionary Society has never offered any obstruction to the increase of the Episcopate in India; but it has opposed, and will continue to oppose, that mode of increase advocated by the "Church Colonial Chronicle," and those who sympathize with it, as inconsiderate and rash; put forward, either without due consideration, or in default of that necessary knowledge and experience which alone can qualify individuals to deal with questions of so great magnitude. The question is not as to the increase of the Episcopate, but as to the assignment of a foreign Episcopate to the native churches.

The question is a very serious one. It is not to be disposed of by a few sharp papers, written *currente calamo*, with a show of argument, and nothing more, but one requiring grave and prayerful consideration. No one is fitted to deal with this subject who has not long and earnestly thought upon it, and who has viewed it, not in theory, but as the bearings of it are manifested in the experiences and evolutions of Missionary work. The mountain stream, as it gurgles along its rocky bed, is sparkling and attractive; but it is a vexed streamlet, and it is so because it is so shallow. Every rock and stone constitutes a hindrance, and it frets and chafes around these interruptions as though they were mountains; but they are buried in the depths of the great river, which, as it flows powerfully onward, never pauses to recognise them. There are minds, sparkling but querulous. They will take up trivialities, and fret and fume around them; but great and comprehensive questions they have neither the depth nor the patience to entertain. No man is fitted to deal with those grand questions, which, in connexion with Missionary enterprise, are now opening on the attention of the church, who cannot divest himself of petty narrownesses and the cavillings of a party spirit, and who, when he enters into the labyrinth of a question as yet difficult, because new and unsubmitted to the test of experience, has not been careful to furnish himself with that one clue which can alone guide to a safe and just conclusion—how shall, not party views, not sectional prejudices, but the glory of God, the kingdom of Christ, the salvation of our fellow-men, be best promoted. Certainly, our position at the present day is one of great responsibility. Missions, as they have advanced, have presented for investigation and solution new questions, which our predecessors, who were engaged in the more elementary portions of the work, had not to do with. They have devolved on us, and in the decision to which we come, is wrapped up the future prosperity of the native churches. We are persuaded that the real question at issue is, whether Episcopacy shall be so introduced into the native churches as to become a part of their growth, or whether it shall be something extraneous, artificially attached to them, but having no real incorporation, and therefore, amidst the changes and siftings of political fluctuations, liable to fall off, and be so lost as never to be recovered.

Let us calmly view the subject. Our responsibility is India and a group of nations entrusted to our care. The Gospel is with us, and wherever it is given it bestows blessings, but carries with it collateral obligations, and one of the most vital and unavoidable of these is the command, "Freely ye have received, freely give." That Gospel which God has given to us, we are bound to give to India; that is the duty which God expects us to discharge, and if we fail in the duty, when the period of probation has expired we shall lose the heritage, and the vineyard be taken from us, that it may be given to others. How shall this great duty be best discharged? Voluntary associations of private individuals, having no political character, but simply the emanations of Christian philanthropy, have been the great agencies employed. That is well. National distrust is thus wisely put aside. Evangelizing efforts put forth authoritatively would excite suspicion among the natives, as designed, not to promote their welfare, but to complete their subjugation. False religion would be placed in the best possible position for retaining its hold on the affections of the people, and would clothe itself in the drapery, and assume the attitude of one unjusly persecuted. But the whole movement has been carried out by those who manifestly can be actuated by no other motive than an anxiety to benefit the natives; and, as such, we hesitate not to say the Missionaries throughout India are regarded, even by those who are not convinced by their teaching, as men who wish to befriend them. To this we attribute the marvellous fact, that during the disturbances of 1857-58, and when the native mind was filled with a hatred to the European, unprotected

Mission stations, in remote country districts, remained unmolested.

But we now aim at a universal preaching of the Gospel amongst the natives of India, so as to give every man a fair opportunity of knowing and embracing the truth. We can be content with nothing less. Our work will not be done until this be done. And how shall it be accomplished, this work of stupendous magnitude? These millions of souls—one hundred and seventy millions, in all their diversity of race, and language, and religion—how shall they be individualized, so that each shall have his opportunity? Some have so little understanding of the subject, that they appear to think this stupendous work is to be done by European Missionaries, and that they must be multiplied accordingly. Upon a misconception of this kind, the "Colonial Church Chronicle" grounds one of its arguments for the immediate increase of the Episcopate in India. The Church Missionary Society, in one of its official papers, had expressed its conviction that no necessity existed for the immediate increase of the English Episcopate in India, because of the limited number of clergy to be superintended; there being, for example, in the diocese of Madras, not more than 152 clergy. Of this the "Colonial Church Chronicle" proceeds to advantage itself, and, in venturing into the arena of argument, discloses a defectiveness in the ideas which it entertains as to the true character of Missionary work, and the mode in which it ought to be carried on, which tempts us to shoot an arrow through the joints of its armour. "Will the Committee," exclaims our zealous cotemporary, "proceed to argue that 152 clergy are amply sufficient for the supply of the spiritual wants of the Christian population, and for the work of gathering in the forty millions of heathens of Southern India to the Christian fold? If they are not, will the Committee go on to argue that they consider that two bishops are less likely to increase the number of chaplains and Missionaries than one?" The "Colonial Church Chronicle," then, intends a great object—the evangelization of the native people of South India, amounting to forty millions, and informs us how this may be accomplished. A proportionable increase in the number of chaplains and Missionaries is requisite, and that this may be effected, it wants to have two English bishops instead of one in the diocese of Madras. This is "the one measure which common sense shows, and the experience of the last twenty years has proved to be, under God, the great means of increasing Missionary clergy in the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire." Our readers will begin to understand something of the Missionary theories on which we are called upon to act, under the dread of incurring a heavy responsibility. The masses of the heathen are to be gathered in by Missionary clergy, and as the only way of accomplishing this the English Episcopate must be increased. And will this be successful? Will the increase of the Episcopate attract from Europe all the labourers which may be requisite for such a work as this—men of the right kind, and in sufficient number? Never! not even if, instead of one bishop, there were fifty or one hundred. It never was intended that the work of universal testimony should be done in this way. It is not God's way: it cannot be ours. Throughout the whole history of the church, from the earliest and apostolic times, it never was acted upon. It is an impossibility, and it is well that it is so, for it would be unsuccessful. The foreign agency which commences the work is a handful. It never was intended to be more. It is merely initiative in its action, and as such will always be numerically disproportionate to the masses it approaches; yet that does not preclude its effectiveness. Let us explain. There is a district in New Zealand, one happily remote from the calamitous war which has so arrested the growing prosperity of those islands, where, forty years ago, wheat was unknown. The potato and kumera were the only edibles grown by the natives. Now the valleys and hill-sides, where the forest and the fern-root flourished luxuriantly, are covered with rich crops of mellow wheat, ripe for the harvest. A Missionary laid the foundation of this plenty. He brought in with him two stockings full of wheat grain. It was sown, and, as it reproduced itself, was resown, until there was enough to serve both as seed and food. Observe; the first harvest raised consisted of little tiny patches. How contemptible they seemed when contrasted with the extensive territories around—the plains and outlying hills! Yet such is the power of reproduction, that they have furnished forth more than seed enough for all the ground that can be brought into cultivation. So in India. A few Missionaries have entered in. They have sown a handful of the seed of the kingdom, no more, and it has yielded the tiny patches of its first produce. There they are, the little churches and congregations dispersed over the face of India. How contemptible they look when compared with the dense masses of India's population! Yet to these we must look for the increase of the

work. We must look, not so much to fresh seed brought from without, as to the naturalized seed which they shall yield us: only let them be wisely dealt with, not stunted and dwarfed by indiscreet action. The seed they yield is peculiarly valuable, because it is naturalized. It is a native element Christianized. When introduced by a foreign agent, the Gospel has much to contend with. A new language has to be acquired. Even under the most advantageous circumstances, when others have pioneered the way, and prepared vocabularies and elementary books, still his ear has to be accustomed, and his tongue broken in, to the new sounds, and it is long before he can so speak as to arrest the attention of the native, and express distinctly and intelligibly the truths which he wishes to communicate. To the very last he remains a foreigner in the land, one not of the people themselves, but, in points too numerous to be specified, unlike them. The danger is, lest the religion which he introduces be regarded as a foreign element, well suited to the white man, but uncongenial to the native mind, and incapable of adapting itself to a native soil; and thus so formidable are the difficulties with which a religion such as Christianity is encompassed—one which, to help the sinner, deals faithfully with him by pointing out his sin, that its progress would be impossible were it not the power of God. Therefore it is that the first converts are the great marvel of the work. The men who have had the boldness to break off from the long prescribed creed and customs of their forefathers, and, amidst obloquy and persecution, embrace the new faith, present a phenomenon, in its remarkable character inferior only to the miraculous. Disadvantaged as it is in its primary action, crippled and impeded by adverse circumstances, the Gospel nevertheless wins its way, and, in every land and language where it is dealt with faithfully, yields these earlier fruits. But its progress is retarded. The work commenced under such circumstances is slow in its development. Men labour long and painfully before a first convert appears, and slowly, and amidst much discouragement, the Missionary toils up the steep ascent, the rocky barriers, and precipitous paths, which, unless surmounted, would leave him a prisoner on the narrow beach where he was landed, and shut him out for ever from the open country above.

While Christianity, therefore, accepts these difficulties on its first entrance into a new country, it claims to be relieved of them as soon as possible; and this is done when the native converts and congregations raised up by the foreign Missionary, being recognised as the natural means for the further propagation of Christianity amongst their countrymen, are trained and used for this great object. In the existence of such congregations, new thoughts are forced upon the minds of the observant heathen. They are convinced of that of which at first they were incredulous, that the new religion has power so to affect the minds of their countrymen, as to become with them the superior influence. They have put the matter to the test. Every kind of discouragement which could be devised has been heaped on these first seceders from the ancient superstitions, yet have they stood fast, and, so far from being wrenched away from their convictions, the greater the difficulties the more tenacious their adherence to the newly-found path. But this is not enough. The heathen expect that the converts will become denationalized, drawn away from the native masses to which they originally belonged, and incorporated with the white man, and that the sympathies which once united them with old relatives and friends of the same race and blood with themselves, will be lost in the new ties which have been formed, and, like the old religions and superstitions of the country, perish under the powerful influences to which they have been subjected. If these churches are to become centres of light and instruments of good amongst the dense masses of India's population—if, from these, as so many points of vitality, healthful influences are to be largely dispersed abroad—if a naturalized seed is to be sown, and the progress of Christianity expedited—if the great deliverance on its mission is in some measure to emulate, in its promptitude of action, the devouring speed with which the process of destruction is going forward—if evangelists are to be raised up who shall teach or preach, not in an acquired, but in their own native tongue, and with the ease and fluency of their own vernacular, then must the native character of the new churches be carefully and jealously preserved. They must remain homogeneous with the masses round, else will they cease to be influential, and become nothing more than patches on a rent garment, between which and the contiguous portions of the old vestment there is no intertexture. Their growth will be like the growth of lichens, and no more. They will grow upon, but not in union with, the great mass of humanity on which they have been formed. Instead of a graft, they will be an excrescence. The vitality which they will

have will be one in entire separation from the living body to which they are attached. There will be no sympathies, no pores of intercommunication, by means of which a corrective and improving influence may be imparted. The lichens are peculiar in their functions. They do not directly turn that upon which they grow into soil, but collect soil upon it. Native churches may be so mismanaged as to be reduced precisely to this state. They may affect the European instead of the native element, and, fungus-like, may proceed to collect the means of sustentation from without, instead of striking their roots deeply into the native soil, and deriving the materials of increase and maintenance from thence. Lichens protect "rocks and stones from the influence of the air." A direct proof of this may be seen in any old tower which has long stood the weather, unexposed to smoke, which is unfavourable to the growth of lichens. "The stone of which the tower is built may be all from the same quarry, but still it will be found that, while the parts near the foundation are time-worn, especially towards the south-west, the marks of the chisel are fresh upon those near the top, more especially on the north-east side, where the lichens are always most abundant. It is the same with the fuci and the confervæ, for the rocks and channels that are covered with them are not nearly so much worn as those that are bare."* So it is with native churches *aggregated* on the exterior of a population, but having a separate vitality; so far from enfeebling the old superstitions of the land, they rather protect and conserve them. The people dislike the Christianity which, in its growth and mode of existence is detached, and cling with the more tenacity to to the old creeds and forms.

If, then, the native churches raised up in India are to be useful and do their proper work, we must be careful that the evangelizing procedure be such as not to denationalize them. This was the misfortune of the church of the Reformation in Ireland: it was denationalized. The motive which influenced to this was the desire of extending the English order, habit, and language. The Parliamentary statute of 1537, the 28th year of Henry the Eighth, enacted, that "if any spiritual promotion within this land at any time became void, such as have title to nominate shall nominate to the same such a person as can speak English, and none other;" or if no English-speaking person could be had who was willing to accept the benefice, and the nomination of a native became a matter of necessity, then he was bound under an oath "to endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language," and to learn and teach the English tongue to all under his governance, and preach the word of God in English." To give effect to this policy, English bishops were appointed to Irish sees—men pledged to the discouragement of the Irish language, and who dealt with the clergy so as to confine them to English ministrations, and warp them from all active efforts to evangelize the natives through the vernacular. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, admits the discrepancy of language between the clergy and the people to "constitute a very general, and, where it obtains, an insurmountable obstacle to any intercourse with the people;" and then, anticipating a very obvious remark, adds, in a note, "If it be asked why the clergy do not learn the Irish language, I answer, that it should be the object of the Government rather to take measures to bring it into entire disuse."* The consequences of such a policy are recorded in the page of history. The reformed church of Ireland was Anglicized. It was so dealt with, that between it and the Irish-speaking people no active sympathies were permitted to be formed. Exceptional cases there were; holy men, raised above the narrow prejudices of the time, and, pre-eminent amongst them, Bedell, of Kilmore, who not only required from his clergy an ability to preach in the Irish tongue, as an absolutely necessary qualification, but best enforced it by his own example. But with his death such efforts died. His Irish manuscript was allowed to remain above forty years without being printed; and as for those ministers who attempted to use the Irish tongue for the purpose of evangelization, they were few indeed. The effects of this policy have been but too apparent, even in our own day. The writer of this article can bear testimony to the fact that the reformed church of Ireland, as he first knew it, nearly half a century ago, was dissociated from the masses of the people. They had no sympathy with it. They regarded it as that which England had intruded into the land, as the church of the dominant section of the population, that which wielded all power and possessed all privilege, while they were down-trodden and oppressed. The Irish Protestants were in the land a distinct and separated people: they were regarded by the masses around them as more Sassenach than

* "Mudie's Autumn."

* "Anderson's Native Irish," Section 3.

Irish, and their disseverance from their Irish-speaking countrymen, and surrender to English interests, was attributed chiefy to the influence of that Protestantism whose real character the Irish people understood not, because cramped and fettered by a mistaken policy, it had never been permitted to break forth in its loving influence upon them. It was, in the estimation of the Irish Romanist, an heretical and soul-destroying faith, from which he shrank in abhorrence, and clung the more earnestly to that corrupt system which taught its follies and superstitions in his own tongue. And thus the reformed church in Ireland was for generations a thing of lichen growth. It was in no union with the people, and received no welcome there. It was no more nourished by the masses of the population, than the lichens which cover the face of a rock are fed by that rock: it turned, therefore, elsewhere for support and sympathy, and collected from without the soil on which it grew. No one who remembers what Ireland was between forty and fifty years ago, can deem these statements overdrawn. There, in an Irish country town, might be seen the Protestant church; and there, at noon on the Lord's-day, would be found collected a scanty congregation. They had come from great distances. The horses and carriages of various kinds, by which they were conveyed, stood without. But on the way were passed the chapels of the Romanists, probably two in a distance of six miles, and so full, that the people might be seen kneeling outside on the steps and in the chapel-yards. As the little congregation of Protestants broke up on their return home, dense crowds filled the street, and dark looks and scowls too plainly evidenced the disaffection with which they were regarded. The Protestant church had been so unhappily dealt with, that it had ceased to be a Missionary church. The truth of Christianity was wrapped up in a narrow and exclusive system. The masses disliked it as an intrusion, with which they neither had, nor desired to have, connexion, and attached themselves with the more determination to the church of Rome.

Are the native churches in India to be similarly dealt with? A theory of secular policy wrought the mischief in Ireland; a theory of ecclesiastical policy may do the same for India. The one evil was done by the overweening desire to promote the *English* language; the other may be done by an overweening desire to promote the *English* Episcopate. The reformed church of Ireland was denationalized mainly by the promotion of Englishmen to the sees which ought to have been filled by the clergy of the country. The same procedure—the appointment of an English Episcopate to the presidency of native churches—cannot fail to have the same effect. How can the Anglican element be placed in such a position, and not affect the native church, so as to render it less native, and impart to it a hybrid character? Natives crouch to the European in authority; they have a servile tendency; they disguise their own sentiments; they adopt his. In our native pastors no doubt the action of Christianity lessens this tendency, and fosters manliness and independence of character; but it still exists, and the native pastor ought not to be placed in circumstances which will not help him, but rather hinder him in unlearning it. Bishop and clergy, to work together, must assimilate. The English bishop, if a devoted man, will come down as much as he can to the lower level of his native clergy; but beyond a certain point he cannot advance. They, to meet him, must come forth from their habitudes. They must become as much English as he becomes native. They will of themselves decide to do so, and will endeavour, as closely as possible, to resemble their bishop in habits and mode of life. They will learn English, because their bishop speaks in English. They want theological books, but if they can have them in English there is the less need to translate them into the vernacular: it will therefore remain impoverished, and will be proportionably neglected, while the knowledge of the English is more coveted. But how shall it be with the native flock? They must be distracted, either from their clergy, or the unconverted masses round. Either result must be calamitous. The one would deprive them of opportunities for growth; the other of opportunities for usefulness. In either case their effectiveness is sacrificed. They must be nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, if they are to have capacity for work: they must retain their homogeneity with their countrymen, if they are to have materials to work upon. The leaven is originally a part of the mass into which it is introduced: it is dough, a small portion, separated from the lump, and dealt with after a peculiar fashion, so as, by fermentation, to become pungent, spirituous, penetrative. This, hid in the natural mass, attenuates it, and, by affording opportunity for the air to enter, raises and lightens it. But the leaven is homogeneous with the mass it is designed to act upon, not dissimilar.

Now, just as a native church becomes Anglicized, it loses this necessary suitableness. Let us look at it from a native point of view. In Ireland there was a jealousy between races. The Irish disliked the Anglo-Saxon conqueror, and disliked the reformed church of Ireland as a portion of the dominant system. There is race-jealousy in India. The English are in authority, the natives are the subjects. If they come to think that Christianity cannot act on them as a people, without altering the national type, and assimilating it to the English model, they also will dislike it. If the Hindu thinks that, with a change of faith, national essentials must be changed, he will decline having to do with an element so disturbing. He wants to see whether a Hindu can become a Christian, and yet, in all points which are not at variance with Christianity, remain a Hindu still. He wants to see whether, in accomplishing its transit from the foreign Missionary to the native convert, it can leave behind English materiality, and, as a simple spiritual system, enter into the Hindu, and deal with Hindu materiality as it had done with that which is English. Unless we can provide a leaven of this kind, the mass will not be fermented. It will reject the action of that which is not homogeneous. A native church, with an English bishop, and the necessary consequence, an Anglicized clergy, can never act as leaven amidst the population of Hindustan. In this we see the wisdom of Missions in India not being confined to any one province, but dispersed, as it were, incidentally, yet widely, amidst the nations of Hindustan, and amidst different languages. It is thus that for each distinct nation a different leaven is being provided, and Christianity is being clothed with that language and form which will enable it to act with most facility on the Telugu, on the Tamil, the Malayalim, or Bengalee.

But how, if an English Episcopate must needs be appended to a native church, shall the heathen be able to regard it as capable of acting with the impartiality we have described? They will view it as a partisan of English domination, insidiously entering in, under a religious pretext, to deprive them of their idiosyncracy in the family of nations, and break them down into more complete subjection to the English rule. Christianity must be preserved intact from the suspicion of national favouritism, if it would remain uncompromised with national dissensions, and thus, as the friend and benefactor of all, soften down asperities, and promote universal concord.

But to a Hindu who loves his race, and desires it should be maintained in its distinctiveness—who dislikes, as every man does who possesses patriotism, that it should be absorbed and lost in another and more powerful one, how can a native church, with an English Episcopate, be otherwise than an object of doubt? for how is this English Episcopate to be maintained? By the native churches? Impossible! They have never maintained the English Missionary, how then shall they maintain the English bishop? He must be maintained from home. But this constitutes a palpable relationship. The English Episcopate, thus salaried, connects the church with England, and not with India. As such, the natives can have no confidence in its ministrations. It has been naturalized as regards England, but has thus become an alien to them.

Let the Anglican party beware! In their haste to multiply bishops they will not fail, through their inexperience and ignorance, to interfere with the healthful action of Christ's Gospel, and prevent, by injudicious measures the very object they have in view. Commence with an Anglican Episcopate over a native church, and there never will be a native Episcopate. The one will render the other impracticable. The English Episcopate, however, wisely administered, will so affect the native clergy as for ever to unfit them for native superintendence. The native bishop's comparatively humble and unpretentious office will be contrasted with the more dignified position of him whom they have been accustomed to salaam as "my Lord," and elements of discontent and insubordination will be introduced, which no future time will serve to counteract. Initiate the English Episcopate over a native church, and, under such it must continue, for it will never so recover its native simplicity, as heartily, and without reluctance, to submit itself to native direction.

We commenced this article by quoting the first sentence in the "Colonial Church Chronicle" on the subdivision of the diocese of Madras: we conclude with the terminating sentence of the same effusion—"All we" ask the Church Missionary Society's Committee "is, that they should join their brethren in striving to secure what is possible, a Missionary Episcopate in preference to what may prove, though most desirable, as yet unattainable, a purely native Episcopate." Such is the concluding sentence, and to this we reply, that we cannot unite with them in the object for which they strive, because the appointment of a Missionary Episcopate

would render a purely Native Episcopate, however most desirable, yet for ever unattainable. We are pleased to find our worthy cotemporary agrees with us in considering a purely Native Episcopate *most desirable.* It would surely, then, be a pity, by any rash procedure, to endanger the prospect of so desirable a consummation. We are all, as engaged in working out the great Missionary problems which present themselves to us at the present day, placed under a most serious responsibility. Native churches have been raised up, and on their healthful development what important issues are depending? Our hope with respect to them is that of Paul to the Corinthians—"Having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you.' At such a crisis we may, by unwise interference, mar that hope, or by scriptural action expedite that hope. Is it just, then, is it becoming the character of grave men, to accuse us as acting inconsistently with our profession of Church Missionary, because we will not commit ourselves without questioning to a line of action which to us appears experimental and dangerous? If we were contumaciously silent, and refused to offer any explanation, such reproaches would not be surprising. But this has not been the case; and as the "Colonial Church Chronicle" considers it "a matter of curious interest to ascertain what are the reasons which have approved themselves to a body specially deputed to further the Missions of the Church of England in India, as justifying them in opposing the subdivision of the Missionary diocese of Madras," we have once more placed those reasons before the public. Surely they are not puerile. They are of sufficient weight to show that our refusal to concur with the standing Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in urging upon Her Majesty's Government the division of the diocese of Madras, is the result of serious convictions, and is in no wise inconsistent with the position which our Society holds as the "Church Missionary Society."

MISSION TO THE DERAJAT.

In our last Number we placed before our readers certain new openings from important Missionary efforts in connexion with the Trans-Indus portion of our Punjab territories, openings to the immediate occupation of which this Society has been invited by Colonel Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States. We expressed our regret that it was not in our power to introduce into our review of these openings the letter received from Colonel Taylor, and enclosing one addressed to him by Sir R. Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab., as also the substance of the explanatory remarks addressed by Sir Herbert Edwardes to the Committee, with a view to aid them to a right decision. We are happy now to be enabled to supply this deficiency. The following letter from Sir Herbert Edwardes will be found to embrace the information placed by him on that occasion before the Committee; and this, together with extracts of letters from Sir Robert Montgomery and Colonel Reynell G. Taylor, we now publish.

"*Letter from Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, K.C.B., to Rev. H. Venn.*

"15*th October* 1861.

"My Dear Mr. Venn—I have much pleasure in putting down on paper such information as I was able yesterday to give the Committee of the Church Missionary Society by word of mouth, when laying before them the letter of Colonel Reynell Taylor, proposing to found a Mission in the Derajat. I know well that the Society is already trying to do more work than the friends of Missions seem ready to support; and that very good cause must be shown to justify the Committee in pushing on into one more field of labour and expense, with the good old staff of faith and hope bending under its burdens.

"The Derajat is that long reach of the Punjab frontier which lies between the right bank of the Indus and the eastern slopes of the great Sulimanee range, which separates British India from Afghanistan. It extends from the Salt Range, which is the southern limit of the Peshawur division, to the north-eastern frontier of the province of Sindh; and may be more than 300 miles long by 50 or 60 broad.

"The name Derajat means literally "The Camps;" and arose from the conquest of the country by three chiefs, Ishmael Khan, Futteh Khan, and Ghazee Khan, who parcelled it out between them. They were evidently nomads: for their resting-places were called The Camps, or, in Scripture language, The

Tents of Ishmael, Futteh, and Ghazee. Gradually the wanderers took root: houses replaced the tents, and towns grew up; but the whole tract embraced by the occupation of these invaders is still called the Derajat.

"Dera Futteh Khan is the central one; but it has been eclipsed in importance by the other two. Dera Ghazee Khan and Dera Ishmael Khan are each the head-quarters of a British district, and derive their commercial importance from the fact that each stands opposite mountain-passes on the border through which the products of Central Asia are poured down into the Punjab and Hindostan, and the products of Hindustan and England are pushed up into Central Asia

"The carriers of this trade are among the most remarkable people in the world, and are well worth telling of. They are the Lohanee merchants of Afghanistan.

"There are several tribes of them; and for generations it has been their business to do for Central Asia and India, what Englishmen have been doing for the nations on the world's seaboard. It was no easy task: they had to come and go between the lands of snow and sun, and in both to carry on commerce under every conceivable impost and extortion. Midway on their route they had to traverse the mountains of Suliman, which owned neither the laws of Delhi nor Cabul. Here taxes ceased, but it was no respite for the Lohanees. Between them and the Wuzeerees (the proudest mountaineers of Afghanistan) a blood-feud reigned, and no quarter was given on either side. From the moment that the Lohanee caravans entered the Wuzeeree defile each march had to be made in battle-array, and desperate were the contests through which they pushed their road, losing here a camel, there a bale of goods, a sturdy comrade, a foot-sore wife, or a stray child. You may suppose they came out of such wars a very battered set of fellows; and no one can fall into their company without being struck with the number of their scars and wounds. Yet undaunted they go on, from father to son; and almost as certain as the wintry frosts, the hardy Lohanee merchants, with their wiry little camels, make their appearance on the plains of the Derajat. Here they are in British territory, the land of law and order, and most striking must the transition seem to them. At once precautions cease; arms are laid aside, except when pasturing the camels under the skirts of the Afghan hills; the loads are opened out and exposed for sale in the bazaars of the Derajat, and the whole company of the caravan enjoys a peaceful rest within the Christian border.

"But the mass of their goods have hundreds of miles yet to go; and after a few days' rest the onward march towards Hindustan (by Mooltan and Bhawulpore) begins. The English magistrate, who saw the Lohanee caravans *débouche* from the mountains into his district with an advanced-guard, rear-guard, skirmishers, and well-primed juzails, has now a reward for his daily labours in cutcherry. He sees one or two Lohanees deputed by their comrades to take charge of a long string of camels laden heavily with merchandise and conduct them through the whole length of British India, with a staff in their hands for a weapon, and a dog at their heels for a guard. I have myself seen them thus, within a march or two of Calcutta, with their hill cloaks piled upon their heads to protect them from the fiery sun of Bengal. The main body of the Lohanees remains throughout the winter in the Derajat, pasturing their camels, and awaiting the return of their friends from Hindustan with Manchester goods and indigo for Central Asia. You will see, then, that for several months these enterprising merchant tribes, to the number of perhaps 2000, are every year encamped in the Derajat, and brought within our influence for good or evil, then leave, and carry their experience of Christians into the distant strongholds of Islam—Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, Herat, Bulkh, Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokan.

"The settled tribes who inhabit the Derajat are hardly less interesting than their Lohanee visitors, and have still stronger claims on us as our subjects. The upper and larger half of the Derajat, from the Salt Range to Dera Futteh Khan, is possessed by Puthans of Afghan origin; the lower half by Beloochees allied to those of Sindh; but in both there is a large population of Mohammedan Juts, who cultivate, though they do not possess, the soil, and are probably immigrants from the Punjab Cis-Indus. In every town and village of the Derajat, too, there is a sprinkling of Hindus, who, though much oppressed before British rule came to their help, were yet indispensable as men of business to the proud Puthan landlords; and, under a show of meanness and poverty, managed to get all the trade of the country into their hands. The languages of such a population squeezed in between the plains of the Punjab and the hills of Afghanistan, are necessarily mixed. There are whole tribes in the Upper Derajat who speak nothing but Pushtoo; the Jut

cultivators and the Hindu traders speak a kind of Punjabee; and the Beloochees have a dialect of Sindhee and Punjabee mixed. The tendency of British rule and British law-courts is to spread the dialects of Hindustan, and throw those of the mountains into disuse. But as long as the mountains remain, and the mountaineers have feuds and friendships with the lowlanders, and come down to the towns of the Derajat to buy and sell so long must the Pushtoo tongue retain its hold on the border.

"The state of society throughout the Derajat is perfectly feudal. The tribes who first conquered (or it might be more correct to say, *last* conquered) the trans-Indus country parcelled it out among themselves according to their strength; and their descendants still hold it in the same divisions, with now and then a bloody fight about one hundred yards, more or less, on the border line. Each clan has its own name and dress, its own hereditary chiefs, its own internal system of government, and its own outside feuds and alliances with other clans. Living as they do under the mountains, exposed to constant raids, the whole population is highly warlike. It is but fifteen years since every village in the valley of Bunnoo (where Colonel Reynell Taylor and Sir Robert Montgomery now wish for a Mission station) was fortified with a high mud-wall, from the top of which it carried on war with its neighbours. The Sikhs never subjugated it; and when we first got it, looking at its bloodshed and crimes, we might fairly have said of it, 'If there be a *hell* on earth, it is this! it is this!' Its pacification was mainly due to the late General John Nicholson, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the district for four years. Such was his force of character, courage, and administrative ability, that in that short time he beat the hill tribes into submission, and turned the valley of Bunnoo into one of the most orderly districts in the Punjab. I remember well his telling me, that during the last year of his stay there was not a single murder, highway robbery, or even attempt at either. Such is the soil which our civil officers have been ploughing in: is it not one in which the Missionary should now begin to sow?

"Common gratitude demands that we English should do all we can for the people of the Derajat, for in two great struggles the people of the Derajat have come to our assistance, and fought nobly on our side. In the war of 1848-49 it was the whole length of the Derajat border which gave us those levies of wild swordsmen, matchlock-men, and cavalry, which enabled us, in a season adverse to the march of European troops, to shut up the rebel Dewan Moolraj in his fortress at Mooltan, and wrest from him one of the most fertile divisions of the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence and his assistants had shown great kindness to the Derajat people, had removed an oppressive governor, and recalled many of their chiefs from exile back to their homes and lands. They did not forget it, but manfully repaid it in our hour of need. I remember one old chief who was under these obligations to us, hastening to join our standard (when he heard of the murder of poor Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan) with 400 of his clan, and his eldest son,* so covered with wounds (got in our cause in a skirmish with the Lohanees) that he was obliged to be carried on a litter at the head of his father's followers; yet in the first battle that ensued he mounted his horse, charged, and got wounded afresh. I can remember another,† who had followed the camp out of gratitude, though he was too poor to bring many followers; and when he caught sight of Moolraj's guns, charged without orders, alone, and fell dead at a cannon's mouth. These and such like acts of loyalty won from the British Government, after the annexation of the Punjab, unusually liberal treatment to the chiefs of the Derajat; and when the next struggle came, in the terrible Sepoy mutiny of 1857, the chiefs of the Derajat instantly took up arms, raised horse and foot, and hurried to our aid. From Peshawur to Bengal these loyal men were once more found fighting our battles, in spite of the taunts of the Mohammedans of India. When the war was over they were again rewarded; and if, in a province so pre-eminent as the Punjab for loyalty to us, I might particularize one class of men as more than another partisans of ours, I should name the chiefs and people of the Derajat.

"Just now I told you of Kaloo Khan's father bringing 400 followers to join us in the Mooltan campaign. His name was Mohammed Ali Khan, and I forgot to tell you he was the depositary of the Pushtoo Bible printed in 1818 by the Missionaries of Serampore. You may have read the story before in 'A Year on the Punjab Frontier,' but I will remind you of it again. When he was a lad, he went down to the North-west Provinces of India to sell Afghan horses at the Hurdwar fair (the Ballinasloe of those parts). There he was accosted by a Missio-

* Kaloo Khan, of Kolachee.

† Shahniwaz Khan, of Esukheyl.

nary, who, seeing that he was an Afghan, offered him a Bible in the Pushtoo tongue, with strict injunctions to take care of it, for it was a precious book, and must be preserved from fire and flood, and some day he would surely find the value of it when the English should reach his country. I was the first Englishman whom Mohammed Ali Khan saw from that time. It was in 1847 or 1848, and the old man brought out the Bible to show me, carefully wrapped up in many folds of silk. 'See,' said he, 'I have kept it from fire and water.' I asked if he had read it. He said, 'The village priest, who was a scholar, had looked into it, and said it was a good book, for it was all about father Moses and father Noah.' Strange to say, when the Peshawur Mission to the Afghans was founded, in 1854, by one of your lay Missionaries giving it 1000*l.*, and we wanted to reprint the Serampore version of the Bible in Pushtoo, the only copy that could be found in India was this one that had been treasured up in the Derajat for twenty or thirty years.

"All these little incidents of the past give to the Derajat border and its wild clans an unusual interest. Colonel Reynell Taylor, who now offers 1000*l.* to get a Mission for them, has lived many years among them, and been first their Deputy-Commissioner, and now their Commissioner. Between him and them there is that more than friendly—that *feudal* feeling of mutual attachment and dependence, which happily is to be found flourishing in so many districts of the Punjab. He is one who rules by good and gentle influences; and to those who think that the advocates of Christianity in India must needs be intolerant of native prejudices and feelings, this design of Reynell Taylor's, for a Mission in the very heart of the country under his charge, is a great reproof. The kindest (though not the least chivalrous) spirit on our frontier does not think it a loving thing to let alone his people—to leave them in their hereditary darkness, and make no effort to lead them towards the light. His idea of being their true friend is to help them to hear of the true God; and he feels that he 'should not look back happily' on his long association with them, 'if this one effort had been left unmade.'

"In these feelings you will see that he has the cordial concurrence of Sir Robert Montgommery, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who, like his predecessor, Sir John Lawrence, regards Christian Missionaries as friends, both of the people and the civil government, and will always be found ready to help them in all matters that are within his discretion.

"It cannot but strike your Committee as very remarkable, that this proposal to found a new Mission comes from one who is responsible for some 300 miles of the farthest and ruggedest frontier of British India; and that he who bids the proposal 'God speed' is responsible for the province whose manly races helped the English to reconquer India in 1857-58. The Punjab, indeed, is conspicuous for two things, the most successful government, and the most open acknowledgment of Christian duty. Surely it is not fanaticism, but homely faith, to see a connexion between the two? So long as the Punjab is ruled in the spirit of Colonel Taylor and Sir Robert Montgomery, a blessing will surely rest upon it. As one whose lot is cast in with theirs, I felt thankful even to read their letters, and to carry such plans before you; but I am doubly thankful to your Committee for yielding to their appeal in the midst of your world-wide difficulties. Even during the hour that I was with you, I was struck at hearing of appeals from the heart of the Sikh country, from Rajpootana, from Sindh, from North-west America, from Japan, and from several other places, while a falling-off was reported in your income. May these difficulties be lessened, not increased, by your answering this call from the Derajat! Walking by faith, and not by sight, may you be followed into new territory by the increased sympathy of all who know whose inheritance the heathen are!

"Believe me ever, most sincerely yours,

"HERBERT B. EDWARDES."

The following paragraphs are extracted from the letters of Colonel R. Taylor and Sir R. Montgomery, to which Sir H. Edwardes alludes—

"*Letter from Colonel Reynell Taylor to Sir Herbert B. Edwardes.*

"*Sheikh Boodeen, August 14th*, 1861.

"MY DEAR EDWARDES,—I enclose a letter from Sir Robert, sanctioning the establishment of a Mission here.

"I need not go much about to recommend to you—as you will, I know, share in my feeling—that having been so long and so much connected with the classes of the Derajat, we should not look back happily on the whole association if this one effort had been left unmade.

"What I want you to do is, to be kind enough to negotiate the matter with the leaders of the Church Missionary Society. God be with and bless what I may write, and you may say, and may He deign to forward

the project, and to correct and purify our motives, so that we may really begin, continue, and end it in Him; our object being to sow beside a not unimportant stream, that word which shall do its work sooner or later.

"It is almost needless for me to set forth and explain that Dera Ishmael Khan is a very appropriate place for a Mission, as you will be able to do that in a few words *vivâ voce*. I may say, however, that the races of the Derajat itself are kindly and well disposed towards Christians, whom they believe to have a large amount of light. They are themselves zealous and strict in observing their own religion; but they are the reverse of intolerant or hostile where Christians are concerned. For Sikhs especially, and generally for Hindus, their affection is not great; as you may remember.

"Then there are the Khorassanee merchants, that come down in shoals every year, and who live through the winter in the district. Among them are many men of great intelligence, who would hear and ponder; and if, in God's mercy, convinced, would carry weight with their fellows; and retire, with their gleanings of truth, to the hearths and homes of Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Bokhara.

"I cannot promise much success with Wuzurees or Bunnoochees; but the latter are idle, and fond of discussion, and on a late occasion of a visit from the Peshawur Missionaries, they received and bought books freely.

"The Beloochees of the Dera Ghazee Khan border, have always been regarded as very slack in their religious observances: they are Sheeahs, and are wonderfully free from prejudice, and fond of talking with Europeans. They have also many kindly qualities, and are altogether more tractable than the Puthans.

"The great thing I should look to would be a school conducted by a Missionary. I have seen such excellent ones, and feel convinced that they must eventually do so much good.

"I should also, however, look confidently for some result, under God's blessing, from preaching and reasoning.

"The kind of man I picture to myself as likely to do good is one who should be well acquainted with Mohammedan history, creed, &c.; one who could say, 'Come, I have a story to tell you, which is well worth your hearing!' He would certainly get hearers, as the whole community are idle enough; and if the speaker be equal to telling his tale with all the force that belongs to it, and his telling be blessed, there would be results sooner or later; but whether in our time in India, or not, it would be hard to say.

* * * *

"I should wish to put the matter entirely in the hands of the Church Missionary Society. I like its connexion with our own church; and I believe it to be in every way entitled to confidence and honour, both as to motives and means employed; and therefore we can never do better than put ourselves in its hands.

"Now about funds. I have not an idea what amount it would be necessary to have lodged to enable the Church Missionary Society to adopt the arrangement at once, and, if possible, despatch the members of the Mission this cold weather.

"We propose to devote 1000*l.* to it. Sir Robert will give 300*l.* when the three points are taken up; but 100*l.* only would be available at once. This would be 1100*l.*; and I doubt not that, by beating up for subscriptions, we may raise another 300*l.* or 400*l.*; but this cannot be spoken of with certainty. I could pay 500*l.* of our money in England in December; and the other in this country or in England three months later.

"Directly I know what the Church Missionary Society are able and willing to do, I will solicit subscriptions on all sides.

"One thing I should mention, and that is, that this whole project has the cordial good wishes of our present chaplain at Dera Ishmael Khan—the Rev. Alexander Robinson—with whom I have often talked on the subject, and with whom I have consulted before writing this. We know well, also, that it will have the good wishes of the Bishop of Calcutta.

* * * *

"I may note some points which would be interesting to Missionaries coming out.

"The nearest route is *vid* Bombay; from thence to Kurrachee by steamer; from thence to Kotree on the Indus by rail; and from thence by mail steamer to Mooltan; from which place marching is easy either by Dera Ghazee Khan or Leiah.

"Dera Ishmael Khan is quite a pleasant residence; if the Indus will let it alone, very healthy both for adults and children. Sheikh Boodeen, within forty miles from where I am now writing, is a great resort, having an excellent climate; Sukesur, another mountain in the Sindh Sagur Doab, is also an excellent sanatarium, and a lodgment has been made on it this year: it is 5100 feet high, and very extensive, and easy of access. The Mission families will be able to make use of either one of these hills in the hot

weather, and still carry on work, keeping fresh and healthy for the real working season. We have now been here three hot seasons, and, with much thankfulness, I say that I do not believe that my children could have been more healthy anywhere in India. They have had the advantage of escaping the exhaustion of July, August, and September; and then the cold weather, which is very fine trans-Indus, has always made them ruddy and robust.

"So much for the 'Derajat Mission,' which God bless!

* * * *

"Yours affectionately,

"REYNELL TAYLOR."

"*Extracts of Letter from Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., to Colonel Reynell Taylor.*

"We have held the frontier for twelve years against all comers, and now, thank God, for the first time, we are at peace with all the tribes. There are indications of a better state of things for the future: they seek more to come amongst us. Now is the time to hold out the hand of friendship, and to offer, through the Missionaries, the bread of life. It is not the duty of Government, or of their servants, to proselytize: this is left to those who have devoted their lives to the work. But I rejoice to see Missions spreading, and Dera is a fitting place for the establishment of one. But one will not suffice. Dera, as a centre, should be taken up first, and then Bunnoo and Dera Ghazee Khan. The whole frontier—from Peshawur to the Sindh frontier—will then be lined with Missions. It is my earnest prayer that the knowledge of the true God will from those points cover the vast Suliman range, and enter into the homes and hearts of the myriads of Central Asia. We have now, I hope, completed, or nearly so, a church at every station on the frontier; and we have a clergyman at Dera. I do not forget that it is owing to a taunt from one of your borderers that we now have churches there. On visiting Sealkote, 300 miles from the border, and seeing a church for the first time, one of of them asked if Christians had places of worship!

* * * *

"As an earnest that I desire to see the Missions established, I will give 1000 rupees to each as they are taken up.

* * * *

"Sheikh Boodeen and Sukesur will be delightful retreats for the Mission families. May God speed you in the good work!"

The resolution taken by the General Committee of October 14, 1861, on these documents, is as follows—

"That this Committee, having received an appeal to take up a new station or stations in the Derajat of the Punjab, as links between Peshawur and Mooltan, and with a view to bring the influence of the Gospel to bear upon the Afghan tribes inhabiting that district, as well as those who visit it annually from beyond the Suliman range in great numbers; and that appeal having been enforced by a munificent offer of pecuniary help from the Commissioner or Chief Magistrate of the district, and by the strong recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, together with a donation on his part also of 100*l.* for each of the three Mission stations as they may be taken up, cannot but regard such an appeal as a special call, in the providence of God, upon the Society to send at least two Missionaries to Dera Ishmael Khan as soon as the Committee shall have the suitable agents at their disposal."

DANGERS AND PRESERVATIONS.

THE Yoruba country has for some months past been grievously distracted by wars between the tribes, to the great prejudice of Missionary action, and of the general improvement of the people in industry and civilization. The Missionaries have been much hindered, and exposed to many trials. Residing in the midst of tribes at war with each other, they have been precluded from that interchange of help and counsel so needful to their well-being and comfort in a heathen land. Especially has our Missionary at Ibadan, the Rev. D. Hinderer, been isolated. His position, in consequence, has been very critical. His supplies of cowries failed, and, with them, the means of subsistence. It became necessary that he should communicate with his brethren; yet the Ibadans being at war with the Egbas on the west, and with the Ijebus on the south, the roads in the direction of Abbeokuta and Lagos were alike unsafe. The perils to which he was exposed in this enterprise will be found detailed in the following letters from himself and Mrs. Hinderer. They will, we think, be read with much interest, bringing out as they do so

vividly the privations and dangers of Missionary life, the providential care of God over his servants, and the encouragements vouchsafed them in the sympathy shown, not only by the converts, but by the heathen round, and the increasing evidences thus afforded that their labour is not in vain in the Lord.

Mrs. Hinderer writes—

"*Ibadan, June* 10, 1861.

"I am sure you will be glad to hear that, after all his troubles, threats, illness, &c., Mr. Hinderer reached Ibadan in safety on the 29th of April. He has indeed been mercifully preserved from the hands of evil men by a gracious Providence—the watchful care of a loving Father. It seems that the emissaries of the Ijebu Ode king became tired of waiting and watching for the Ibadan white man's head, and had, just before he came, left their watch in despair. He reached the little town of Ipara on the Saturday evening, intending to spend the Sunday there; but his friends in that place, who seemed well aware of the movements of the other party, told him he must by no means do such a thing. If he waited one day he was a lost man, for the Odes would hear of it, and be well prepared; so, under those circumstances, he felt quite justified in taking the journey; and quite comfortable and happy with only his two boys on that lonesome road; for he felt there was One there, though not seen, who had delivered, and would yet deliver them; but when he came to the place where the Ibadans and Jebus had had a fight a few weeks previous, he felt very sad—such a number of bones! The poor boys' hearts quite failed them; and, as they say now, they thought truly their last day in this world would be that day. Mr. Hinderer tried to cheer and comfort them; but they said, 'Pray, Sir, do not speak one word till we reach Ibadan.' So they came on in silence; but when they reached Ibadan farms they gave such a shout for joy and thankfulness as is not often heard, I expect, in those regions. When they came to a place of comparative safety, they felt their fatigue, and begged to stay there for the night. Mr. Hinderer might easily have got home with his horse, but he could not but yield to the poor boys' desire to wait; so they went to an empty hut (for all those farms are quite deserted at night now, and often in the days too, for fear of the Jebus), and the place was damp, and surrounded by grass, and they had had rain all the early morning, so that they were damp, and had hardly any thing to eat: the boys slept as they can—anywhere, but my husband could hear a snake in the grass of the roof, which prevented his sleeping; and early on Monday, to our wonderful surprise, in they came; for of all days in the week, I never looked for them on a Monday, though I did anxiously enough every other day in the week. It was a happy day, indeed. The news flew like lightning through the town, and our house was crammed by the converts and others truly rejoicing. It reached the war-camp also, and the next day we had several messages from the chiefs and others of our friends. There was such an excitement, because all had heard of the king of Jebu's intention to kill him. The wonderful thing is how they managed to keep it from me; but I was the only one who did not know it. Instead of being harassed by this information, I was comforted by our loving Father Himself with these words—'In famine He shall redeem thee from death, and in war from the power of the sword,' &c. (Job v. 19, 20.) This was given me when really cast down and anxious, not hearing or knowing any thing of him for so long; and from that time I always felt confidence that he would be brought safely through. It was a time of trial to us all; but I am sure it has been for good. A love has been drawn out from all our people for their minister which they were hardly aware of before; then it has called forth a spirit of prayer, which must and does bring good. There were many little gatherings together for prayer in the week, but in secret from me, lest I should suspect (what they knew of) my husband's danger; and now they have found such a full and ready answer to their earnest petitions, which has caused a joy and thankfulness which can be seen in their faces even, and much more in their expressions. There is a good deal of earnest prayer, I believe, called forth in Ibadan in this war season: the natives regularly hold a daily meeting at six o'clock, and there is a tone and spirit in it which there was not before. Then there are the Monday-evening meetings, and our monthly prayer-meetings, and also on a Wednesday afternoon our teachers all meet, with a few of the most earnest and true of the converts: and what gives us comfort and hope in their being heard is, that the spirit is so different to what it was at first. At one time it used to be painful to hear certain individuals pray, it was so entirely for what they individually wished; but now it has come round so entirely to, 'Do Thou, O Lord, what seemeth to Thee best: make all to work for good to this whole country, and for the coming of Thy kingdom.'

The Rev. D. Hinderer's letter is dated two months later—

"*Ibadan, August* 2, 1861.

"As we have once again the prospect of sending to Lagos by a caravan to go to Ijebu, I hope I shall succeed in sending you a good long letter, which I know will be acceptable to you in our present cut-off situation. The only drawback is, the chance not only, but the great probability, of its being lost. So it will be my present duty to write over again, as far as I can recollect, what I had written last January by the messenger who was kidnapped on the Jebu road, and who of course lost letters and all he carried. That letter was more of a journal, and began, as far as I recollect, with an account of the death of one of our converts, an elderly man, with the name of Ogunlade, who died in the night of the 10th of January. He was one of my newly-received communicants. His knowledge in divine things was but little, owing to his age; but I believe he was a sincere and simple believer in the Lord Jesus. During his illness, which was but short, I visited him once, but my schoolmaster and Scripture-reader several times; and from his manner, and the few words he spoke, it was evident that he rested his soul on Jesus for life or death. He also begged his heathen sister, who was the only person attending him, not to make any heathen medicine or sacrifice, and to let the church people bury his body. The day before his death, one of our converts remarked to him with sympathy, that his body was very poor and wasted. His answer was, 'Oh yes, this is a poor miserable body, but soon I shall put it off, and the Lord will, by and by, give me another beautiful one.' On the evening of the 11th we committed his earthly remains to their last resting-place; and as it was the first adult Christian funeral that we have had of Ibadan converts, it caused a great deal of excitement in his part of the town, and where his coffin had to pass, so that the church and the churchyard became filled with spectators. Unwilling to let this opportunity of so large a heathen assembly, and on such an occasion, pass unimproved, I addressed them on the subject of death and resurrection to everlasting life and happiness on the one hand, and to endless misery and woe on the other. The people paid great attention to the subject, and oh may it not be without its future fruit! On the same evening I was called to Oluwo, one of the elders, who is acting for the sick Bale in the town, and, to my surprise, was told that my people (teachers) were wanted by the Balogun in the war camp on the morrow, as they were accused of having stolen two girls in the farms. Early on the 12th, I myself went with them, and we reached the camp before their morning business was over, so we had the chance of an early examination into our singular case. The Balogun was surprised, and sorry at seeing us, and especially me, and said he had never called us, for he never wanted to give either me or my people the trouble of coming all this way on account of such a foolish accusation. But the case was this: not being able to get any labourer at this time, I had sent our people—three Scripture-readers and two servants—to a distant farm, to cut materials for the roof of the yet unfinished church at Ogunpa (Mr. Jefferies' place), and they, not knowing the road, were conducted by one of our converts to the place. They stopped in the farm-house, adjoining the bush where they cut their materials one night, coming home with part of the wood the next day, and leaving the rest to be fetched afterwards. A man (a Babalawo, priest of Ifa) saw them; and as, on the very day they were coming home, the girls in question were kidnapped from the same farm, he brought the accusation against them, and the Balogun simply called him (the accuser) and the convert of ours who accompanied my people to the place. However, the course of the examination which now took place showed that it was well all our people were present. The accuser had to invent several stories to make his accusation good; and one was, that some of our people had never returned to Ibadan, but took the girls straightway to Abbeokuta. This was a too ill-judged invention of the poor man, for there were all our five men before his face, some of whom, he asserted, had gone to Abbeokuta. The Balogun cleared us most entirely from so foul a charge, and I could not but admire his skill in judging matters. With the greatest ease he detected the man's contradictions, and his memory, notwithstanding the multitude of cases brought before him, seemed to serve him well, for repeatedly he would tell the man that his stories of to-day did not agree with what he had asserted the previous day. The accuser was at last entirely confounded, and the Balogun dismissed him with a reprehension which he will not easily forget. However, the palaver was not yet ended, for the Balogun now began to address the assembly, ridiculing the accusation, till the place rung with laughter. Among other things, he said, 'This white man preaches in Ibadan, and, among other strange things, he tells us we must not go to war, nor catch and

sell each other; and the result is that he gets but very few converts. If he would but change his song, and preach to us about war, he would soon have plenty of converts, more even than the Mohammedans.' But the drift of it all was, 'the white man takes all the trouble to come from so far a country as his to teach us of the evil of our bad doings, so that we must become different, for which plenty people dislike him, who would otherwise love and honour a white man, if he were likely to do the same wicked things amongst us himself.' We are indeed troubled on every side in this sad time of confusion, but the Lord stands by us graciously, so that we experience what is said of the holy prophets and patriarchs, 'Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm;' and unworthy as we are of all his care and favour, how sweet it is to be able to thank Him in the midst of and for our troubles, and to take courage under these same circumstances. I was put to a wholesome shame by a heathen warrior, one of our rough war-captains; his name is Ajibo. I complained to him rather indignantly, that in the midst of all our troubles and difficulties we should be charged with stealing people, a thing which everybody knew could not be true; and added, that if that was the way we were going to be treated in this country, we would have to leave it. His answer was such that I could hardly believe my ears, for had he been a Christian, as he was a heathen, he could hardly have spoken more reprovingly. He asked me if I did not know that the people or servants of God must have trouble in the world, wherever they are; and did not I come to Ibadan to preach the word of God? Therefore I must expect trouble. 'But never you mind; go on; have patience, have patience, and you will have your reward.'

"The last week in January I was laid aside by face-ache and fever. Altogether the work I can do is but little, especially out of doors: it is intensely hot; and then again the unsettled and disturbed state of the town is very unsettling, to which is now added our constant trouble for cowries. We had hoped the large Jebu caravan, which has come up lately, would bring us some traders who would change cowries for silver, but in this we are disappointed. I have again told the chiefs our difficulties. They are very sorry, but cannot help us, as their war expenses are great, and they do not know how long it will last. Meanwhile our church people have been very kind and sympathizing. They made us a present of sixteen heads of cowries; and some who had children staying with us not only willingly took them home to feed them themselves, but offered to take others off our hands during this time of war. So this will help us on again for a few weeks.

"Thus far, I believe, I have given the substance of the letter which was lost by our unfortunate messenger in February last. And now comes my journey to and from Lagos, and my sojourn there, which I know not how to tell. That time has been so replete with mercies, that I can but wonder how God could extend such tender care and protection over one so insignificant and undeserving as I. But oh, how strengthening is such experience to our feeble and often almost failing faith! It was not till after much consideration and consultation with my dear wife, and after much prayer, that we decided on my undertaking this dangerous journey, and not until we saw no other means of getting cowries to subsist. I then started early on the 6th of March with two boys; and travelling fast all day long, halting only once or twice for a little refreshment for my poor beast, as well as ourselves, we passed the dangerous part in one day, reaching Ipara, the first Jebu town, a little after seven in the night. We met nothing strange all the way, except at a place called Asa, where we saw about twenty pots of palm-oil recently smashed, and fragments of calabashes and clothes scattered all about. It was here that, some days before, people were kidnapped (it was said by the Egbas), six of them killed, and two roasted. We could not see any trace of that, except a smouldering fire was any sign of it; and a little further on were two strange little heaps of what appeared to be congealed blood. My boys were evidently terrified, for when I wanted to stop and ask them some questions, they hurried on as fast as ever they could, without speaking a word. The next day we did not start till twelve at noon, because my horse wanted a good feeding, and there was nothing but grass, which had to be fetched from a great distance in the farms. Owing to this we did not reach Makun, our resting-place for the night, till after dark, and under a tremendous tornado, which left not a dry thread about us. I shook from head to foot as I alighted before the house of a man whom we met on the road, and who kindly took us in for the night. Half the town of Makun seemed to be under water; for while I attempted to follow my horse under shelter I saw nothing but water, whenever a flash of lightning permitted us to see any thing, and soon I got my boots filled. Now, however, I was brought to a small room, where was a blazing

fire, over which I was both steamed and smoked. My kind host, too, who turned out to be a rich trader, brought me a tumbler of hot brandy and water. I got (still standing over the fire) into a good perspiration, and that I believe saved me from a bad attack of intermittent fever. The next day, being, by God's mercy, tolerably well, we got on to Korodu; and, the night after, over the lagoon to Lagos.

"I shall pass over my sickness in Lagos. I was on the point of starting back again for Ibadan, when I fell sick the very night before I was to have left Lagos to join a large caravan in the Jebu country. The first part of that caravan was fiercely attacked by the Jebus, and many more killed. The Jebus had prepared for themselves a good position to attack, and had apparently got the victory, until the bold Ibadan, Captain Agia, who was in the rear, came up, when the Ibadans were victorious, and killed and captured many Ijebus. Most of them were afterwards put to death in Ibadan. Had I been with the caravan I should not only have had the chance, as others, of being killed in the struggle, but, as we afterwards learnt, have been especially singled out by the Ijebus; why, is a mystery to me, except they supposed that I, being on the coast, was the cause of such a large caravan with trade to come up to Ibadan.

"After my recovery I was, of course, anxious to return; especially as my dear wife had no chance of hearing where I could be so long, whether in Lagos, or somewhere on the road, or killed in the attempt to return, and as Awujale, the King of Ijebu, had threatened my life if I should attempt to return to Ibadan. Many were the proposals made in Lagos for me to return some other way; but, all being impracticable, and knowing also that my time was in God's hand, and not in that of the Jebu's, I at last resolved to return. I left Lagos on the 24th of April, in company with Messrs. Maser and Flad, for Korodu, where the latter was to stay till he should hear whether he was to go to the Niger. There was, at first, some hope that I should meet a strong war party of Ibadans, who would carry me through the dangerous part (from Ipara through the forest to Ibadan); but when we reached Korodu I found that they had already left Ipara, which I could only reach after two days. Brother Maser was very anxious I should return with him to Lagos again, and was only reconciled to let me proceed on my promising not to go beyond Ipara, if there was danger. Stopping one day at Korodu, I reached Ipara safely on the 27th in the afternoon. As I passed through the Jebu Kemo towns, who are all on Ibadan's side, I found the animosity against the King of Ijebu Ode reach very high. There were, however, two parties on the king's side, *i. e.* the old slave-dealing chiefs of Korodu, and the Balogun of Ipara, with a small party from his town. As I did not know whether any of my provisions—flour, biscuits, salt meat, &c., for Mr. Jefferies' as well as our use, which I had sent by the caravan that was attacked—had reached Ibadan, I bought another supply; and as this was being landed at Korodu, together with Mr. Flad's loads, the King of Ijebu's party in that place reported that I had brought forty kegs of powder from Lagos to take with me to Ibadan. Should that report reach the Jebu Ode kidnappers in the forest before my passing they would surely waylay me; though I carried nothing with me but some silver, leaving all my provision loads and even clothing at Ipara. Being told at Ipara by my kind host the Balogun that I might pass the forest, if going quietly with my boys, unobserved by the enemy, I therefore made all haste to proceed on from that place, in spite of rain, as well as the fatigue of my boys. The latter were not a little fatigued when we emerged from the Ipara farms into the forest or bush; and, as they told me in the evening, had made up their minds that this was their last day. About 11 A.M. we reached the place where the fight with the caravan took place about a month before, and for several miles onward from there we saw scattered bones and skeletons of men, of both the Ibadan and the Ijebu side, on the road. I tried to cheer my boys by talking, but not a word did I get in answer, they were so terrified, poor fellows; and no wonder, for they had heard much more of the talk of what was to be done to us if we were caught, than myself. My horse, too, was several times terrified at the unsightly skulls which lay in our narrow path. But we were mercifully protected, for we neither saw nor heard a human being all day long, though some of the kidnapping party could not have been very far, for there were their fires still burning on our right (that is, the Jebu side of the road, near the road encampment) though we had had two hours or more of heavy rain in the morning. The Lord is a sun and a shield indeed, "compassing us with favour as with a shield:" may we never doubt his love and his power. Having travelled very fast all day, we reached Ibadan farms in good time in the evening, where we stopped for the night, and reached

Ibadan early the next morning. And here I met with such a reception as I never had before in my life, for I seemed to be as life from the dead to them. Our house was filled with visitors for several days, both heathen people and our converts, who all came to salute me; and my dear wife could hardly believe it was true that I was home. I was to have been absent three weeks, instead of which I was eight; and during this time all kinds of reports were circulated by Jebus in Ibadan as to what Jebu Ode would do to me on my way back to Ibadan. The reports reached even the war camp, and I was very glad and thankful both to our people and heathen friends for having kept these reports, which may have been exaggerated, from my dear wife. You may think it strange that I should be the object of so much hatred from the Jebu Odes. But the fact is, the Jebus have always strictly refused to receive white people into their own country; they were and are, therefore, the more angry and disappointed at our having settled in the Yoruba country beyond them: and now that they are at war with Ibadan, they would fain use the opportunity of getting rid of us in the interior.

And now as to our present situation. Country provisions are very cheap here, as everybody is working his farm, and one could easily live upon them; but for cowries we are as badly off as before I went to Lagos. I brought dollars, but they do not change. I brought 27*l.* worth of corals, but people have no cowries to buy this at this time. I advanced a Jebu Kemo trader 120 dollars at Lagos, who was to have reached Ibadan before me, and at once pay the amount in cowries to Mrs. Hinderer, but to this day we have never seen the man. As to the European provisions, only a little reached, the rest was lost on the road, and what I brought up is still in Ipara, for want of a safe road to come by: and if we had that, we have no cowries to pay the heavy carriage. But there was great mercy in some of the flour having reached Ibadan, for during my long attack of dysentery, had we not had flour, I must have lived on yam, the worst thing for that complaint. Our people have been making farms, which help them as well as us a little. During my absence Mrs. Hinderer had to pinch very much; but she managed cleverly in turning old tin linings of deal boxes, biscuit tin boxes, lucifer-match-boxes of tin, and all sorts of things, into cowries. At present we are living on the articles of clothing and household utensils, which, however, have to be sold very much under their value. We do not know how we shall fare further on, if the war lasts; but as the Lord has helped us so wonderfully hitherto, He will help us through to the end. As to the present state of the war, we are told that Are, who has died so often before, is at last really dead. This gave us some hope that the war would come to an end, and there seemed to be a prospect of it some weeks ago, when the Egbas sent to the Ibadan camp, and negotiations for peace were entered upon. But the conditions under which the Egbas wanted to go home were such that the Ibadans would not accept.

"And now a word or two about my health. You will probably have received a letter from Mrs. Hinderer about my illness after my return from Lagos. Our prospects were indeed low then. The dangerous malady going on so long reduced me to such a skeleton, that we had several times to apprehend a speedy separation, or that my health must become a broken-down one. Now I hardly know what to say of myself: the cool weather, setting in when it did, helped me wonderfully to recover, but my cough returned again, and is at times very troublesome. Altogether, I am constantly reminded of my being but a vessel of clay, which, being mended at one place, becomes shattered at another. But to live a day at a time is becoming more and more our task; and how thankful I shall be to be able to labour on in my post: but the thought often troubles me, that I may prove a real *hinderer* by continuing in a post where more vigour is required than I possess.

"Mrs. Jefferies and my dear wife keep up wonderfully, considering their poor and rough living. May we prove worthy of all our continued and many mercies!"

JAPAN AND ITS PEOPLE.

Five centuries and a half ago, the first tidings of Japan were brought to Europe by the adventurous brothers Polo. Zipangu was the name under which its existence was announced. Marco Polo had never been there himself, but in China he had heard of it, and of the efforts made by Kublai Khan to annex this insular empire to his conti-

nental possessions. A letter from the Mongol ruler introduced his ambitious inspirations to the Wang, or King of Nipon, remonstrating against the independence of the Japanese, and inviting them, under pain of his displeasure, to acknowledge his supremacy; and when this modest epistle failed to produce the result which was intended, a mighty host sailed from China, intent on conquest, but, like another armada designed for the subjugation of another island empire, the storm broke upon the unwieldy junks, and the fleet was scattered to the winds. This intended courtesy the Japanese were not slow to reciprocate, and the sea-board of China was long wasted by these bold pirates, who, like the Danes of Western Europe, landing where least expected, ravaged all before them.

But the more inaccessible this oriental fruit was found to be, the more inviting was its aspect in the eyes of those who so vainly coveted its possession, and Japan was spoken of as a land of delights, surpassing every other. "Zipangu," exclaimed Polo, "is an island in the Eastern Sea, very great in size; the people of a white complexion, of gentle behaviour, in religion idolaters, and they have a king of their own. They have gold in great plenty: their king permits no exportation of it; and they who have been to that country—and they are few—report the king's house to be covered with gold, as churches are here with lead, gilded windows, and they also have many jewels."

When, therefore, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope passage opened the gates of the East to the ambitious and covetous sons of Europe, we cannot be surprised if, amongst other lands, Japan was sought out. Pinto and his Portuguese reached these shores in 1545. The strangers were well received; commercial arrangements were entered into, and an annual ship, conveying to the island of Kiusiu woollen-cloths, furs, manufactured silks, taffetas, and other commodities, was to be freighted in returns of gold, silver, and copper.

The Romish ecclesiastics were not very far behind. Xavier and his Missionaries reached these island shores. The deteriorated Christianity of Rome was zealously propagated, and spread for a time with the rapidity of fire amongst the dry wood. The European merchants were extracting the golden marrow of Japan; the Romish priests were baptizing the people by thousands. Prosperity is a severe test, and men, under its influence, show themselves as they really are. Priests and merchants became imperious, and a reaction commenced. The friendly emperor perished by the stroke of an assassin. In 1587, Taiko, his successor, issued an edict against the further promulgation of Christianity; and the struggle commenced between priest and ruler, between European and native. It was very severe and protracted, and terminated in the expulsion of the Portuguese, the extirpation of the Christianity which Rome had planted, and, with the exception of the Dutch at Dexima, the closing of Japan to all intercourse with western nations. In 1640 the curious cabinet which had so suddenly opened, and into the secret drawers of which the eyes of Europeans—Portuguese, Spaniards, English, and Dutch—had so eagerly pryed, was suddenly locked, and the key hid carefully aside for upwards of 200 years.

At the end of that time the Tycoon and his council found themselves one morning in awkward circumstances. A powerful American squadron was anchored in the outer Bay of Yeddo, and letters from the President of the United States, while requesting that the restrictive laws of Japan might be modified in favour of the Americans, intimated that a favourable response to the propositions of amity had become necessary, in order to avert unfriendly collision between the two nations.

Well versed in the history of their own country, the Japanese authorities must have been reminded of the letter of Kublai Khan in 1287, an uncourteous reply to which was followed by an attempt at invasion. Instead of Chinese junks, there were, on the present occasion, American steamers, and the rulers temporized. Strictly, the communications of foreigners ought to have been received at Nagasaki only, but the point was waived, and Japanese exclusiveness gave way. "The vigorous grasp of the hand of America, proffered in a friendly spirit, but thrust forward with an energy that proved the power to strike, had stirred Japanese isolation into a sensibility of its relationship to the rest of the world."* No doubt the Japanese felt this. They could have dispensed with the proffered friendship, but the vigorous blow they still more decidedly distasted. They delayed, and got rid of the armed importunity for a season or two; but again the stars and stripes were at their gates: and at length, in 1854, concessions were made, the most important of which permitted the residence of an American Consul at Simoda.

The successes of the allied forces in North China, and the humiliation of the Chinese

* "American Expedition," p. 263.

Emperor, exercised a powerful influence on the minds of the Japanese, and strengthened the hands of that political party which advocated the abandonment of the policy of isolation, and the opening of Japan to free intercourse with other nations. The United States, through their representative, Mr. Harris, were the first to improve this opportunity, and a commercial treaty was effected, the first which had been framed and signed since 1613, an example which was not lost upon Lord Elgin. A yacht, which was to be presented as a token of friendship and goodwill from Her Britannic Majesty to the Tycoon, afforded him a desirable opportunity, and instead of delivering it to the Japanese officials at Nagasaki, he resolved on proceeding direct to Yeddo, the residence of the Court. In vain did officials, high and low, remonstrate with him. Within the recesses of those inner waters, where no western ship had ever before ventured, the "Furious" audaciously pursued her way, until the anchor was cast, at a distance of about one mile and a half from the shore, and three and a half from the capital of the empire. The result of this bold step was the treaty of Yeddo, dated August 26, 1858, which conceded to the British the following privileges—the immediate opening of the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodadi, and Kanagawa, and, prospectively, of Hiogo and Nee-e-gata, or some other convenient port on the west coast of Nipon; the residence of consular agents at these ports, and the residence of a diplomatic agent at Yeddo, who should have the right to travel freely to any part of the empire.

Thus, after a long seclusion, Japan is once more opened to the European, and opportunity afforded of making himself acquainted with its inner life. The curious cabinet, so long closed, is again unlocked, and, with an inquisitiveness rendered more eager by the delay, men of the West search into the character and habits of a people still in heathenism, yet bearing on their exterior so much of the aspect of civilization. Indeed, European visitors seem to have been, in the first instance, quite carried away. They saw the polished surface, but had not ascertained what was underneath; and, in the enthusiasm of their first acquaintance with this novel country, decked it out in the glowing colours of an earthly paradise. "There," as we are informed by one writer, "the virtue of a wise and useful economy is practised equally in the palace of the emperor and in the hut of the pauper:" "in their domestic relations the men are gentle and forbearing, the women obedient and virtuous.... In every department of crime we have reason to believe that the amount of grave offences committed against society is less in proportion to the population than that of other countries." "The Japanese, as a proud people, have a contempt or abhorrence of cheating, pilfering, stealing, or robbing." And again, "During the whole period of our stay at Yeddo, I never have heard a scolding woman, or seen a disturbance in the street. Upon no single occasion, though children were numerous, did I ever see a child struck or otherwise maltreated." "The love, obedience, reverence, manifested by children towards their parents, are unbounded; while the confidence placed by parents in their children is represented to be without limit." Again, "With the exception of one or two religious mendicants, I did not observe, in this vast and populous city, any beggars. Deformed objects rarely met the eye: not a drunkard crossed our path, though, from recent accounts, revellers occasionally parade the streets of an evening." "No instance occurred of any Japanese losing his temper, though it is impossible to suppose that, belonging to a race naturally proud and haughty, they were never tried." The writer adds—"These were our experiences; but it does not by any means follow that those who live longer in the country may not have reason to change them." We should think that such a reaction has taken place, and that a three years' residence in Japan has been long enough to dissipate these day-dreams.

Such, however, were the first impressions. "It is impossible to compare the social well-being of Japan with that of any other country, and not admit, that, notwithstanding the peculiar development "of one class of vice," it will gain by the contrast." Thus modern travellers have imitated the exaggerated style of Thunberg one hundred years ago—"Japan is, in many respects, a singular country when compared with the different states of Europe. In it we behold a form of government which has existed without change or revolution for ages; strict and unviolated laws; the most excellent institutions and regulations in the towns, the villages, and upon the roads; a dress, coiffure, and customs, that for several centuries have undergone no alteration; innumerable inhabitants without parties, strife, or discord, without discontent, distress, or emigrations; agriculture in a highly flourishing state, and a soil in an unparalleled state of cultivation; all the necessaries of life abounding even to superfluity in the land, without any need of foreign commerce; besides a multiplicity of other advantages."

Let us, then, look a little more closely into the interior, and endeavour to form a more just estimate of Japanese character and life. This we believe to be a correct assertion, that during the two hundred years in which Japan has been shut up in its heathenism, there has been no progress, and the national type remains pretty much now as it was at the commencement of that period. Peter Heyleyn's Cosmographie of 1664 lies before us, containing "the Chorographie and Historie of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas, and isles thereof," as they were known in those days. At that time the plantations of North America were struggling into existence, and strangely do the descriptions given by this old writer of New England and Virginia, &c., contrast with those countries as they are now, when the extent of population and weight of political and commercial interests have placed such a strain upon the principle of union, that, unable to sustain this pressure, it has given way, and disruption has taken place: but the description of Japan, with little alteration, faithfully depicts the condition of that empire as it is at present. "Japan," writes Heyleyn, "is an aggregate of many islands . . . . the people for the most part of good understanding, apt to learn, and of able memories; cunning and subtle in their dealings. Of body, vigorous and strong, accustomed to bear arms until sixty years old. Their complexion of an olive colour, their beards thin, and the one half of the hair of their heads shaved off. Patient they are of pain, ambitious of glory, incapable of suffering wrong, but can withal dissemble their resentments of it till opportunity of revenge. They reproach no man for his poverty, so it come not by his own unthriftiness, for which cause they detest all kinds of gaming, as the waies of ill husbandry; and generally abhor slander, theft, and swearing. Their mourning commonly is in white, as their feasts in black; their teeth they colour black also to make them beautiful: they mount on the right side of the horse, and sit, as we are used to rise." He then speaks of the proselytism carried on by the Jesuits. "Of late times, by the care and diligence of the Jesuits, Christianity has begun to take footing here; whether with such a large increase as their letters called Epistolæ Japonicæ have been pleased to tell us, I am somewhat doubtful. They tell us there of some kings of these islands whom they have converted and baptized; that within fifty miles of Meaco they had fifty churches, two hundred at the least in all; and that in the year 1587 the number of their converts were two hundred thousand. . . . Rivers of note I find not any, though the island be generally well watered: more memorable for two mountains in it, than for all the rivers; one of which, called Figenoiama, is said to transcend the clouds in height; the other, but without a name, used to cast forth dreadful flames, like Sicilian Etna, on the top whereof the devil, environed in a white and shining cloud, doth sometimes show himself unto such of his votaries as live about this hill an abstemious life, like the ancient Hermites."

Fusi-yama still rears its lofty head, the same which the European adventurers of earlier days viewed with mingled admiration and awe. Rising 14,000 feet above the level of the ocean, and begirt with a white covering of snow descending half way from the summit towards the base, this glorious object in the landscape forms the almost unvarying pictorial illustration of rural beauty, as seen in the native articles of *vertu*, and the richly gilt ornaments of lacquered ware. The vast elevation of this king of mountains, meets the eye in every artistic design of native workmanship, and Fusi-yama towers aloft in the background of every picture. For 180 years this great volcanic mountain has been free from eruptions, but has lately manifested a partial and temporary activity in slight eruptions of cloud and smoke. And here are still to be found the Yamanboos, or priests of the mountain, a mendicant priesthood, one thousand and one in number, who form their homes in lonely spots or dangerous places around the shrine they worship, and form dwelling-places for themselves amongst rocks and forest-covered ravines. Their daughters are born to beg as mendicants, and, under the term Bikuni, clothed in a dress not unlike a sister of charity, they frequent the great routes which at seasons are thronged with pilgrims and travellers, a toilsome journey to the summit, where high winds prevail, being regarded as something especially meritorious.

Let us now visit Yeddo, the capital of Japan, and we shall there, so far as it is becoming to draw aside the veil, discover how much of evil is accumulated beneath the polished surface, so as to render Paul's description of human nature, left without the light of revelation, to its own tendencies, a faithful picture of Japanese character and life. As is justly observed by a recent writer, a Japanese city presents a "sad olio of civilization and utter barbarism—of extreme delicacy and good taste, combined with grossness and disregard

of those common conventionalities which raise us above the beasts of the field."*

The extent of the city is great, its proximate area "about fifteen miles from north to south, and eight miles from east to west; an estimate which gives a total of 120 square miles of ground occupied by streets, by temples and monasteries, by the vast park-like enclosures of the Daimios, and by the palace grounds of the Tycoon." The aggregate of population is supposed to be about two-and-a-half millions. It is a population singularly constituted. Its elements, when we come to analyze them, throw much light on the politics of Japan, and we shall therefore reserve this subject for future consideration; our object at present being to place ourselves in the position of a stranger passing through the chief thoroughfares, and endeavouring to observe the traits of national life and manners.

The main street is provided with barriers. At every two hundred yards there are wooden gates, with a gatekeeper seated in a little house, like a turnpike. The object of this is to break the crowds, and prevent them uniting in masses which would be uncontrollable. When any procession is advancing, and the excitement is great, the barrier shuts off that section of the crowd which had been hitherto running parallel with it, and admits the pageant to a new mass of spectators. "At most of the barriers a ladder is erected, with a bell at the top of it, to be rung in case of fire." The streets are broad: their condition as to cleanliness depends on the state of the weather. The main street was first seen by the Bishop of Victoria after two days of heavy rain when "the accumulated mud, the deep miry ruts ploughed by the heavy-creaking wheels of buffalo carts, and the frequent sight of waggons, high-piled with baggage and lumber, and drawn by a team of straining, perspiring, steaming human cattle, took away a portion of the romantic sentiment which a first view of Yeddo, in its less crowded resorts, is apt to produce. The shops were of the usual common-place character, and scarcely averaged the general appearance of those in a Chinese street. The redeeming point was the width of the roads, and the absence of rude jostlings from passing crowds in closely-packed thoroughfares."

The Tokaido, or imperial highway through the commercial quarter of the city, meets in its north-eastern portion "the Nipon-bas, the celebrated bridge of Japan, from which all the distances in the empire are computed in *ri*, equal to two and a half British miles. The bridge, like most of the other bridges in Yeddo, is a wooden structure, extended over piers, and strengthened with massive iron clamps."

The houses are peculiarly Japanese, consisting of a house within a house. "They are usually constructed of a framework of bamboo or laths, and then covered with a tenacious mud. This latter, when dry, is again covered with a coat of plaster, which is either painted or becomes black by exposure. Mouldings are afterwards arranged in diagonal lines over the surface of the building, and these being painted white, and contrasting with the dark ground behind, give the houses a curious piebald look. The roofs are often of tiles, coloured alternately black and white, and their eaves extend low in front of the walls, and protect the inmates from the sun, and the oiled paper windows from the effects of the rain." Within the shell thus framed is an inner house, a large framework, raised two feet above the ground. It is spread with stuffed mats, and is divided into several compartments by means of sliding panels." A house of the better class presents in its interior a suite of elegant saloons, opening one beyond another, and capable of being separated into private rooms, by closing the folding screens and sliding panels," which, extending down the length of the building, are easily moved in their grooved lines across the several apartments." The walls will be found covered with neat white-flowered, silken-grained paper, with native paintings and little ornaments tastefully arranged in each angle, and the floor covered with the usual clean matting, padded and fitted into square or oblong compartments."

But let us look at the people themselves: not only men, but women pass about freely. These are the married women, the best conducted portion of the population. They may be known by their black teeth, and the absence of eyebrows. Their position is plainly more independent and less secluded than in China. Husbands and wives eat their meals in common. They may be seen "sitting together in the same room, exposed to the public gaze of passers-by, and assisting each other in the ordinary transactions of their business and trade." Their post is one of confidence and partnership, and "among the lower and middle classes they are admitted to an intimacy and familiar intercourse with strangers, visitors, and customers, which presents an appearance of approximation to the ideas and habits of European society."

* "Captain Sherard Osborne's Japanese Fragments," p. 64.

Another feature of advantage of Japan over China may be seen in "the groups of little children which line each side of the more retired streets," where girls are to be seen as numerous as boys, and evidently as much thought of. Female infanticide, and the cry of the poor innocents which ascends so piteously from India and China, are unknown in Japan.

In the matter of dress, the population is seen to most advantage when the temperature is sufficiently low to make their garments to them a matter of necessity. At other seasons the lower classes are in a semi-nude state. The dress and general appearance of an ordinary Japanese gentleman is thus described by the Bishop of Victoria—"His inner robe consisted of a rich blue or purple gown of shot silk, with a round folded collar over the breast, reaching down to the feet, and well wrapped in free folds around the legs, so as to answer the purpose of a pair of trousers. Small pieces of thin paper served instead of a pocket-handkerchief, and, after being used, are stowed away in the capacious folds of the sleeves, closed at the extremity of the cuff, and thus resembling a pocket. A shorter robe, resembling a deep spencer, and of a black colour, was hung over the inner robe, containing larger loose sleeves, and decorated with fine white spots, marked with the armorial device of his family. These marks consisted of some flowers, a geometrical figure, or some other fancifully wrought monogram, which serve to distinguish every man as he walks along the street, and proclaim to every beholder the family to which he belongs. They occupy a conspicuous position in the dress, and must facilitate the recovery of stolen garments, being wrought into the texture of the fabric, one in the centre of the back under the neck, and midway between the shoulders, two on the front parts of the arm on the sleeves, and the remaining two being placed on either side of the bosom." From the belt hung suspended a case containing pen and writing materials, also a tobacco pipe, with steel, flint, and matches. A pocket-book and fan were also placed there. To these the Japanese gentleman adds one or two swords according to his rank, worn at the left side, each enclosed in a dark-coloured, finely polished lacquered-wood sheath. "Among all classes, except priests and doctors, the front part and the crown of the head are shaved, and the hair on the side and back of the head is collected into a top-knot, glued with a kind of bandoline, and plaited into an artificial comb, with its end bent upwards, neatly fastened, and projecting forwards. Sometimes only the crown is shaved, and the forelocks are drawn backwards into the central comb. The women wear their jet-black hair gathered tightly over the temples and forehead, and carried back so as to form a highly-tufted crown, through which large metal hair-pins are passed.

The absence in their dress of any thing approaching to mere show is remarkable. "Even in Yeddo, although great pomp and ceremony are insisted upon in all that related to official or royal affairs, yet, as a general rule, looking up or down the crowded street, the traveller would be struck with the quiet colours which prevailed in the dress of the people—especially in the men—who were invariably clothed in blue or black, plain or checked, with one exception, and that was in the policemen."*

But let us pass from the external appearance to the character and moral standard of this people.

The laws are of sanguinary severity, and "death is the one general penalty of transgressing" them. This, combined with the certainty of detection through the ubiquity of spies, lessens the commission of those crimes of which the law takes cognizance, and turns the tide of human corruption in the direction of those vices which may be committed with impunity, and some of the more heinous of which the law does not only not forbid, but even sanctions. Japan, indeed, has its political feuds and tumults, but they occur in the higher regions of the state, amongst the Daimios, or territorial princes, and the Government, and do not affect the masses of the population who sleep on in their careless ease and sensuality, while the storm rages above.

We have already referred to the exaggerated statements which have been put forth by individuals who have allowed themselves to be carried away by the first appearance of things. Instead of being a sober people, drunkenness is fearfully prevalent. It is stated by the Bishop of Victoria, on the authority of the surgeon attached to the Dutch factory, that "after the hour of nine P.M. nearly one half of the adult population to be met with in Nagasaki are more or less inebriated from the intoxicating draughts of sakee. Reeling men may be seen frequently in the streets, and spirit shops and wine taverns abound in every direction." The general health and average duration of life is prejudicially affected by these and other habits. "Although the labouring classes and artisan population present the appearance of physical hardihood and bodily strength, they

* "Japanese Fragments."

soon become aged in constitution, and at thirty years have the prematurely old look of men of forty-five years."

It has been said there is no mendicancy in Japan. We know not what mysterious power there is in Japan which can thus cut off the effect from the cause. Our western experience is wholly dissimilar, for here we find, that where drunkenness leads the way, poverty is sure to follow after, and so it is with these far-off isles. "Ordinary beggars are by no means uncommon. They visit the stairs leading to the temples, and are very importunate in their solicitations of alms from the passing crowd. There are, as in other lands, the sick and diseased, the halt and maimed, the blind and aged. Of religious mendicants there are many. Companies of begging priests perambulate the streets, and, "by din of voice and tinkling of bells, exact a gift from every shop and dwelling which they pass." But there is one vice which is spread as a loathsome leprosy throughout the land. A palpable shamelessness exists "in all classes, and among both sexes. No delicacy, no modesty, no sense of shame appear to be recognised among the courtesies of life; and scenes which would have produced confusion and embarassment in the female circles of Europe, were specially pointed at and exulted in as a subject of fair merriment and jocose laughter." "Though the 'social evil' is never an agreeable subject to treat of, it enters into the manners and customs of the people in a manner so singular, and at the same time so prominent, that no account of Japan would be complete without allusion to it. The same order which governs all the other institutions of the country is applied to this one. There is nothing slovenly in the mode of administration here. Vice itself is systematized." We cannot go into the details. But the enormous evil, like an immense gangrene, eats into the vitals of the land.

There is another legalized enormity in Japan—suicide. All military men, the servants of the Tycoon, and persons holding civil offices under Government, are bound, "when they have committed any crime, to rip themselves up, but not till they have received an order from the Court to that effect." The Bishop of Victoria states that "many of the ancient ceremonies attendant upon the horrible custom had fallen into desuetude;" and now, when the death-warrant arrives, it is customary for an attendant to carry the fatal sword before the doomed person, who bows his head in low reverence before the blade. The attendant then strikes off the head of his lord with one stroke of the weapon; and the ceremonies of the Harakiri are held to be adequately performed." Yet one peculiarly aggravated case was well known, and universally believed to have taken place so recently as 1859. "The Prince of Satsuma had compelled five boys, of ages varying from eight to thirteen years old, to undergo the punishment of disembowelling for the offence of having drawn their swords and engaged in a fight within the precincts of his palace."

The fancy sketches, therefore, in which some writers have indulged, must be dismissed, and simply because they are not true. Japanese life will not bear investigation. It is demoralized, and that fearfully. How can it be otherwise, when there is no salt of true religion in the land. The religions which prevail have no corrective power. What they are, must be reserved for another paper. This only will we add at present—Japan is remarkable for its dualism. There are two emperors, the Mikado at Miako, and the Tycoon at Yeddo. There are two religions, Sintooism and Buddhism, which considerately accommodate themselves to each other, and, between them, divide the land. Again, every man has his *double* in Japan: there is a spy who observes him, and reports his actions, while every spy is himself watched, and is thus entangled in the universal espionage which prevails throughout the land. These spies, who are called Metake dwantinger—literally "cross-eyed persons"—consist of individuals of every rank of life, from the highest to the lowest. The result is, that the whole empire affords no hiding-place for a criminal, but, infecting all ranks with a continual suspicion and distrust, allows no room for the growth of an open, candid, manly character. Again, there are double appointments to all the high provincial posts: to each two secretaries are appointed, one residing at Yeddo the other in the province, these interchanging every six months, so that each officer is resident six months in the year at Yeddo, where his family is detained throughout the entire year, as hostages for his good conduct. The same necessity is imposed upon the Daimios, or princes. In lesser things the same dualism may be traced. Every man, who by his rank is so qualified, wears two swords; every house is double, and has a house within a house. Finally, there are two modes of Japanese writing, the Chinese *ideographic* symbols and the Japanese indigenous *phonetic* syllabarium; the latter, again, being written in two ways—either in the more complex Hiragana or the more simple Katagana character. We doubt not that other instances of this peculiarity might be traced, but we must break off for the present.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NIGER MISSION.

IN consequence of the non-arrival of the gun-boats expected to convoy the Niger expedition through the dangerous portions of the Delta, the "Sunbeam" and "Rainbow" have been unable to make the ascent of the river, as contemplated, during the present season. Messrs. Crowther and Taylor, with their companions, waited three months in the vain expectation of reaching Onitsha and the Confluence, and the season for the navigation of the Niger having passed away, they have returned, the former to Lagos, and Mr. Taylor to Sierra Leone. Mr. Ashcroft has remained on board the "Rainbow," his qualifications as a mechanic rendering his assistance valuable under the disabled state of that vessel's machinery.

Mr. Crowther remarks upon this disappointment as giving a serious blow, both to the Missionary and commercial enterprise of Sierra Leone; and as affording a matter of triumph to the slave-dealing tribes of the lower Niger, who will exult in having closed the river against legitimate commerce; while the friendly tribes around the Mission stations and factories higher up will be discouraged, and the Mission agents probably reduced to serious straits, from the cutting off all communication between them and the civilized and Christian world.

INDIA.

Female Education among the Parsees in Bombay.—(From "Allen's Indian Mail.")

"On the 1st June 1860, there were 625 girls on the rolls of the four schools under the charge of the Parsee Girls' School Association. These schools are situated at Chundunwaddy, Mirza Street, Mazagon, and in the Fort, which last is attended by 400 girls. The Chundunwaddy school is satisfactorily conducted solely by girl monitors. The Cama family gave the best support to these schools in last year. At the third day's ceremony, on the death of the widow of Nusserwanjee Muncherjee Cama, and that of Dhunjeebhoy Nusserwanjee Cama, 2000 rupees and 10,000 rupees respectively were subscribed in behalf of the Parsee girls' schools. A Parsee lady, calling herself 'a well-wisher of my little sisters,' subscribed 2240 rupees, through Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee, assistant broker to Messrs. Graham and Co. From the proceeds of these sums, scholarships, prizes, and gold medals were distributed at the last annual exhibition of the schools. The poet Narmadashunker has been engaged by the Association to teach the girls Guzeratee music."

BENGAL.

Report of the Indigo Commissioners.

We have much pleasure in extracting the following passage in reference to the conduct of the Missionaries, from the Report of the Indigo Commissioners—

"We come now to the last point of our inquiry under the first great head, viz. the conduct of the Missionaries and the crisis of the past season. A great deal of indignation has been evinced at Reverend gentlemen, whose errand is

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

to proclaim peace and goodwill, taking on themselves the character of political agitators. Certainly, if to express dislike of what they deem oppression, when forced to their notice, and to stand up for the rights of those who have had no tongue to plead for them, be to carry on agitation, the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have done this. But, in so doing, they had no private interests to advance, and no political object to gain, except the contentment and well-being of the agricultural population; objects which, if political, any man, however sacred his calling, may fairly exert himself to forward.

"That ryots should ask these gentlemen for advice or even assistance, is, in our opinion, perfectly natural. They, the Missionaries, are thoroughly conversant with the languages; they mix freely with the people; they hold converse with them on their highest interests; and they are not distracted, like other Europeans are seen to be, by the accumulation of business, by the speculations of commerce, or by the pursuit of trade. It would have been ungenerous and even unmanly for Mr. Blumhardt and his colleagues to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of such ryots, especially when these very complaints appeared to them to form some hindrance to the attainment of the avowed objects of the Missionary calling.

"We have, too, the distinct denial of these Reverend gentlemen, that they have, by words or deeds, added any fuel to the excitement. On the contrary, they have advised the ryots to obey the laws, to commit no illegalities, to sow indigo this year, and, if oppressed, to appeal to the higher authorities.

"What more Christian or straightforward course could have been taken by men in their situation, it is not easy to conceive. Indeed, the assertion that the refusal of the ryots to sow indigo has been produced by the preaching of Missionaries, is one entirely without foundation of truth.

"From the foregoing remarks, as well as from our study of the relations between ryots and planter, we have come to the deliberate conclusion, that the late extensive refusal to sow, manifested by ryots in Nuddea and in other districts, might have been manifested at any time, on an opportunity. There was every element ripe and ready for such an outburst of popular feeling.

"The cultivation was virtually compulsory, in that no ryot could get free. The ryots, denied the opportunity of benefiting to the fullest extent by the generally increasing prosperity, suddenly discover that ideas spread abroad, that Government had a direct interest in the manufacture of indigo, are unfounded; that it is quite optional with any man to take advances or to refuse them; that they are free agents; that no more force is to be used; and that in these respects the Government had decided to give them fair support. We must not be surprised if they proceed at once to act upon this discovery, nor is there any thing to be wondered at, if, in their anxiety to complete their social freedom, they should sometimes have extracted that part of the orders and notifications, which best suited their purpose, or sometimes wilfully misapprehended and misinterpreted their intent altogether, or even if they have exhibited a spirit of resistance, a determination, and a power to act together, in contrast to their previous condition of apathy and inability to help themselves."

The Report concludes thus—

"We must here conclude, and respectfully submit to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, that however highly we may value the presence of Europeans in the interior of this country, or deeply regret the injury which seems to threaten a large amount of property, or urgently desire to meet the wishes of the manufacturers of a valuable staple, we still feel that there are considera-

tions which are paramount to all mercantile interests, to all political expediency, and to all material advantages, however specious in theory or imposing in effect. These are the simple considerations of justice and truth;—of justice to the population whose complaints demand a hearing; and of truth, because we desire that the real facts should be clearly stated and widely known. We, the majority, feel that we owe a duty to the Government that has appointed us; to the body of planters, who have been working unfortunately on an unsound system; to the calm and thoughtful members of the English community; but specially to a large portion of the natives, who, we are told, look with some anxiety for our report."

CEYLON.—DEATH OF THE REV. H. WHITLEY.

It is with more than wonted feelings of regret that we record the melancholy decease of our excellent Missionary, the Rev. H. Whitley, who met with his death on Saturday, November 10th, by the fall of a wall, while superintending the pulling-down of an old building on the Mission premises. Mr. Whitley had greatly endeared himself to the English congregation in Colombo, and his Missionary exertions among the Tamil and Singalese were unremitting, and greatly blessed. At such an hour, and in such a garb, as we think not, the Son of man cometh. Blessed are they that are found watching!

MAURITIUS.—SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. Ansorgé writes (Nov. 2, 1860)—"We have had an interesting increase in the number of orphans. One hundred and thirty little African children of the slaver 'Manuella,' prize to H.M.S. 'Brisk'* were sent to us. They are all under ten years; the most of them in miserable health. Many of them seem living skeletons. It was a great pleasure to observe the other children's joy on their arrival. All the little Africans were sent in one day on several carts, but a number of the children were so weak that we had to help them down from the carts. We were obliged to bring above thirty at once to the hospital in our place, and notwithstanding Mrs. Ansorgé's great care of these unfortunate creatures, and the doctor's visits, we have lost twenty by death already. A number of grown-up Africans, who came with these children, are at the Civil Hospital in Port Louis. There fifty have died already. I am sure that many of those who defend slavery, if they could see our little hospital, and witness the misery of these poor children, and hear their cries for father and mother, would change their opinion of it."

NEW ZEALAND.

We regret to say that the state of affairs in New Zealand is still most critical. Reports were industriously circulated in Auckland in September that the Waikato natives intended to attack that place. It is now ascertained that no such intention exists. The settlers in the Waikato district are treated with kindness, but the chiefs have informed the Governor that if he brings any military force into their territory, or even on its borders, it will be a signal for a general rise of the tribes. "What can we do," writes Archdeacon Kissling, "but to cry, 'Lord save us, lest we perish?' I do not mean this to be taken personally, but nationally. With respect to the war, things certainly become darker from day to day." The sympathy of the native tribes with Wiremu Kingi is greatly on the increase. About 500 Waikatos have marched to his

* See vol. v. p. 377.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

assistance, and an attack upon New Plymouth was apprehended when the mail left. "It is really surprising," says an eyewitness, "to see the calmness and firmness on the part of the native population, and the nervousness and excitement among the Europeans. On the one side there is nothing but practice and preparation for fighting, and on the other, composure and firmness of mind." Mr. Morgan says (Oct. 2)—"War runangas are the events of every day. Altogether the district is in a most unsettled state. Lower Waikato will remain quiet. North of a certain line they are to remain to watch Ngaruawahia. The movement of troops to Waikato River would be the signal for a general rise. The feeling amongst the natives towards the scattered Europeans in Waikato is generally good. Personally they are as civil to me as ever.

"We expect Miss Stothard to-morrow. She is sent in troublous times, but I trust it may be an earnest of approaching blessing. I hear that the Aotea school is nearly broken up. Mr. Reid had, when I last heard, fifteen children. We have about thirty or thirty-three. We are cast down, but not destroyed. I trust, by God's blessing, our numbers will soon increase."

The Rev. R. Burrows says (October 2), "You will be glad to hear that the natives generally, although many of them greatly sympathize with Wiremu Kingi, are remaining quiet, and pursuing their ordinary occupations." The Bishop of Waiapu writes, that all are quiet down the East Coast. "Your Missionaries of Tauranga and Maketu report the same of their districts."

Psalms lxxiv. and lxxx. will form a suitable topic for meditation and prayer in reference to the distracted state of New Zealand at the present time.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

At a meeting held at the Church Missionary House on November 27th, the instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. Henry Venn to the following Missionaries proceeding to North India—

The Rev. C. B. and Mrs. Leupolt, returning to Benares, accompanied by Messrs. Weber and Treutsch and Miss Sherwood.

The Rev. C. T. and Mrs. Hoernle, formerly of Agra, proceeding to Meerut.

The Rev. J. A. and Mrs. Stern, returning to Santipore.

The Rev. J. Welland, B.A., appointed to the Cathedral Mission, Calcutta.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa.—The Rev. M. S. Jackson and Miss Freymuth embarked at Liverpool November 24th, on board the "Ethiope," for Sierra Leone.

Mediterranean.—The Rev. T. F. Wolters left London at the end of November for Smyrna, to join his father.

North India.—The Rev. C. B. and Mrs. Leupolt, Rev. J. M. Brown, Messrs. Weber and Treutsch, Mrs. Fuchs, Miss Sherwood, and the Misses Gabbetts, embarked at Southampton December 4th, on board the "Ceylon" steamer, for Calcutta.—The Rev. J. A. L. and Mrs. Stern left London December 1st, for Marseilles, to proceed from thence overland to Calcutta.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. T. Foulkes left Madras November 13th, and arrived in London on December 15th.—Mr. G. Meakin left Lagos October 10th, and Sierra Leone November 20th, and arrived at Liverpool on December 12th.

DECEASE OF A MISSIONARY

West Africa.—The Rev. H. Rhodes died on the 14th November, at Brompton, after a lingering illness.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA—EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The Bible in Government Schools.—The following important announcement is made by the *Friend of India*—

"When a deputation of gentlemen interested in Indian Missions waited upon Lord Palmerston some months ago, he told them that there was no objection to Government teachers giving instruction in the Bible to such of their scholars as chose to attend after school-hours.* The Church Missionary Society immediately communicated this opinion to the teachers here, and urged them to put the matter to the test. Mr. Martin, Principal of the Berhampore College, at once did so. He wished to hold his class in the college, and requested the permission of the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Grant has written a minute on the subject, which awaits the final orders of the Supreme Government. It is accompanied by a letter from Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College. Though the spirit of the two documents is widely different, the result they arrive at is substantially the same. They say—Government schools and colleges are intended for secular instruction only; but if teachers are desirous of imparting religious instruction to their pupils, they are perfectly at liberty to do so out of school-hours and out of the school premises. There was no occasion for Mr. Martin to refer to Government at all. So long as he was allowed to teach the Bible, it mattered little where he taught it. Teaching it in school-hours, or in the building provided by Government, would imply Government support and encouragement, and might create the very hostility to Christianity which all private and sincere efforts are likely to disarm. It is by private effort in all ages that the Gospel has spread. No legal enactments can force a man to believe. His reason must be appealed to, and his heart must be touched, if he is to become a true Christian."

The documents referred to by the *Friend of India* have not yet reached us. This is not the place to enter upon any discussion on the subject; but, presuming the summary of Mr. Grant's minute to be correctly given, it may be worth while to point out the fallacy of confounding a *voluntary* Bible class within the school premises, with "legal enactments" forcing men to believe, and then denouncing both as equally abhorrent to the spirit of genuine Christianity. The communication of Lord Palmerston's opinion on the subject to the teachers of Government schools was not made by the Church Missionary Society, but independently, by a few gentlemen connected with India by the ties of Christian affection, as well as of long services therein.

We have much pleasure in announcing that the speech of the Duke of Marlborough in the House of Lords, on the subject of Bible education in India, July 2, 1860, is now ready, and may be had on application to the publishers, Messrs. Dalton, Cockspur Street, or at the office of this Society, price Sixpence.

The estimate formed of the Bible by "Young Bengal" will be seen by the following extract from the *Hindu Patriot*. The recognition of its "intrinsic merits as a literary work" falls infinitely short of the high purpose for which it has been given to the whole human race; and there is a subtle exhibition of real enmity against its life-giving doctrines in this apparent homage to its secondary excellencies. Nevertheless, it is satisfactory to know that, from whatever motive, the Bible is read, and, in some measure, appreciated. We rejoice also to learn that its introduction into the Government schools would be regarded as "a recognition of Christian doctrine." It is on this account chiefly, and not for

* See "Recent Intelligence," 1859, p. 272.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

proselyting purposes, that such introduction has been urged as the high duty of a Christian Government.

"Both Sir John Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes attached much importance to the introduction of the Bible into the Government schools in this country. Except as a recognition of Christian doctrine, to the avowed exclusion of Hindu and Mohammedan doctrine, as a part of the teaching of our public schools, the question is of the slightest moment possible. We have repeatedly said that the Bible is read by every native scholar who has made a certain degree of progress in English literature. To all understandings which have reached a certain degree of cultivation, the recommendation of the Bible, as a book of reading, looks very like impertinence. Its intrinsic merits as a literary work will ensure, as it has ensured, as extensive a reception of its contents as Sir Herbert Edwardes himself could wish. It is not for us to say how far a deep, or even an enthusiastic, appreciation of the beauties of the Scriptures is calculated to help on the cause of evangelization. One fact is certain; it grates on the sympathies of many sincere Christians to contemplate such a use of the book they hold sacred as Sir Herbert Edwardes' party would put it to. To turn it into what, in the language of the classes, is called a class-book, is, if we judge rightly, viewed by many of them as a desideratum. Were we a Christian, we could not reconcile it to ourselves to see the written repository of our faith turned into an object of small criticism by a parcel of boys, or perchance a parcel of teachers more irreverent than boys. The Bible, we repeat, if not yet a class-book in the Government schools—if not yet converted into a badge of conquest—is already an honoured book with all educated natives. To enforce its introduction into the stated curriculum of Indian colleges would simply bring British faith into undeserved question, without subserving a single evangelic purpose. They who would do it would literally make Christ's empire one of this world, and, of this world, the most worldly."

Grants-in-Aid.—The observations which follow are from the correspondent of the *Scottish Guardian*. They are dated from Bombay, in which Presidency the Director of Public Instruction is unfavourable to grants to Mission schools—

"I am interested to notice the Indian press beginning to agitate a question which has been since the mutiny very much in abeyance in India. I refer to the grants-in-aid in favour of education propounded in the East-India Company's ever-memorable despatch of 1854. Do what we may to improve the Government school system, we must look for the extension of Christianity among the young chiefly to our own Mission schools. These have and are accomplishing a great work in India—entirely changing the feelings of many of the educated youth towards the Gospel—working conviction, powerful, if suppressed as yet, in many hearts—and inspiring the rising natives with great zeal to reform their old system. You scarcely meet an educated youth now who does not detest and abuse caste, is not a supporter of the cause of female education, and does not denounce the usage which forbids the widow to marry. It appears to me that strenuous efforts should now be made to work out this principle of grants-in-aid. It has not been carried out as yet at all to the extension of which it is susceptible, partly from Government difficulties, and partly also from official hostility. But better times are, I hope, at hand; and the Christian bodies in India, if they are asked to co-operate with Government in the spread of education, are entitled to demand, either to have educational inspectors appointed, with their concurrence, for their schools, or at least that those entrusted with the management of education in the Presidencies be not hostile to the grants-in-aid system. The

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

desire for education still continues intense; the Mission school you find, whatever native journals may say against it, is generally full; and the Missionary is at liberty to bring to bear upon the scholars what influences he desires, provided he teaches efficiently the elements of English and European knowledge. Considering that on the grants-in-aid system Government offered help to an amount equal to that arising from local sources, what a large field is opened for Christian educational enterprise. This effort is the more necessary, as the evidence daily augments, that to leave education as it is tends to the deterioration of native morals. The *Hindu Patriot*, a native journal, strongly urges the necessity of female education—'Educate your ladies; make them fit and agreeable companions of Young Bengal; pull down the antiquated screen which shuts out the zenana from the outer world; let there be free intercourse between them and their male relatives; and we are sure that in no time will Bengal assert her proper place among civilized countries, and the vices which now stain our society will by themselves fade away.'"

NEW ZEALAND.

THE intelligence from this distracted country is still of an anxious character, but it presents elements on which to build a hope, that, in God's great mercy, some solution of the present difficulties may be effected, without the catastrophe of a war of races.

Affairs became further complicated in October, by the violent death of a man named Erieta, or Eliezer, at Patumahoe, a place not far south of Auckland, and who, in the first instance, was supposed by the natives to have been murdered by a European. A large body of the Waikato accordingly took up a position, threatening an attack upon the capital. Through the well-timed intervention of the Bishop of New Zealand, the Missionaries, and the officers of Government, the chiefs were convinced that their suspicions were groundless, and the danger has passed away. It has proved, however, on one hand, the critical state of affairs, for none can foresee how great a fire a little matter may kindle; and, on the other, the priceless value of *friendly negociations*, and the readiness of the natives to listen to reason and remonstrance, even in their present excited state. This again illustrates powerfully the benefits which might fairly have been expected from a like course in the case of the Taranaki land question. "How well," says Archdeacon Kissling, "would it have been, throughout our dealings with this noble but excitable people, had moral means and kindly explanations preceded the recourse to the brutal force of arms."

In various parts of the island, the Missionaries continue to receive assurances of personal safety under all contingences; and they are, for the most part, able to report that their districts are peaceable, though much excitement prevails, and the people are looking anxiously for the turn events may take. Among a portion of the Waikato tribes, however, there is reason to fear that the struggle has ceased to be one in defence of a native right believed to be infringed by the Government, and has assumed the more serious aspect of a contest for the *sovereignty* within the province of New Plymouth. These tribes must be distinguished from the more immediate followers of Wiremu Kingi. They have all along acted with precipitation, and taken a position in the fore-front; and it was this party which suffered the defeat at Mahoetahi on the 6th of November. They have measured their strength with the British troops, and found themselves overmatched. The lesson they have received may leave them accessible to more moderate counsels. Peace begins to be spoken of on both sides; and

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

either party, having learned to respect the other, may be willing to put an end to the strife.

Happily, nothing has produced so favourable an impression upon the natives as the course taken by a powerful party in the House of Representatives, in upholding the treaty-right of the Maori chiefs. Indeed, the local Legislature seems to have awakened to a sense of its high duties in respect to the people on whose patrimony they have been permitted to settle, and in the midst of whom they dwell. A Bill, similar in its general purpose to that before the British Parliament last session, has passed the General Assembly, having for its object the nomination by the Crown of a "Native Council,"* *i. e.* a council of men of enlarged experience in native affairs, whom it shall be the duty of the Governor to consult on all measures affecting the interests of the Aborigines. The functions of the Council, however, like those of the Indian Council at home, will not extend beyond the tendering of *advice*. At the same time, public attention has been directed to a most interesting experiment carried on in 1857 among the Waikato, by Mr. Fenton. Its importance will be seen from the subjoined letter of the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, under whose personal observation it was conducted. It is satisfactory also to observe, that in the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate this subject, the Maori-King movement is divested of its treasonable character, and recognised rather as "an effort to obtain law and order." "Such a movement," they say, "need not have been the subject of alarm. One of its principal aims, undoubtedly, was to assert the distinct nationality of the Maori race, and another to establish, by their own efforts, some organization on which to base a system of law and order. These objects are not necessarily inconsistent with the recognition of the Queen's supreme authority, or antagonistic to the European race, or the progress of colonization." The Select Committee consider that circumstances have now "given to it a new and dangerous character;" yet even now they deprecate any attempt at positive resistance, and concur with those who think that, *rightly guided*, it may still be turned in a beneficial direction.

Mr. Ashwell's letter is dated Taupiri, October 23, 1860.

"Enclosed is a paper on native affairs, by Mr. Fenton, late Resident Magistrate in the Waikato district. This paper has been pronounced by the House of Representatives to be the most clever and interesting document on the subject of civil institutions for the natives ever produced in New Zealand. If the plan so successfully commenced had been persevered in, I do not hesitate to say that the whole of Waikato, and, in all probability, other districts, would have now been covered with court-houses and machinery for the gradual introduction of British law. The experiment was successful beyond our most sanguine expectations. In less than twelve months, five court-houses had been erected on the river, and a good staff of native assessors, to assist the European magistrate, were organized. A Runanga, or Municipal Council, assisted in carrying out the decisions of the Court; *i. e.* their moral influence rendered physical force unnecessary: in no case has the decision of the magistrate been resisted. This hopeful movement was suffered to die out, from a groundless fear on the part of the Government that it would widen the breach already existing between the Queen's party and the native King party. Never was there a more mistaken policy on the part of the Government. As the party for the *Ture* (law), or the Queenites, were gradually gaining ground, the Kingites were becoming more

* See Monthly Proceedings of Committee, October 1860.

and more reconciled to the movement; and there is not the shadow of a doubt, that, had Mr. Fenton continued his judicious and conciliatory plan, the two parties would have coalesced, and the King movement, under some less objectionable name, would have become a most powerful instrument for the spread of law and order. Mr. Fenton's removal from Waikato, to be an assistant to the Colonial Secretary, against his desire and request, was the first great blow to this hopeful movement. His place as Resident Magistrate was unsupplied, and the natives believing themselves to have been deceived by the Government, gradually lost all confidence in it, and all heart to proceed in their onward march to law and order. Yet even now, although more than two years have elapsed since his removal, in some of the villages summonses are still issued by the native assessors, and damages awarded. A case occurred a few months ago, when a young man stole some salt from a store in this neighbourhood: a summons issued; the case was tried; and the damages, five shillings, willingly paid. But I am grieved to say, that through the neglect of the Government, most of the tribes favourable to the *Tare* (the law) have now joined the Maori King movement, which it is possible may become antagonistic ere long, unless peace is made with William King. As Archdeacon Maunsell, myself, and several native chiefs have been called to give evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Representatives respecting this movement, I need not enter into details, as the published evidence will ere long appear in the Blue Book.

"I have only one or two remarks to make on this subject, to prove how the leaven of this movement was increasing, and what a powerful engine for good it was becoming.

"The reports of the Waikato Courts had reached distant tribes. In 1858 I received a letter from Bishop Williams, in which he said that the Courts of Waikato had excited much interest among the natives of Poverty Bay and the East Cape, and that he should, perhaps, send some chiefs to Waikato, to see their practical working. Secondly—The moral power of these Courts will be seen from the last case tried at Kahumatuku, a village two miles from Taupiri Church Missionary station. A native from the Kanawhanawha River, a tributary of the Waipa—quite the backwoods of New Zealand—when in Auckland, stole clothes from the fence of Archdeacon Kisaling's Institution. He managed to escape to Kanawhanawha, to his home. Mr. Fenton heard of it, and sent two native assessors to bring the offender to Kahumatuku. He came, accompanied by his father and brothers, who offered to pay eight times the value of the articles stolen, if they (the Court) would let off the prisoner from the sentence of the magistrates, viz. three months imprisonment in the Auckland jail. The magistrate said, 'No; it cannot be. I wish to show the young men of Waikato that they cannot commit theft in Auckland with impunity, and think they can escape to the bush and be safe.' He was accordingly imprisoned.

"Only second to the success of the Gospel was the progress of this movement. The glorious struggle in the native mind for law and order, surely, under Providence, proves that 'there is a tide in the affairs of men, if taken at the flood, leads on' to great results. I trust the opportunity, as regards Waikato and New Zealand, will again be given, and the noble Aborigines raised in the scale of nations; but clouds, and thick clouds, seem now to be gathering over the future of New Zealand. Not only is the war raging at Taranaki, without the prospect of a speedy peace, but Upper Waikato is involved in the same war. Seven hundred armed men left, a few weeks ago, the Waipa River. I fear, ere long, Middle

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and Lower Waikato may be drawn in, especially as a murdered native was found at Patumahoe on the Manukai, and a report spread that he had been murdered by an European, although no proof has yet been found. Great excitement prevails in the tribes by which I am surrounded, and reports are rife, viz. that Waikato will attack Auckland, if it should be found that the native has been murdered by a white man. I am thankful, however, to say, that several chiefs are going to investigate the matter. If it should appear, from circumstantial evidence, that the murder has been committed by a European, and the British Government should fail in prosecuting the supposed offender, I do not know what may be the consequences: I fear war with Auckland. Now, if the native Courts of Justice and the Runangas had been in existence, this difficulty would have been overcome. They would have carefully considered the case, and have acquiesced in the decision of the law. I believe, also, that they would have successfully mediated between the British Government and William King. A retrograde movement, I fear, has taken possession of the native mind, and feelings nearly akin to their native customs are beginning to prevail: this has been increased by what they consider an unjust and unholy war with William King. Their sympathy with him is very great, and their anxiety for peace at the commencement of the war was proved, by meeting and proposing that thirteen Waikato chiefs, four Missionaries, six native teachers and deacons, and two English magistrates, to be chosen by the Government, should be allowed by the Governor to proceed to Taranaki for that purpose; but it was too late. Whilst writing this proposition to the Government, a canoe brought word that a battle had been fought, and mediation was at an end. Nothing would have been easier had such a plan been tried *before the declaration of martial law.* Old Te Wherowhero said to me, 'If I had been applied to I could have settled this. But the first news that reached me was, that the soldiers had left for Taranaki.' The poor old chief was deeply distressed. Although I have carefully abstained from intermeddling with politics, as I never attended their Runungas, yet, from being so near to the village of the Maori King, I hear, through my native teachers, much that is going on; and their good sense, forbearance, and patience may ere long be exhausted, and a general war may follow.

"Our only hope is in the gracious influences of God the Holy Spirit, who alone can rule the unruly wills and sinful affections of man. We assemble every day at ten A.M., to pray with my native teachers for the blessing of peace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Our village boarding-schools are increasing, although in troublous times. A crisis is at hand in New Zealand. We do earnestly beg the prayers of our fathers and brethren in the Gospel."

In connexion with the last paragraph of Mr. Ashwell's letter, we may insert an extract from a letter of Archdeacon Kisaling, dated Auckland, October 4—

"At St. Stephen's school we have a prayer meeting once a week, at which Christians of both races attend and take part in prayers."

APPEAL FOR PRAYER.

The prayers of the friends of Missions are earnestly desired on behalf of Mr. William E. Rowlands, B.A., Wadham College, Oxford, and Mr. Townsend Storrs, B.A., Catherine College, Cambridge, students at the Church Missionary College, candidates for ordination by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, February 24th next.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NEW PREMISES IN SALISBURY SQUARE.

THE work of the Society has for many years past outgrown the accommodation provided by its present offices, the inconveniences of which have materially impeded the course of business. The Committee have therefore, for some time, been anxious to secure, by purchase or otherwise, a more commodious building, while, at the same time, they were desirous to retain, if possible, the "accustomed" locality and time-honoured associations of SALISBURY SQUARE. The house immediately adjoining the premises occupied by the Society was bought several years ago; but the site of it was not sufficiently spacious, and for a time there was no opportunity of adding to it by further purchase. In the course of last year, however, the Committee was able to secure the freehold of the house next beyond the one already the property of the Society; but the buildings, in both cases, were old and dilapidated, beside that they were utterly unsuited for the purposes of an office. They have therefore been cleared away, and a plain but commodious building is now in course of erection on the site of the two old houses. The cost of such a building in London is necessarily large—about 13,000*l.*—but every care has been taken to ensure the utmost economy consistent with permanent stability and the purposes for which the offices are required, and no needless expenditure will be incurred in mere ornament.

The Committee have been able to make such a satisfactory arrangement, in respect to some of the Society's invested funds, that only a portion of the sum expended will be derived from the ordinary income of the Society. The General Fund will, eventually, be charged each year with no more than the amount which would be required as rent for offices adequate to the purposes of the Society.

The foundation-stone was laid by the President, in the presence of the Committee, on Tuesday, Feb. 5.

Before proceeding to the ground, prayer was offered in the Committee Room by the Rev. E. Auriol; and upon reaching the site of the new building, the ceremony was commenced by singing the hymn,

"Behold the sure foundation-stone,
Which God in Zion lays," &c

The Rev. H. Venn then read Ps. cxxvii. 1, 2—"Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrows: for so He giveth his beloved sleep."

A plan of the building, bearing the names of the President, Viscount Midleton, Hon. S. R. Curzon, the Hon. Captain Maude, J. Bridges, Esq., W. Dugmore, Esq., J. Farish, Esq., J. M. Strachan, Esq., the Rev. E. Auriol; and of the Secretaries, the Revs. H. Venn, W. Knight, J. Chapman, Major Straith, Colonel Dawes, and J. M. Holl, Esq., was then placed,

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

with the Society's Jubilee medal and some coins, in a glass bottle, and deposited under an enamelled slab, bearing the following inscription—

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
IN THE EXTENSION OF THE KINGDOM OF
HIS DEAR SON, JESUS CHRIST,
THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY FOR AFRICA AND THE EAST
ERECTED THIS HOUSE
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE,
AND IN THE SIXTY-SECOND YEAR OF THEIR OPERATIONS.
THE FOUNDATION-STONE WAS LAID
ON THE FIFTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1861,
IN THE PRESENCE OF THE COMMITTEE,
BY
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CHICHESTER,
PRESIDENT.

"IT SHALL COME TO PASS IN THE LAST DAYS, THAT THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LORD'S HOUSE SHALL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE TOP OF THE MOUNTAINS, AND SHALL BE EXALTED ABOVE THE HILLS; AND ALL NATIONS SHALL FLOW UNTO IT."—ISAIAH ii. 2.

After laying the stone, the President made a few observations, pointing out the vast good which the Society's Missions had done in Africa and the East, and invoking the blessing of God upon their extended efforts. He was followed by the Rev. C. R. Alford, in a brief address to the workpeople employed about the building. A prayer was offered by General Alexander, and the ceremony was closed by singing the hymn,

"From all that dwell below the skies," &c.,

and the benediction, pronounced by the Rev. H. Venn.

The laying of the stone was synchronous with the Opening of Parliament, the guns of the Royal salute having been heard during the ceremony.

NORTH INDIA.

The Rev. James Long writes from Calcutta, December 8th, last, "Though we Missionaries here have endured much abuse from our countrymen for sympathizing with the Ryot in his oppression by the indigo planter, yet it is pleasing to find that an impression most favourable to Christianity has been produced on the minds of all classes of natives by this course. I have heard remarks at times which drew tears of thankfulness from my eyes. You must not suppose we have turned political agitators. The best men here say we could not have done less, and ought not to have done more. We acted as Missionaries upon Missionary ground, just as you have done on New-Zealand colonization, and are doing now. Even here a party are saying that the Missionaries have ruined New Zealand, and are oppressing their own countrymen. Depend upon it the New-Zealand question and the indigo planting oppression are essentially the same."

TINNEVELLY MISSION.

Death of the Rev. Paul Daniel.

It is with deep regret that we record the removal from the scene of his efficient ministry, of the Rev. Paul Daniel, one of the Society's native ministers in South Tinnevelly. It pleased Him who "doeth all things well," how-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

ever wondrously to our eyes, to call this faithful and promising native pastor to Himself on the 23d of November, by a severe attack of cholera. All that could be done was attempted on his behalf, but in vain; and thus has the first of the twenty-four native clergymen in connexion with our Society in this Presidency, been unexpectedly taken to his rest, in the prime of life and usefulness, and before many, his seniors in years and in the ministry. He was ordained to deacons' orders early in 1856, and subsequently laboured with the greatest acceptance and success at Satthankulam, under the charge of the Rev. J. Thomas of Mengnanapuram. Mr. Thomas thus writes of his death and character in a letter lately received (Nov. 27, 1860)—

"It has pleased God to remove his servant Paul from amongst us. He expired on Friday evening at six o'clock, after much suffering. How mysterious are the ways of the Lord! He doeth all things after the counsel of his own blessed will—all for the best; but He giveth no account of any of his matters. I cannot tell you how much I feel the loss of my dear friend. His affection, his simplicity, honesty, and straightforwardness, his amazing pulpit abilities, and profound humility with all, endeared him to me beyond all I can describe. The last sermon I heard from him was, without exception, the greatest sermon I ever heard, 'Enduring the cross and despising the shame,' &c. Never did I hear Christ so exalted by human tongue: the effect was perfectly overwhelming. His sun went down at noon. Many more years of usefulness might have been expected. He stood alone among our native Christians."

Thus do two of the first Numbers of the "Record" for the opening year announce the sudden removal from our ranks of two efficient labourers in the Tamil Mission.* "Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth" other "labourers into his harvest."

NEW ZEALAND.

A deputation on the state of affairs in New Zealand waited upon the Duke of Newcastle on Tuesday January 22. The result of the interview will be best communicated by reprinting a letter on the subject, addressed by the Committee to the Missionaries in New Zealand, and dated January 26, 1861—

"The Memorial to Her Majesty's Government, which you will receive by book post, was presented on the 22d inst., by the Right Hon. the President, and by a large body of the Committee, to the Duke of Newcastle. We have the great satisfaction of assuring you, that while the Duke declined pledging the Government to adopt the particular measures recommended in the Memorial, the representations of the Deputation were received and discussed in a perfectly courteous and candid spirit. No word fell from Her Majesty's Secretary of State which would have wounded the feelings of any New-Zealand chief, if he had been present. But the earnest hope was expressed that this most deplorable war might be soon terminated, and that some plan might be speedily adopted for settling land, and other native questions, by law and by competent authority, in a way satisfactory to both races.

"The Duke of Newcastle assured the Deputation that there was no intention on the part of the Home or Colonial Government to violate the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, but a determination to deal justly and fairly with Her Majesty's Native as well as European subjects, while upholding the Royal

* The death of the Rev. H. Whitley was mentioned in the "Record" for January. A Memorial of him will be found in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for March.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

supremacy, and using proper methods of advancing the social welfare of the whole colony.

"We trust that there are many among the natives who regard with respect and with grateful recollections the Christian friends in England, the successors of Samuel Marsden, who have so long advocated the cause of New Zealand, and have sent out and supported the Missionaries amongst them. To all such the Committee trust that the declarations which they now report, given to them by Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Minister of State, will have a healing and pacific influence; and they beg you further to assure such natives that the Church Missionary Society, while deeply lamenting the effusion of blood, will not cease to labour for the social and religious benefit of the Maori race; and that their most earnest entreaty is that all fighting may be laid aside, and all claims submitted to the decision of law, under the sovereignty of our gracious Queen.

"The Duke of Newcastle was pleased also to thank the Committee for the information that they had furnished to His Grace from time to time, and to say that he should be at any time ready to receive such communications as should appear to them important for the consideration of Government. This assurance will encourage our Missionaries, we trust, to keep us fully informed of events, and to be careful to make no statements of doubtful authority, but only such as will bear the most searching investigation into their accuracy, together with all important documentary evidence which may be procurable in New Zealand.

"The Committee have seen no reason to suspect the accuracy of the communications they have hitherto received, and they are very thankful that the spirit which has breathed in them has been so calm and Christian amidst scenes of so great excitement."

The mail from New Zealand has reached us at too late a period to enable us to make any extracts from the letters. We are thankful to say that a very decided desire for peace, as well as for the establishment of civil institutions, appears to exist among the great majority of the native tribes. Of this it may be hoped the Government will be prompt to take advantage.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—Mr. C. H. Binns embarked at Liverpool Jan. 24th, on board the monthly steamer, for Sierra Leone.

North India—The Rev. J. Welland and the Rev. C. T. and Mrs. Hoernle embarked at Southampton, December 20th, on board the "Indus" steamer, for Calcutta.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Niger—Mr. T. H. Ashcroft arrived at Liverpool on Jan. 11th, from West Africa.

Western India—The Rev. W. S. Price and Mrs. Price left Bombay Dec. 27th, 1860, and arrived in London on Jan. 28th.

North India—The Rev. T. E. Hallett and the Rev. S. Attlee and Mrs. Attlee left Calcutta Dec. 23d, 1860, and arrived in London on Jan. 28th.

China—The Rev. F. F. and Mrs. Gough and Mrs. Collins arrived in London, from China, on Feb. 11th.

We have to announce, that since Mrs. Gough's arrival in England it has pleased God to remove her by death. This sad event took place in London on Feb. 15th.

Mrs. Bühler died, after a short illness, at Abe, in the Yoruba Country, on Jan. 4.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

YORUBA MISSION.

No additional intelligence has been received by the last mail respecting the progress of the war. Some hopes are entertained of peace, through the intervention of the British Consul; but nothing definite has yet transpired. Turning to a more pleasing topic, the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. H. Townsend, dated Feb. 6, 1861, will be read with satisfaction—

"In the week commencing with Monday, Jan. 7th, we held in Abbeokuta a series of prayer-meetings. As no place of public worship here would contain the people we expected, we recommended some of the native Christians to hold other meetings for prayer in other parts of Abbeokuta. Prayers were offered up both in English and Yoruba. The meetings were much enjoyed: it was a time of refreshing to all. We were joined by the members of other Christian sects in Abbeokuta.

"Resulting from these meetings, a prayer-meeting is now held every Monday afternoon in Ake church, conducted by each Missionary in turn, to ask the speedy restoration of peace in this country, and the preservation of the Christian churches endangered by the war."

Mr. Townsend adds—

"That great progress is being made in the country, in the propagation of Christianity and in the advance of civilization, we have great and undoubted proofs. Even the present war will, I trust, advance God's work, and not retard it: it is an affliction from his hands in love. There are considerations in connexion with the advancing state of the country which show that this is not the time to stand still. It is not the time for contracted views of objects to be accomplished, nor of the means by which they are to be effected. The tide of civilization is making towards the land. If Christianity does not lead the advance and be its foundation—not a mere formal profession, with the devil's works carried on under its cover—the country will be overrun with a civilized heathenism under the form of Christianity."

BENGAL.

In a recent Number we gave an extract from the Report of the Indigo Commissioners in reference to the conduct of the Missionaries (p. 1). In a "Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commissioners," dated Dec. 17, 1860, this subject is thus adverted to—

"The Commission entirely exonerate the Missionaries of the charge of having taken upon themselves the character of political agitators: they show that these excellent men, circumstanced as they were, would have been inexcusable had they turned a deaf ear to the well-founded complaints of the people, in close and kindly intercourse with whom they were living, and some of whom belong to their own flocks; and the Commission find that the assertion, that the refusal to sow Indigo was owing to the preaching of the Missionaries is one which is entirely without foundation of truth.

"I must not pass this last point without respectfully expressing my admiration of the conduct of the Missionary body throughout these trying events." (Minute, p. 17.)

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

CEYLON.

Cooly Mission.

The Rev. S. Hobbs, among other causes of thankfulness rightly singles out the following as the chief. Where the word is gladly received, and the children of God are zealous for the honour of their Father, in the extension of his family, there is a deep-sounding call to thank God and take courage. Mr. Hobbs says (February 7, 1861)—

"The continuance of a kind reception of the catechists, and their message by the Tamil overseers and the Coolies, affords another ground of praise and thankfulness more than we can express.

"But that which occurs to my own mind as the greatest of all the good gifts which have descended from above upon this Mission to the Coolies during the past year, is the spread of the truth by means of the Tamil Christians themselves; I mean, Christian conductors — not in the employ of the Mission, and who neither have nor seek any secular advantage, either from their profession or their exertions. It is true that Christians might always diffuse the knowledge of Christ much more than any of us do. The salt of the earth ought to permeate the mass, and the leaven to work until the whole lump be leavened. But in this world, and even in the Christian church, things are not always as they ought to be. When we do observe Christians to be consistent, it is a great cause for praise to God; and this I think we have observed in connexion with this Mission, during the past year, more than in any preceding year. An example or two may be interesting.

"1. In the neighbourhood of the town of Kandy a number of very small coffee gardens have lately been planted, which can scarcely be dignified with the name of estates, which belong generally to Singhalese gentlemen, who employ Tamil labourers, varying in number from ten or twelve to thirty In one of these miniature estates, the catechists, in their visits, found an old Christian from Nagercoil, who, though unable to read, was well instructed in Christian truth. The catechists encouraged the old man to instruct the rest of the people in the lines in Christian doctrine. He did not need much encouragement, but was forward of his own mind. The other people in the lines listened to him, and first two or three, and afterwards two or three others, expressed their conviction of the truth, and a desire for baptism. I went and examined some, and others came to me to be examined. I was much gratified and satisfied with my inquiries. The result is, that they have all become Christians, and have all been baptized, except two or three who are now candidates for baptism.

"2. In the T. G. estate of the K. district, as many as seven persons have been baptized during the year, who had been chiefly instructed by the Christians residing on that estate.

"3. In the G. estate of the H. district a man came to me requesting to be baptized. I was much gratified with his knowledge, and asked him how he had attained it, and he replied that he had gained it chiefly from the Tamil Christians in his neighbourhood. As I had not heard of any Tamil Christians, in that estate I inquired of the catechists how this could be, and found that there were not any Tamil Christians on that estate, but that the candidate had gone, from time to time, to an estate in the neighbourhood, about

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

three or four miles off, where there were some Christians, and had received from them the instruction which he sought."

NEW ZEALAND.

The letters we have received by the last mail do not add materially to the information already in our possession. The public papers intimate that Wiremu Kingi's pa at Matorikorika has been abandoned by the natives after a severe struggle, and is now in possession of the British troops. The natives are believed to be in considerable force in a valley near the Huiranga pa; and the latest news is to the effect that a fresh attack upon them had been commenced, the result of which was not known. It is said they have agreed to take care of any wounded or prisoners who may fall into their hands.

The disaffection of a portion of the Waikato tribe has been made too apparent lately, by one of the most influential of their chiefs having, with his followers, joined the rebels at Taranaki. Prior to his taking that important step, he addressed a letter to the Bishop of New Zealand, in which he stated that he felt called upon by his conscience to afford assistance to Wiremu Kingi, as he considered the contest had now assumed a war of races, and that in justice to his kindred and his nation, he was only performing his duty in openly advocating their cause. Should this example be followed by any of the other influential chiefs, the war will then assume a more serious and melancholy character.

The extracts which follow are from letters received by the preceding mail, too late for insertion in last month's "Record." They are now printed, as corroborative of the various positions taken by the Committee in their two pamphlets on New-Zealand affairs—

Archdeacon Kissling, Auckland, December 3, 1860, writes—

"It was indeed a strange infatuation in those Waikato warriors—for none of Wiremu Kingi's people joined them—that 200, or at the utmost, 250 of them should have dared to challenge a thousand regular troops and militia in a position altogether unprotected; for the pa of Mahoetahi was merely fenced in by small sticks, and accessible on every side. The wonder is that any of them escaped at all. We cannot otherwise account for the blind temerity of the natives than that past successes have flushed them with an overweening confidence, for which they have severely suffered. The demon of war seizes many of our once so peaceable flock.

"During last week the chiefs of the Upper Waikato were assembled to consult what steps should be taken with reference to the loss they have sustained in the Mahoetahi affray. They are evidently divided in opinion, some holding that it was a visitation from God for their interference in a warfare with which they have properly nothing to do; others maintaining that payment must be sought for their dead, and that it was the duty of every Maori to resent the encroachments of the Pakehas on their rights and possessions. On the part of the natives reconciliation makes very tardy progress, while within a few weeks a new impulse to the so called "vigorous policy" has been given among the settlers, by late despatches, from the Secretary of State to Governor Browne, which have been published in the local newspapers, and also by the arrival of troops direct from England."

Archdeacon Maunsell, Kohanga, November 19, 1860, says—

"We have some very worthy young women in our Institution. Good old Mary, who has been a matron for eleven years, and now nearly

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

blind, is still very useful. Another, a pupil of Mrs. Maunsell's, Mary Newton, is quite a right hand in the school; another of Mrs. Maunsell's scholars, Mary Anne, was married some time back to an European gentleman, who gave our school a donation of 10*l.*, saying at the same time that we had given him a good wife. She has proved to be so too, and has gained the respect and admiration of surrounding settlers' wives. At the native place we have been favoured with some worthy Phœbes and Dorcases. Mrs. Maunsell has regular weekly meetings with them, and has a club formed amongst them for helping the sick and supplying them all with clothes in winter time. She was delighted to learn last week, while in conversation with one of them, that since this war, five or six of them have made it a practice to have prayer meetings amongst themselves weekly.

"In going to town I arranged for a canoe to meet me up the river, but (which is very unusual with me) changed my plans and came home by Patumahoe. By a most singular providence, just as I was sitting down in the way-side house to send a notice to the settlers to muster for the next day (Sunday), Major Speedy, the magistrate, came in to summon the master of the house to go to an inquest on the body of a native who was said to have been murdered by an European,* and asked me also to go. We found the natives in the most intense state of excitement, so much so, that it was quite out of the question to think of any regular judicial process. The Europeans stood round utterly ignorant of their language, while they, in fierce tones, were warning them to leave the neighbourhood and go to Auckland. A ball had entered the palm of his hand, ploughed its way longitudinally up to his wrist; then entered his stomach, and made its appearance below the ribs. Any attempt to explain the casualty was received with shouts of scorn; and earnest demands were made that the settlers should confess the truth. This event seemed particularly unfortunate, as under our present circumstances at Taranaki, we were particularly anxious to avoid complications with the Waikato.

"On the Sunday I had service with both races. For the settlers I felt the deepest sympathy. They are particularly nice people, who have spent their little all on making their homestead comfortable, and had now the prospect of being driven forth they knew not where. On the Wednesday, when all the chiefs had mustered, a very patient well conducted meeting was held, and the result was most satisfactory, as you may see by the accompanying extract from a letter of a gentleman present on that occasion to a friend in Auckland, printed in the *New Zealander*, October 24, 1860—

"'My dear B——, returning from Waiuku, I made a detour to the native settlement, then the scene of so much excitement about the Maori found shot in the bush, and I was fortunate enough to see the latter part of the investigation into the cause of death. The natives had at the first jumped to the conclusion that their compatriot had been shot by a white man, and loudly expressed their determination to take ample revenge for the injury; and the more turbulent of them flocked to the scene of excitement, all armed to the teeth. They danced the war-dance over the dead; but, preparatory to their beginning, warned all the settlers to clear off by Tuesday (16th). The opportune arrival of Archdeacon Maunsell quieted them a little. By assuring them of the most satisfactory investigation, he obtained a respite to the re-

* See "Recent Intelligence," for February.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

moval of the settlers; and the arrival of Messrs. M'Lean and Rogan, and the institution of the inquiry, appeased them a little. Notwithstanding, they were still boisterous, and impatient of the investigation, and exhibited much sulkiness while under examination themselves, but took very good care to cross-question the Europeans under examination, especially those they charged with the crime—Mr. Sherrard and his man, putting every question that was likely to elicit a word corroborative of their own expressed ideas. Throughout these proceedings the forbearance and tact of the Archdeacon and Commissioner were greatly tried: fortunately they were equal to the emergency. Such was the excitement, a single *faux pas* might have led to the most lamentable results. Even after completion of all the evidence on Wednesday, without any rational ground of suspicion being elicited against any one, and the court being cleared of the mob for deliberation of the chiefs, the latter unanimously gave it as their opinion that their compatriot was murdered by a European; and, even then, it was only after the most lucid analysis of all the evidence by the Archdeacon, who addressed them in a long oration, that they confessed the evidence to be against their decision; and, after they were convinced, they manifested much embarrassment about making known their convictions to their vassals, indeed they had barely moral courage to do so. In that instance the waning influence of the chiefs over the common people was very conspicuous.

"'On the clearing of the court the mob—men, women, and children—about 230, had retired to an open shed pending the deliberation of the chiefs. Thither the latter had to repair to announce their conclusions; and they took some time to concert between them how they would make known a decision so opposed to the sentiments of their retainers. One of them, addressing the Commissioner, said, 'Come and witness the storm we will have to brave; they will flourish their tomahawks over our heads.' And sure enough their anticipations were justified; they met the most determined opposition; nothing less than a verdict of guilty against some European would satisfy the mob. They taunted the chiefs with taking the part of the Pakehas against them, and hinted at their determination of taking the question into their own hands. It was only after the exhaustion of their physical energies that any effective remonstrance could be adduced. Then a happy reference was made to the attitude of the Archdeacon, and his opposition to their opinions. They were reminded how, on a late occasion at Waiuku, he had stood up for them against the Pakeha when he believed them right; and they were told he would only oppose them when they were wrong, as in the present case. This appeal silenced their opposition; and then one of the chiefs, taking a kit, symbolical of the dispute, handed it for interment to the Commissioner, reminding him, 'that this was the second time he had buried the quarrel,' referring to a former murder of a native by a European, but significantly remarked, that the next time no such solution of the crime would be admitted. The Commissioner very judiciously refused the symbol, asserting that, in accordance with the investigation, no case against any European had been established; and thus the proceedings terminated. The gratitude of the whole of the settlers, more especially of those near Patumahoe, is due to Archdeacon Maunsell and to Messrs. M'Lean and Rogan for their indefatigable patience and great zeal in conducting to a successful issue the very important investigation assigned to them. The moderation and good sense of the native chiefs, when their judgment was properly directed, are also a subject of congratulation. Had

the subject of investigation been a European, very little doubt would have existed about his death being purely accidental. The total absence of any motive to commit so great a crime was apparent. As the gun is still missing, the natives alleged that it was to obtain possession of it the crime was committed; but doubtless the gun was dropped when the accident occurred, and the man struggled on to where he was found—it may have been a considerable distance—trying to get home; and it is most probable the gun will yet be picked up. The nature of the wound and every thing warrants this view of the case.'

"We thought that all was settled, when suddenly we heard that the Maori King party up the river had taken up the question, no doubt, in a large degree, from their desire to try their strength with the white man, while thus hampered with the Taranaki war."

An account of this movement has already been given, together with the successful interposition of Bishop Selwyn and others, in the "Recent Intelligence" for March. Some remarks from the pen of Archdeacon Maunsell, published in the *Southern Cross* November 2, 1860, are here appended:—

"This business demands very deep attention from our legislators. They will see the high mettle of the people amongst whom we live, and the strong spirit of nationality that is growing amongst them, and will, I hope, be induced to devise measures to avert similar manifestations in future. A race like this can only be governed by imparting to them as large a share as possible both in legislation and in the administration of justice. That Patumahoe investigation saved this part of the country from the flames of war. Let this intelligent and sensitive people see that the colonists do not (like those of St. Domingo formerly) seek to monopolize all legislative and executive functions, that, in a word, we wish to treat them as we wish to be treated ourselves; and I believe that the settlers will be very great gainers by any sacrifice they may make. In this crisis the assessors have rendered an invaluable service. Our deepest source of regret now is that these runangas, and the Maori King movement itself, have been left to drift away as chance may take them. They present an admirable machinery for the governing of the people by their ownselves, and yet have been utterly neglected, if not discouraged, by the Government.

"In conclusion, we see in this case the benefits of patience. A native is to be managed neither by cringing, nor by bullying, nor by pampering, but by courage tempered by patience, and by kindness based on firmness. I am glad to hear that a Council has been established for the management of native affairs."

The Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, Taupiri, December 3, 1860, writes—

"You will remember, in my last, I mentioned that a native had been murdered at Patumahoe (an English settlement sixteen miles from Auckland), and, as Europeans had been out shooting wild cattle the same day the murder was committed, a report was circulated that it had been perpetrated by an European, and that the gun and shirt of the murdered man had been found in the house of an European. This was false. The report, however, excited Middle and Lower Waikato, which resulted in the above-mentioned party starting for Patumahoe, accompanied by 100 natives from Ngatihaua (Matamata), with their chief, one of the principal men of Waikato, Wiremu Tamahana, who, perhaps, has the greatest influence of any in this part of the island. This happening during a time of war, there was much talk of a simul-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

taneous attack upon Auckland by all the neighbouring tribes; but, I am thankful to say, that better councils have prevailed. A good feeling has, I trust, now arisen in Lower and Middle Waikato, and they are determined that they will not go to war at Taranaki and elsewhere. You will most likely have heard from Archdeacon Kissling, that on November 6, 1860, the natives were defeated, and thirty-nine Ngatihaua and Waikato natives lost their lives. Different tribes are now assembling at Tamahere (twenty-one miles from this station), on the Horotia river, to consult upon the advisability of going to Taranaki: the tribes are from Tauranga, Taupo, Mangatautari, Patetere, and Upper Waikato. I have reason to believe that Wiremu Tamahana, the Ngatihaua chief before alluded to, is secretly inclined for peace, but it is not yet known. The 10th of December is the day appointed to discuss the question. Some of the young men are determined to go to fight at Taranaki, and most likely will start this week. Wiremu Tamahana is a sensible intelligent chief, and professes great respect for the Scriptures. He is in a difficult position; the majority of his people are, I think, for war, but he feels that they have no business at Taranaki. The chiefs of my district are for peace, and are trying to induce Tamahana to remain; also the chiefs in Archdeacon Maunsell's district wish for peace. Most of the well-disposed teachers meet at ten o'clock every morning to pray for peace; and I am convinced our gracious Father is answering our prayers, from the different spirit which now prevails. A few weeks ago, 'War, war,' was the cry, but now there is a real anxiety for peace. Humanly speaking, it depends on Ngatihaua and the Governor, who, I believe, is also anxious for this great blessing.

"I should have mentioned that Waitara at Taranaki has been given over by Wiremu Kingi to Wiremu Tamahana, Ngatihaua, and Waikato, in consideration of those who fell in battle.

"Since writing the annexed, four robberies on Europeans have been committed, two at Patumahoe, and two on the Waikato. The chiefs are now determined to put down the wild bad spirits which a time of war in every country always calls into action. Some of the stolen goods have already been restored, and they have promised the Government that their depredations shall cease. No blood has been shed in Waikato. The natives feel they must have law; if not, anarchy will soon prevail.

"I am happy to say, that, amidst all the excitement of the present war, there is much to cheer and encourage us. Never was there a time when the Newhae natives were more attentive. Our churches are much better attended than they were a short time ago; our teachers' meetings and Monday monthly prayer-meetings are also well attended, and a nice Christian spirit prevails. Earnest prayer is made for peace, and the outpouring of the influences of God the Holy Ghost. A few weeks ago, in my journey with the fight, I baptized nine adults, who have been candidates for more than twelve months, and have remained faithful during the great excitement which has prevailed for the last eight months; on the other hand, some of the Ngatihaua, who had fallen at Taranaki, were baptized, some of them monitors. When at Ngaruawahie yesterday fortnight, soon after the news of the defeat at Taranaki, and the loss of their friends had arrived, they were very attentive whilst I spoke to them from 1 Peter iv. 17—"For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God, and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?"

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"I trust that our gracious God is building the walls of a spiritual Jerusalem for Himself, even though it be in troublous times."

The Rev. T. S. Grace, Taupo, October 13, 1860, says—

"*The War.*—I will give you what information I can on this subject, and the state of the Taupo tribes regarding it. You will, no doubt, have seen from the papers, and other sources, how the Governor and his ministers have rushed into this war on the most questionable grounds. That W. Kingi has the jurisdiction of a chief over the land in dispute appears evident, even though he should not claim the actual ownership of any part of it. My own station here is a case in point. In 1853 Te Heuheu gave the land for this station, although he does not own an inch of land in Pukawa. The other parties who signed the document are his friends; neither do they own any land here. The fact is, that Te Heuheu claims a right over the land of Taupo; and there cannot be a doubt but that, in the event of any land in Taupo being sold without his consent, war would be the consequence.

"Had the treaty of Waitangi been fully and faithfully carried out, the war would never have occurred. Instead of which it has been ignored, until now that it is useful to make rebels of the natives. When that treaty was signed it was done on the ground that the chiefs had the power to subject their people to it, even without consulting them. For instance, Te Heuheu and Te Poihipi signed that treaty for the whole of Taupo. With what consistency, then, can we now deny the authority of any real chief? I am quite sure that the natives had no desire for war. W. Kingi seems to have used every means that would appear intelligent to a native to prevent the sale, and, afterwards, the measurement of the land; and if he was in the wrong he was actionable, and not a rebel. The unreasonable haste with which we began the war is greatly against us in the mind of the natives.

"As regards Taupo, I may say the position of the natives is an armed neutrality. So far the Gospel has held them back. They say they will not fight unless they see a just cause. Since the commencement of the war, the Maori King movement has gained ground amongst them. They say that they must do something to save their island. From the eagerness with which we try to purchase land, from the great number of new comers, and from the hasty way in which we began the war, they have a settled conviction that we want the whole island. I trust that wise and humane measures may be adopted at home, and by home authorities be enforced here. We have much anxiety at present in trying to keep our people out of the war. So far we have to thank God, and take courage. Our Sheep Company has done much to preoccupy their minds: they have raised upwards of 500*l.* in the last two years for sheep. We have fifty children in the school, most of whose parents are important people; and as they are frequently here to bring food for their children, we have had valuable opportunities of showing them the blessings of peace.

"I greatly wish the Taupo natives to use their influence as peacemakers, and not to allow themselves to be drawn into the war. They might do much good in this way. The native teachers have so far shown more consistency than I could have expected. We hold a weekly prayer-meeting, to pray God to send a spirit of peace amongst us."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH INDIA.

North-West Provinces.

THE intelligence from the districts visited by the sore judgment of famine is still of a most distressing character. The following extract in reference to the subject is from the *Homeward Mail* for April 13—

"Week after week it has been our painful duty to record the desolating progress of famine in the North-West Provinces of India; and even now we fear that our task is as yet far from being accomplished. The gloomiest forebodings uttered by the least sanguine of the Indian journals seem to have fallen short of the actual truth. All classes of the three Presidencies have contributed their money with an unsparing hand; every possible means have been tried that money or energy could compass; and yet the awful visitation continues unarrested: boys drop down before dâk bungalows; and regiments on the downward march from Cawnpore count the famine-stricken dead by thousands. In Delhi alone, upwards of 12,000 people assemble daily to clamour for assistance. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab recently visited the three asylums for relief in that city, in order to inspect in person the extent of the calamity; and there he was compelled to witness long gaunt lines of famishing half-naked creatures inside the walls of those buildings, while at the same time he could hear the stifled murmurs of starving thousands outside, to whom only, on that particular occasion of Sir R. Montgomery's visit, it was possible to extend any relief whatever. Judging from the extreme misery of those whom our aid reaches, the forlorn wretchedness and suffering of the people who drag out existence in the country roads and fields —unable to crawl to the sources of relief, and uncared for by all around them—can hardly be conceived. The dreadful scourge has at length made an impression on the rich natives, who are beginning to see the necessity of doing something for the relief of their fellow-countrymen; and we are glad to learn that contributions from this source are becoming liberal and very numerous. The greatest possible expectations were felt that the appeal made to the people of England would be promptly responded to. We are happy to state that these expectations will be more than realized, as nearly 50,000*l.* have already been subscribed in this country. Yet even in the face of these facts, we cannot hesitate to endorse the statement of the 'Friend of India,' that there is every reason for those who have already done much to reiterate their exertions; and that if the Indian Government would fairly hope to stem the tide of wretchedness in the North-West, or prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation in future, it must do far more, both in a pecuniary and an administrative point of view, than it has hitherto ever attempted."

SOUTH INDIA.

Death of the Bishop of Madras.

It has pleased God to remove from the scene of his earthly labours the beloved and excellent Bishop of Madras. On receiving this afflictive intelligence, the following Resolution was passed by the Committee—

"The Committee have heard with deep regret the tidings of the death of the Bishop of Madras, V.P., in whom they have lost a constant and cordial friend—first when Archdeacon of Calcutta, and afterwards as the steady patron of their Missions in South India, whether as Chairman of their Madras Corresponding Committee, or as the fatherly adviser of his clerical

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

brethren, and generous contributor to all objects connected with the rising native churches. Bishop Dealtry's periodical visitations to the various districts of his diocese exhibited his minute acquaintance with every detail affecting the progress of the kingdom of Christ there, and proved seasons of refreshing both to old and young. More than twenty native catechists received ordination, and many thousand native catechumens confirmation, at his Lordship's hands. His catholicity of spirit also was remarkably evinced by his ready co-operation with Missionaries of other denominations, whom he always welcomed to his house and friendship. The Committee learn with praise to the Giver of all grace, that Bishop Dealtry died, in 'full assurance of interest in his Master's finished work,' and trust that it may please God to raise up a successor of like spirit and principles with those of him whose loss they mourn."

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

We are requested to state, that owing to packages sent out from this country having been detained at York Factory, the Missionaries to whom they were addressed have been unable to acknowledge them to the kind friends by whom they were prepared. *Letters*, it is added, should *never be enclosed in the packages*, but forwarded separately by post, or through the Church Missionary House. If enclosed in the parcels, the Missionaries have no means of ascertaining what articles are sent, or by whom, till they arrive; and, in the case of accidental delay, the inconvenience is felt still more severely.

Mr. Hunt says (Jan. 1, 1861)—"Many Christian friends have often requested we would from time to time mention what articles are most wanted here. Just now we have a comparatively good supply of some articles of ready-made *female utility*, and having the hope of propagating the Gospel in the syllabic characters, partly by the help of Indian men, we could wish to be able to pay the men, and our trippers, partly in articles of warm, durable under-clothing—shirts, flannel, stockings, comforters, cuffs; and for the women, shawls, petticoats, stockings, stout prints, handkerchiefs, haberdashery, are most wanted."

DISMISSAL AND DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

Ceylon—On Feb. 11th the Committee took leave of the Rev. G. Parsons, returning to Ceylon. He was addressed by the Rev. H. Venn and the Rev. J. Fenn, and commended in prayer by the Rev. J. Ridgeway. He embarked, with Mrs. Parsons, at Southampton, by the steamer of Feb. 20th, for Galle.

The instructions of the Committee were delivered on Feb. 26th to the Rev. J. H. Clowes, proceeding to Ceylon, circumstances having made a change desirable in his original appointment to East Africa. Mr. and Mrs. Clowes embarked at Southampton for Galle by the steamer of March 20th.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. G. R. Caiger and Mr. L. Nicholson left Sierra Leone on Feb. 21st, and arrived in London on March 15th.

Yoruba—The Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend and Mr. G. Smith left Lagos on March 10th, and arrived in London on April 9th.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

SIXTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 29th of April, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, Vice-President of the Society, from 2 Corinthians, v. 14, 15. Collection, 111*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*

The Annual Meeting was held next day, Tuesday, April 30th, at Exeter Hall, the Chair being taken at ten o'clock, A.M., by the Right Hon. the President. Prayer having been offered and Scripture read, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. The Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, and the following Resolutions were adopted—

Movers and Seconders.

The Lord Bishop of London, V.P., and the Right Hon. Joseph Napier, V.P.—The Rev. D. T. Bernard, M.A., and Major Lake, of the Bengal Army—The Lord Bishop of Victoria, V.P., and the Rev. John Mee, M.A., Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society—The Lord Bishop of Carlisle, V.P., and the Rev. William Cadman, M.A., Rector of Trinity Church, Marylebone.

Resolutions.

—That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received, and printed under the direction of the Committee; that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Bishop of Ripon, for his sermon before the Society last evening; to his Grace the Vice-Patron; to the Right Hon. the President and the Vice-Presidents; and to all those friends who, during the past year, have exerted themselves in its behalf; and that the following gentlemen be appointed the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to fill up vacancies—

Major-Gen. R. Alexander.	Sydney Gedge, Esq.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq. Q.C.
George Arbuthnot, Esq.	John Goldingham, Esq.	T. E. Parratt, Esq.
John Ballance, Esq.	John Griffith, Esq.	Robert Prance, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. Caldwell.	Russell Gurney, Esq. Q.C.	Colonel Smith.
Major-Gen. Clarke.	Lieut.-Col. Hughes.	John Sperling, Esq.
William Dugmore, Esq. Q.C.	Arthur Lang, Esq.	James Morgan Strachan, Esq.
William Henry Elliott, Esq.	William Lavie, Esq.	John Fryer Thomas, Esq.
James Farish, Esq.	Colonel Tudor Lavie.	Henry Carre Tucker, Esq. C.B.

—That the present aspect of the Missionary field, especially in respect of the increase and success of native agency, invites the Church at home to united prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to an enlarged scale of liberality, and to the more abundant sending forth of Evangelists to aid and strengthen the formation of native churches as living witnesses in all lands.

—That this Meeting recognises, in the results of the late expedition to Pekin, and the terms of the Elgin treaty, as well as the progress of the Taeping movement, a special claim of the vast empire of China upon Protestant Missionary Societies for large and prompt measures towards sending to her the Gospel of the Prince of Peace.

—That the present peaceful state of Great Britain, contrasted with the distractions of other nations, as well as her great moral influence and political power, and, above all, her spiritual blessings at the present day, summon her to the fore-front of the struggle for the maintenance and universal diffusion of the truth of the Gospel.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

FINANCES OF THE YEAR.

The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows—

General Fund—Total Ordinary Income, including £1779. 7*s.* 11*d.* received on account of "Disabled Missionary Fund" . .	£124,800 0 4
Special India Fund, for year ending March 31, 1861 . .	4,382 5 0
Total received at home	£129,182 5 4
Expenditure	£130,900 13 3
Ditto India Fund	14,922 3 5
	£145,822 16 8

The expenditure of the year has exceeded that of last year by 8240*l.* A large portion of this excess has been occasioned by the extension of the Indian Missions. But when the due proportion of disbursements in India is placed to the account of the Special India Fund, according to the original intention of that fund (See Annual Report, 1858, p. 212), the balance upon the operations of the year stands thus—

Income of the year	£124,800 0 4
Expenditure of the year	130,900 13 3
Excess of expenditure	£6,100 12 11

The Committee would deeply deplore their financial difficulties if they could believe that they would prove any check to the Missions of the Society at the present crisis; but they trust that the review of the Missions, on which they are about to enter, will exhibit so powerful an appeal for increased support, as will not only relieve their anxieties, but set the Lord's work at liberty for a corresponding extension of the Missions.

Besides the income received by the Parent Committee, there is a further sum which has been raised and expended in India, and in other Mission fields, amounting to upwards of 20,000*l.*, making a total from all sources of 149,182*l.*

CONCLUSION OF REPORT.

The Committee select one feature in their review of the proceedings of the past year, full of encouragement and instruction, for their concluding remarks—a feature not unrecognised in former Annual Reports, but remarkably developed, during the last few years, throughout the whole Mission field. This feature is, *the spontaneous action of natives both in seeking and spreading the truth.* Sometimes the reading of God's blessed word by an intelligent heathen or Mohammedan, as in the case of the Agra and Benares converts and the Sikh soldier, so quickens his soul that he seeks out the distant Missionary to be instructed more perfectly in the way of truth. Sometimes, as in South India, the personal labours of the Missionary are multiplied through the voluntary evangelistic efforts of the more zealous converts. Sometimes, as in Aurungabad in Western India, and in the neighbourhood of Meerut in Northern India, and at Bezwara in Southern India, and among the Coolies in Ceylon, the progress of the truth is apparently independent of the foreign Missionary, and resembles the *spontaneous growth* in the vegetable world, when the question arises, Who sowed seed in this spot?

This is the same feature which has been exhibited in magnificent propor-

tions among the native converts of Madagascar and among the Karens of Burmah.

This feature has become so marked and important at the present day as to excite in the minds of your Committee the inquiry whether we are not entering upon a new era of Missions; whether we may not apply the Divine illustration—"When the fig-tree putteth forth her leaves, ye know that the summer is at hand."

This feature in Missions among the heathen becomes more significant when viewed in connexion with the Revival movement in many parts of Christendom, and now extended to North Tinnevelly and Jamaica. Amongst many open questions connected with the subject of revivals, all must allow that it has at least taught the Christian Church the force of a spontaneous movement amongst a Christian people. It has shown that the bringing in of sinners to the fold of Christ, when once taken up in earnest by the people themselves, places the minister in a new position. The work enlarges far beyond the sphere of his individual influence. He has no longer to go out and tell them that were bidden that all things are ready, or to go into the highways and hedges to compel them to come in, but guests press around him for seats at the marriage-supper.

These two remarkable features, concurrent at the present day at home and abroad, bear, as your Committee believe, the stamp of a Divine dispensation, of the firstfruits of a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Your Committee therefore venture, when resigning their functions, to encourage their successors about to be appointed to a humble but hopeful waiting upon the Lord for the lighting down of his arm; and to be ready to follow up the work of his Holy Spirit, awakening the consciences of men, by sending forth a prompt and needful supply of suitable European agency—to guide, counsel, and encourage, but not to supersede, the spontaneous action of native inquirers and converts.

Here the Committee ground their appeal to the Christian public for continued and for greatly-increased liberality, that there may be no lack of resources for entering in at each providential opening, as the Lord gradually unfolds before us his grand design for establishing the kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

Here, also, the Committee ground their appeal to Christian young men and to the younger clergy. This spontaneous action, to which they have referred, must become one day the independent action of a National Church. It needs, therefore, and will need for many years, to be leavened with wisdom and experience supplied from elder churches. Let the mother church impart to her daughters all the benefits which she derives from education, from exegetical skill, from her literature of practical Christianity, and from her various institutions for order and for edification: all these appliances will be needed to build up a native church upon solid foundations, and to enable it to attain to that vigorous manhood when it may take its position as an independent church, and act the part admirably expresed by the framers of our own national Liturgy in these memorable words—"We think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition." This adaptation of Christian institutions by a native church to its national wants is the full development and crowning act of the principle of sponta-

neous action, which is the element of hope in the commencement of Missionary operations.

This is the enterprise which the Committee propose to Missionary candidates, thus to aid the infant churches of Africa and the East in their struggles towards maturity; an enterprise inviting the consecration of the best talents, and the most fervent zeal, of all who seek the glory of Christ in the full establishment of his universal dominion.

The Bishop of Victoria pronounced the Benediction. Collection 158*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

A second Meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the same day, at seven o'clock P. M., the Marquis of Cholmondeley, V.P., in the Chair, when addresses were delivered as follows—Colonel Dawes, Secretary of the Parent Society, on "The Punjab and North-west Provinces;" the Rev. J. Ridgeway, Editorial Secretary, on "China;" Captain Arthur Mildmay, Bombay Army, on "The Claims of Missions;" the Rev. Lal Behari Singh, on "Mohammedanism in India;" P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q.C., on "The Gospel the Regenerator of Society at home and abroad." Collection, 24*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

NEW ZEALAND.

We regret to say that the recent intelligence from New Zealand is not such as to hold out any well-grounded expectations of an early peace. On the 5th of February a deputation of chiefs from the Waikato, Thames, Otaki, and Auckland districts, had an interview with the Governor, for the purpose of submitting proposals by which the war might be immediately brought to an end. The basis on which their mediation was offered was as follows—

1. That the piece of land at Waitara should be left aside (or set apart), to be afterwards arranged or settled by a court, or *whakawakanga*.

2. That the "causes of evil," whether as regards men, the land, property, or murder, should be now "unloosened," or forgiven.

In the opinion of those whose experience renders them competent judges of the case, the successes of the British troops have placed the Government in a position in which they might, with the happiest results, have accepted these terms—terms very similar to those on which, under like circumstances, previous wars have been brought to a close. But the Government have refused to listen to any proposals which would place the insurgents in the position in which they stood previously to the commencement of hostilities, and they seem bent on exacting entire submission and full retribution for all the injuries inflicted by the natives; a determination which can only have the effect of prolonging the contest indefinitely, at the imminent risk of its speedily assuming the character, long since anticipated, of a war of races. Our Missionaries reiterate their often-repeated request, that the friends of Christianity and peace will redouble their importunity at the throne of grace, if peradventure the Lord will yet suffer Himself to be entreated, and avert the evils which seem to be hanging over the heads of their distracted churches.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Mediterranean.—Mr. J. and Mrs. Huber arrived in London, from Palestine, on April 3rd.—The Rev. Dr. Pfander arrived in London, from Constantinople, on May 20th.

North India.—The Rev. H. W. Shackell left Agra on February 27th, and arrived in London on April 23d.

DEPARTURE OF A MISSIONARY.

China.—The Rev. A. E. Moule embarked at Gravesend in the "Solent" on April 22d, for Ningpo.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

MEDITERRANEAN MISSION—GREECE.

THE Rev. J. T. Wolters lately had occasion to revisit Syra, at which place he was once stationed. He was encouraged by the change which had taken place in Greece during the period since his removal to Smyrna. In his Journal, under date Jan. 5—17, 1861, he remarks as follows—

"There is a visible change for the better in Greece, at least as it regards education and civilization. I was struck by the change at Syra, and agreeably surprised. But, alas! the *religious* aspect of the country is still a dark one. The Greek church is dead in superstition and ignorance, while, it is to be feared, a great number of the more educated of her members have imbibed principles of infidelity. The priests being mostly uneducated men, are entirely unfit for the office they bear, and therefore unable to meet the spiritual wants of the people with that which alone can supply them, namely, the Gospel in its simplicity and purity. There is one hopeful and encouraging circumstance, however, which is, the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures. 'The word of God is not bound' in Greece. It has free access also to the schools. In Mr. Hildner's schools it is freely taught. This is a great point. The word of God is a living seed, and has the promise that it shall not return void. I fully believe that the long and faithful labours of our dear brother Hildner and other Protestant and faithful Missionaries in this country, have not been and will not be in vain. The great day of harvest will make it manifest.

"What I have observed during my long residence in Turkey is also observable in Greece, namely, a general dissatisfaction—I mean in a religious point of view, with the state of things as it is. If it should please God to raise up men in the Greek church possessed with the spirit of the Gospel, thousands would welcome the message of a free salvation. Will not the Lord raise up such men in his own time? Let us pray for it.

"One of the Professors of Theology in the University of Athens, publishes (the work is of some years standing) a monthly periodical, called 'The Evangelical Preacher,' (ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς Κήρυξ), with the motto, 'Preach the word' (2 Tim. iv. 2). It is chiefly intended for the clergy, but, I believe, read more by the laity, the former being mostly too ignorant to understand, and too indifferent to take the trouble to read it. If this work did indeed 'preach the word' in its simplicity and purity, it would no doubt, under God's blessing, do much good. But, as one may expect (though containing much that is good and useful), it defends the rites and doctrines of the Greek church, whose orthodoxy, according to the Greek mind, is never to be questioned.

"There is another publication at Athens, edited by a well-educated and enlightened Greek. The editor received his education in America, and appears to be a man of knowledge and talent. His paper is called 'The Star of the East' (ὁ ἀστὴρ τῆς ἀνατολῆς), and every number contains at least one article on religious and moral subjects. These articles give no uncertain sound. The fanatical party among the Greeks are of course opposed to this paper, and so are the hierarchy, which he does not spare. But in spite of this opposition, the truth comes out boldly."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

The Famine and the Secundra Orphanage.

The following interesting letter from the Rev. C. T. Hœrnle (May 4, 1861) exhibits strikingly both the distress prevailing in the famine-stricken districts of India, and the effect produced and likely to be produced by the earnest efforts of British Christianity to haste to the rescue of those who, under less energetic auspices, might have perished unpitied and unrelieved.

"At Agra we thought of making only a short stay, but the Lord, having some peculiar work for us in store there, had otherwise arranged. And how marvellous are His ways! After passing Kánpúr (Cawnpore) the first indications of the famine in the North-west Provinces came to sight in the long strings of camels and rows of bullock-carts carrying grain to the relief of the sufferers in those regions. At Cawnpore especially, the sight of the Ganges canal and the splendid works on its banks, suggested grave reflections on the one hand, but very happy thoughts on the other. All these things—the canal with its cheerful streams of 'living' water so invaluable for irrigation; the mills and shops on its banks, the beautiful bridges over it, &c.—were made for the benefit of the natives by the skill and exertions of European Christians, of whom so many were slaughtered in cold blood in this very city, and that not far away from these most useful and splendid canal works. This was in the fearful mutiny of 1857. Now you saw at this time of famine and distress a long succession of fine canal boats all laden with grain, provided from the lower more blessed provinces, and sent up by the canal into the famine districts, not for filthy lucre, but by the charity and Christian sympathy of the countrymen, and perhaps even friends and relatives, of those who had been so treacherously murdered here and elsewhere. Certainly, if these things do not make an impression on the reflective mind of the natives, what else will? And I am happy to add that several instances have come to my knowledge, testifying to the fact that many of them, seeing this spirit of Christian charity and forgiveness being at work on their behalf, are led to earnest reflection, and to the ready acknowledgment that the truth is on our side.

"As we proceeded, the marks of the famine and its ravages became more and more evident. All fields that cannot be irrigated by well or canal water (and often even these) were dry and barren from want of rain. Consequently the price of every description of food was so high, as to render it impossible for the poorer classes of the people to procure it. Thus many of them were starving and in a most wretched condition. And if the distress had not become so general as in 1837, it was owing only to the timely provision made by the Government, and the exertions of the Relief Societies formed throughout the suffering districts. On our arrival at Agra we heard of numbers of destitute children who had either lost their parents and friends, or were forsaken by them in the keenness of starvation and distress. Some of these children were at Agra, others in the district towns. The question arose what to do with them. They could not be left to starvation and death. It was necessary to provide for their support and education in some way or other. The Romish priests at Agra had already taken hold of a considerable number, and Protestant charity could not and dared not remain behind. It was evident something must be done, and that without delay, if we are not to neglect our Christian duties with regard to these little ones whom Christ was ready to bless, although they were as yet heathen. But the difficulty

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

was, where to locate them. In this emergency all eyes were turned towards Secundra as the best place for a home for them. On a consultation with the Rev. J. Barton, and the members of the Central Relief Committee at Agra, who promised liberal assistance, it was resolved, in the name of the Lord who had prepared the way, to re-establish the Orphan Institution at Secundra, and at the same time to raise once more the standard of Christ at a place where his vineyard had been trodden under foot by his enemies, led on by the arch enemy of God and man. I cannot now enter into particulars, but only add, that as soon as this resolution was come to, we found ourselves, as it were, in the right track, the Lord leading us on step by step, removing difficulties out of the way, providing means, and opening hearts; and we now began to understand the Scripture text appointed for the day of our arrival at Agra, Haggai ii. 9—'The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.'

"Thus, on the 9th March, in the sure hope of our blessed Saviour's good will and pleasure, Mrs. Hœrnle and myself, accompanied by a few native Christians and workmen, set out for Secundra, to put our shoulders to the wheel, and to begin the arduous but interesting work of rebuilding and re-opening a Mission on which the blow of the mutiny had so heavily fallen. I would, however, never believe that, whilst the crescent of Mohammed on the opposite mausoleum of Akbar Shah was apparently triumphant, and the mauders (temples) of Mahadev, Rám, and Krishna, in the vicinity, remained untouched, Secundra, with its temple of the true and living God and his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, should have fallen in their midst, never to rise again; but rather that the words of our Lord should be fulfilled—'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' It was with mingled feelings of joy and grief, that, surrounded by heaps of ruins, we took up our residence in a few rooms of the old orphan house, still under roof, but without either windows or doors. They were not comfortable, but we never enjoyed the peace and presence of God more than here. It was a kind of silent triumph over Satan. After fervent prayer for a blessing on, and solemn re-dedication of, the place to the Lord and his protection, it was as if the life-giving spirit descended on this scene of death and destruction. The workmen began their work of restoration, and you heard once more the happy sounds of life and activity, where for more than three years death-like silence had reigned, and where the owls and bats had taken up their abode in vast numbers. The Christians who were with us, witnessing these unexpected doings of the Lord, shed tears of joy and thanksgiving, and many heathen of the neighbourhood expressed their deep interest in what was going on, and acknowledged the hand of our God. Gradually masses of ruin and rubbish disappeared, a nice spacious yard opened, one room after another became inhabitable, and, within a few weeks, as many were ready as were required for the reception of the orphans."

The current expenses of the Orphanage will not be thrown upon the funds of the Society; there being sufficient means available from the compensation money received for the destruction of the Secundra property during the mutiny, assisted from the Relief Fund, to maintain the establishment in efficiency.

NEW ZEALAND.

Since our last Number events of a most important, and, we trust, of an equally satisfactory character, have transpired. The Home Government, in

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

anticipation of the period at which the tenure of the office of Governor Browne would shortly have expired, have determined to replace him by Sir George Grey, the former popular and successful administrator of New Zealand. His name is a host of strength, and will, under God, restore the waning confidence of the native in the British Government. The measure is precisely that which the whole Missionary body have urged from the commencement of the present troubles.

Meanwhile peace has been restored in New Zealand itself, the terms offered by the Governor having been accepted, not indeed universally, but, as it would seem, by the great majority of those who were in arms against the Government; the whole of whom have now dispersed to their several homes. Wiremu Kingi himself, however, has not acceded to the terms proposed; and has retired northward with the Waikato. The terms were, in substance, that the investigation of the title and the survey of the land at Waitara are to be continued without interruption, the rights of those who may prove their title to any part of it to be respected; and the decision of the Governor or of the persons appointed by him to investigate, to be final: guns and plunder to be restored; those in arms to submit to the authority of the law; and the land held by the troops belonging to those who have borne arms against the Queen, to be disposed of at the Governor's discretion; who, however, undertakes to divide it among its former owners, reserving only the sites of blockhouses and redoubts, and the right of making roads through the Waitara district.

Full particulars respecting the negociations which led to the peace have not yet been received. It is, however, a matter of devout thankfulness, and can only be accepted as an answer to many earnest prayers, that the way has been so smoothed on every side.

It is gratifying to receive the testimony of the Missionaries to the humanity shown to the natives by our own officers and men during the war. Mr. Wilson says—"Their treatment of the wounded prisoners was worthy of the country they served, and will live in the memory of the natives when the former asperity of the war is forgotten. The New Zealander, relentless as he sometimes proves himself in war, can nevertheless appreciate humane and disinterested kindness; and I feel persuaded that the best effect will result from the treatment they have met with during the war."

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

A dismissal of Missionaries took place at Islington, on Friday, June 21st. We must postpone particulars till our next.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

Palestine—The Rev. W. and Mrs. Kruse left Jaffa April 27th, 1861, and arrived in London on the 24th of May.

North India—The Rev. W. Wright left Calcutta on February 16th, and arrived in London on the 27th of May. The Rev. F. and Mrs. Schurr, and the Rev. A. and Mrs. Medland, left Calcutta on February 16th, and arrived in London on June 17th.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Thomas left Tinnevelly in February last, and arrived in London on June 15th. The Rev. A. B. and Mrs. Valpy left at the same time, and arrived in London on June 17th.

Mr. P. Goodall left Kurrachee on December 23rd last, on account of ill health. He embarked at Bombay for home on January 24th, and died at sea on April 27th.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA.—FAMINE IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

THE Rev. F. E. Schneider, of Agra, in acknowledging the receipt of the sums transmitted through the Secretaries of the Society (May 20) says—

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, dated April 10 and 18, with the subscription lists and drafts.

"The harvest has now been gathered in. Upon the whole it has been a middling one: it has, however, relieved the distress a good deal.

"If it please God to give us a good rainy season, the distress in the famine-stricken districts will gradually disappear. In the city you meet still many persons in an emaciated and starving condition, and many die before relief is afforded; and many, after relief has been given, pine away from the evil effects of former want and unsuitable food.

"We are greatly indebted to those dear friends who have so liberally subscribed for the relief of persons suffering from the famine, and who have honoured us by becoming their almoners in the distribution of their charities."

In a letter of a later date (June 5) he says—

"I have just time enough to acknowledge, by this mail, with great pleasure, the receipt of your letter dated 3rd of May, with the enclosed draft for 900*l.*, as another remittance of the Church Missionary Society's Famine-Relief Fund. Allow me to express our sincerest thanks to those dear friends who have contributed so liberally to the Famine-Relief Fund, and have thus enabled us, by their sympathizing Christian charities, to do much good among the numberless suffering classes. We have commenced our operations among them, and it affords us the greatest delight to be the instruments to convey your gifts to those who require help and assistance. May it please God to bless the donors with spiritual blessings for their temporal gifts.

"We have now above two hundred orphans, boys and girls, and many more may be expected. I hope we shall require no direct help from Government, as there will be ample means for the support of the orphans, when the compensation money affair and the Secundra Orphan Press account will be settled."

Extract of letter from Rev. C. T. Hœrnle, Meerut, June 4, 1861—

"To give you an idea of the wretched condition of some of the natives, permit me to refer to a case which came to my notice last Sunday. Among the number of candidates for baptism there is a poor widow, with five children, from one year up to fourteen years of age, but with absolutely nothing to support them but what she can earn by going out now and then in search of work, leaving her children behind. The little one I saw the other day, crawling

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

and crying along the compound; and when I asked for the eldest boy, why he was not in school, I found he had been sent by his mother to collect the bark of a certain tree, which, in want of proper nourishment, they are in the habit of grinding and eating. To alleviate such cases of distress is a mere duty of Christian charity, and I am so glad of the special relief money which has been lately sent by the Committee, and of which I have received a share, for which I take this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to those Christian friends who have contributed the money. May the Lord bless them abundantly with heavenly gifts!"

As it is probable that the crops of North India will by this time have been wholly gathered in, there is no necessity at present of appealing to our friends for further contributions in aid of the sufferers.

DEPARTURE OF MISSIONARIES.

North India—The Rev. T. Storrs embarked at Gravesend in the "Renown," on July 11th, for Calcutta.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Whitchurch embarked at Gravesend in the "Clarence," on July 2d, for Madras.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

West Africa—The Rev. M. S. Jackson left Sierra Leone on June 21st, and arrived in London on July 11th.

North India—The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert arrived in London on 3d of July, having, since leaving Calcutta, visited several Missionary stations in South India and Ceylon.

South India—Mr. and Mrs. Scamell left Madras on the 9th of March, and arrived in London on the 25th of June.

Ceylon—The Rev. I. Wood arrived in London from Ceylon on the 5th of July.

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

On June 21st, the Instructions of the Committee were delivered to the following Missionaries about to proceed to their Missions—

North India—The Rev. Townsend Storrs, B.A., and Rev. W. Hooper, M.A., and Miss Jane Hooper.

South India—The Rev. J. and Mrs. Whitchurch, returning to Tinnevelly, and the Rev. John Sharp, B.A.

Ceylon—The Rev. W. E. Rowlands, B.A.

China—The Rev. Thomas Stringer, M.A., and Rev. J. Wolfe.

The Instructions were delivered by the Rev. J. Chapman, and, having been replied to, the Missionaries were addressed by the Bishop of Victoria, the Bishop Designate of Madras, and the Bishop of Carlisle, and afterwards commended to God's protection in prayer by the Rev. J. Fenn.*

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* The Instructions delivered on the occasion are printed in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for the present month.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

WEST AFRICA.

Treaty with the King of Porto-Novo.

(From the *Iwe Irohin*, July 5, 1861.)

THE Acting-Consul, J. M'Coskry, Esq., started from Lagos for Porto-Novo at noon on the 12th of June, in order to conclude a treaty with the people of Porto-Novo. The Acting-Consul was also accompanied by the Rev. J. A. Maser, the Church Missionary at Lagos. They stayed the night off Beahe; and the next day, at three P.M., were opposite Badagry, where Mr. Buko, the schoolmaster, was asked to go on in the steamer, as he understands the Popo language, which is spoken at Porto-Novo. At three P.M. the Porto-Novian barrier was reached. It was made about six miles below Porto-Novo for the protection of the river. Sticks, or trees, are fastened into the river bank, of some sixteen feet long; but the present appearance is rather that of a large mass of grass, composed of floating islands, which are periodically detached from the extensive swamps above Porto-Novo, and which form a large green band across the river, extending for about a mile towards the town.

Some sticks had to be pulled out in order to make a passage for the steamer: it was also necessary to haul down part of the grass into the river. This took them the whole of Friday afternoon; and they had to anchor below the barrier for the night. As this large mass of grass has come down from Porto-Novo in less than two months, it is probable it will cover the whole of the river in less than a-year. The water is not stopped, but it flows through and below the grass. On the morning of Friday, the "Brune," entering the channel made on Thursday evening, pressed full speed against the mass, which gave way, and the steamer soon came through it, though, when the ship returned, no passage remained, as the grass floated back again. On Friday, at two P.M., they arrived at Porto-Novo. The town is situated on the continental side of the lagoon. It is covered by many high trees, and the houses peep through the bush in detached groups. Before the town, towards the lagoon, is a broad swamp, covered with high grass, as it is seen at Badagry. There are a few scorched trees, and some houses without roofs, to be seen from the ship, but nothing more to indicate the great destruction which took place two months ago.

After a private interview with the Consul was over, Mr. Maser saw the King, who promised that if all was settled, he also should be included; and Mr. Maser was then told that the King hesitated to sign the treaty, as the article providing free-trade between the British nation and all the subjects of the King of Porto-Novo appeared to him disadvantageous, as the people of the town of Porto-Novo get their living by being allowed to trade alone with the white man: palm-oil producers must sell their oil to them, and they to the merchants. On the Sunday the chiefs and elders were asked by the King on the subject. There was service on board the "Brune" in the morning; and in the evening there was a family service at Mr. Bickersteth's, as the

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

people had run away on account of the steamer, and the reluctance of the King to sign the treaty. On Monday morning the Consul went again to the King to hear his final answer; and to our great joy the King was ready to sign the treaty. After he had taken the pen into his hand, he asked the chiefs, who were sitting on the ground in the open air before his hut, three times, whether he should sign the treaty, and they all answered in the affirmative. He made his mark to the name Soji. Seven guns, fired from the "Brune," announced to the people of Porto-Novo that the treaty had been signed. The King gave the merchants and Missionaries, who had come from Lagos, permission to choose ground wherever they liked. Accordingly a piece of ground was selected for the Church Missionary Society, which Mr. Bunko was to show to the king's men to clear and fence it with sticks. The marks of bombardment were more evident when we got on shore. The king's palace had suffered most: several walls were blown down. The king had lost all his property. When the Consul was with him in the small village called Danills, to which he had gone, he delivered several gold and silver staff-heads to the Consul, that he might send them to England to have new staves put into them, because the old ones were burnt. The whole country round the town is under careful cultivation: every spot seems to be occupied: the whole place looks like a garden.

There are a good many Yorubas there as well as the Popos. The Porto-Novans dwell in Porto-Novo itself and about twenty villages. They returned to Badagry on Monday to conclude the same mercantile treaty there as had been concluded at Porto Novo.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE intelligence brought by the last mail is still of the same indecisive character as that conveyed by the preceding. A portion only of the natives who were in arms have accepted the terms of the Government. Meanwhile the winter season has compelled a suspension of hostilities, and it is very uncertain what turn affairs may take on the advent of spring. Great discontent is known to prevail, and great apprehensions are entertained of the outbreak of a war of races. But peace is far from hopeless; and when it becomes known among the natives that Sir George Grey has been appointed to resume the government of the islands, confidence may be restored.

The following important Proclamation has been issued—

"*Proclamation by Thomas Gore Browne, Governor, to the Chiefs and People of Ngaruawahia.*

"In order to avoid misapprehension, the Governor directs the attention of the chiefs and people, assembled in Ngaruawahia, to the present condition of affairs in New Zealand, and states distinctly the course necessary to be taken to avert the calamities that threaten the country. In the year 1858 a portion of the Maori people, resident at Waikato, pretended to set up a Maori king, and Potatau was chosen for that office. He was installed at Rangiawhia in the month of June in that year. On Potatau's death in 1860, Matutaera, his son was nominated his successor. Diversity of opinion existed from the commencement as to what would result from this movement. Some were led to believe that its supporters desired only the establishment of order, and a governing authority amongst themselves; while others viewed with apprehension a confederacy which they deemed fraught with danger to the peace

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

of the colony. The Governor at first inclined towards the more favourable view of the movement, but soon felt misgivings, which have been justified by the event. The Governor, however, has not interfered to put down the Maori king by force. He has been unwilling to relinquish the hope that the Maoris themselves, seeing the danger of the course they were pursuing, and that the institution of an independent authority must prove inefficient for all purposes of good, would, of their own accord, abandon their attempts. The Governor can now only look with sorrow and displeasure on what has been done in the name, and by the adherents, of the native king—

"1. An authority has been set up inconsistent with allegiance to the Queen, and in violation of the treaty of Waitangi.

"2. A large number of the adherents of the native king have interfered between the Governor and other native tribes in matters with which they had no concern; have levied war against the Queen, fought against her troops, and burned and destroyed the property of her peaceful subjects.

"3. Other adherents of the king have assisted, encouraged, and harboured the men who have committed these outrages.

"4. A war party of several hundred men some time since assembled and advanced to within forty miles of Auckland, for the purpose of interfering with the due course of the administration of justice.

"5. Her Majesty's mail has been stopped; jurisdiction has been usurped over Her Majesty's European subjects; and other offences have been committed, to the subversion of Her Majesty's sovereignty and of the authority of law.

"At this very time the adherents of the native king are using the most strenuous efforts to possess themselves of arms and ammunition for the purpose of effecting their objects by intimidation and violence. The Governor cannot permit the present state of things to continue. No option now rests with him: he has been commanded by Her Majesty the Queen to suppress unlawful combinations, and to establish beyond a question Her Majesty's sovereignty in New Zealand. Submission to Her Majesty's sovereignty requires—

"1. That every man yield implicit obedience to what the law (which is the same for all) prescribes for the public welfare. But while the law exacts what is essential for this object, it confers great benefits, and guarantees freedom and security to the weak as well as to the strong.

"2. That rights be sought and protected through the law, and not by a man's own will and strength. No man in the Queen's dominions is permitted to enforce rights or redress wrongs by force: he must appeal to the law.

"3. That men do not enter into combinations for the purpose of preventing other men from acting, or from dealing with their own property, as they think fit. This is against the law.

"4. That every man, European or native, under the Queen's sovereignty, submit to have roads and bridges made on his land, wherever the public convenience requires them; but land can only be taken for these purposes under lawful authority, and on payment of a reasonable compensation.

"On the other hand, Her Majesty's sovereignty secures 'to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates,

forests, fisheries, and other properties, which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession.' This is the Maoris' safeguard for their lands, and it has never been violated. The Governor has been falsely accused of desiring to introduce a new system in dealing with native lands. This he has never attempted, nor has he the power to do so. The Queen's promise in the treaty of Waitangi cannot be set aside by the Governor. By that treaty the Queen's name has become a protecting shade for the Maoris' land, and will remain such so long as the Maoris yield allegiance to Her Majesty, and live under her sovereignty, but no longer. Whenever the Maoris forfeit this protection by setting aside the Queen and the law, the land will remain their own so long as they are strong enough to keep it: might, and not right, will become their sole title to possession. The Governor sincerely hopes that a correct appreciation of the real interests of the Maori race will induce the adherents of the native king to conform to Her Majesty's declared wishes, and to abandon the baneful and dangerous course they are pursuing. Her Majesty has an earnest solicitude for the welfare of her native people, and it will be the duty of the Governor to give the fullest effect to measures calculated to secure that end. The Maoris cannot be more anxious than the Queen and her Governor for the complete establishment of law and order amongst the Maori people, and that the institutions of the Government should be, as far as practicable, in accordance with their interests and wishes; but the Maoris must not forget that these objects are unattainable without their own cordial co-operation. The Governor last year convened a meeting of chiefs to consult with him upon native affairs, and has declared his intention again to assemble chiefs from all parts of these islands for the same purpose. Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of these proceedings. It is the Governor's wish that the coming conference should devise measures for the introduction of law and order, and the establishment of useful institutions in native districts; and it will be his earnest desire to give effect to any measures approved by the conference, which appear likely to promote the welfare of the native people, and to bring all Her Majesty's subjects in these islands, both European and Maori, under one law, upon terms of equality. The Governor earnestly hopes that the chiefs and people who are adherents of the Maori king, will abandon their perilous position: they will then receive the same invitation as the other natives of New Zealand to choose some of their most respected and influential chiefs to represent them in the approaching conference, and to afford special assistance in its deliberations. The Governor now states specifically what his demands are—

"1. From all—Submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty, and the authority of the law.

"2. From those who are in possession of plunder taken from Her Majesty's European or native subjects—Restoration of that plunder.

"3. From those who have destroyed or made away with property belonging to Her Majesty's subjects, European or native—Compensation for the losses sustained.

"Compliance with these demands will satisfy the Queen and her Governor. No other demand will be made on Waikato. The past will be forgiven, and for the future the well-conducted will be protected, offenders punished, and the rights and privileges of all maintained by the Queen and her laws.

"Government House, Auckland, 21st May 1861."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

NEW ZEALAND.

The two last mails have brought letters and documents of deep interest and importance from New Zealand, throwing great light upon the transactions of the past few months, and of the state of affairs at the present moment; as well as upon the bearing they are likely to exercise upon the future. Those who have watched the course of events, and kept themselves acquainted with the views maintained by those who defended and those who deprecated the policy of the Colonial Government, will find matter for special thankfulness in the course which events have taken, and gather hope therefrom in looking forward to the termination of the crisis. We would point especially to the nomination of Sir George Grey to the Governorship, than whom no man living commands more of the confidence of all parties in the island;—to the restoration of peace, with an express stipulation that the investigation of the title to the disputed block at the Waitara shall be resumed at the point where it was broken off by the war;—to the renewed declaration on the part of the authorities of the inviolability of the treaty of Waitangi;*—to the repeated acknowledgment by the Government of the tribal right;—to the initiation of measures for establishing a tribunal for settling land questions, accompanied by an alteration in the system of land purchasing;—to the hearty desire expressed by the native conference at Ngaruawahia to negotiate rather than fight;—and to the growing conviction that the war was an unjust one, and the native policy of the New-Zealand Government unsound. This last revolution of opinion is indicated, not simply by the altered tone of the public press, but by the fact that the New-Zealand Ministry has been defeated on the question of native policy in the new House of Representatives; and Mr. Fox, the author of the pamphlet "On the War in New Zealand," has been invited to form a new Ministry.

Some of the points above enumerated have been adverted to on former occasions. Others will appear from the following series of extracts—

Extracts from a letter of the Bishop of Waiapu, dated Auckland, June 4th, 1861—

"After hearing much, and reading much, upon the painful subject of the native question, I beg to assure you that I most fully agree with the view which is taken by the Committee of our Society, in common with Sir W. Martin, the Bishop of New Zealand, the whole body of our clergy, and a large proportion of the House of General Assembly.

"You will have been informed that a sort of peace has been made at Taranaki, and that the large body of the troops has been removed to Auckland. I say a sort of peace, because, after the high grou nd the overnor has been endeavouring to maintain, the said peace does not seem to be becoming the dignity of the Government.

"The attention of the Government is now turned towards Waikato, against which there are two grounds of complaint. First, many of the natives of Upper Waikato joined with those of Taranaki in the late hostilities against the Government; and secondly, Waikato is the seat of the Maori King movement. The Governor now requires from the Waikato natives that this King movement shall be given up, and if the natives can be induced quietly to abandon it, I believe that the difficulties will be very much simplified. The chiefs of that quarter are holding a meeting at this time. Sir William Martin, and several other friends of the natives, have written to urge upon them this step, feeling that it would place them in a more favourable position with the Government. It would be well, too, if this is conceded, for another reason. The Government have entirely failed in their conflict with the natives of Taranaki, and it would have had somewhat of a healing effect to the wounded honour of the Government to be able to say they had succeeded in this particular. It is well for all parties that the season of the year is against military operations. The soldiers are kept quiet, the natives will have time to consider their course, and the general excitement will cool down. Then, too, the House of Assembly, which was opened yesterday, will have the whole policy of Government before them, and it will doubtless undergo a searching examination. Mr. Burrows has now been absent at Waikato for the last three weeks, for the purpose of using his influence with Tamihana Tarapipipi, who is the most influential man of the King party.

"You are quite aware, from the papers you have had before you, of the causes which led the natives to take up the King movement; but there is one feature of the case which has not been much insisted on. It comes out in the letter of Renata, the Ngapui chief: it is the dissatisfac-

* "See the Governor's proclamation, "Recent Intelligence," September.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

tion which has been given to the natives by the irregularities of the proceedings of the land-purchase department.

"We are at this time on the very brink of a precipice. All may be well; but if, on the one hand, the natives should be obstinate, and tenaciously hold to the King movement; or if, on the other, the Government should not make those concessions to the natives, which a large portion of the community think they ought to make, redressing the grievances of which they have just reason to complain, and should rush headlong into a renewal of hostilities, after the example of what they did at Taranaki, they will have, not merely Waikato, but probably the greater part of the natives of this northern island, joining in the conflict; not carrying on an open warfare, which disciplined soldiers could easily dispose of, but retiring to the fastnesses of the country, from whence they could send out small parties to harrass and destroy all the outlying settlers from north to south. Our confidence is in the Lord who reigneth, that He will so order the hearts of men, that the natives shall yet be preserved as a people, and that our own Government may be restrained from proceeding to extremities in a war which, without doubt, was commenced with injustice."

Extract from a letter of Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, dated Taupiri, May 30, 1861—

"I trust the horizon is a little brighter, but still clouds hang over the future of New Zealand, and especially Waikato. I feel persuaded that Wiremu Tamahana (William Thompson) and the Ngatihaua will not consent to doff the flag, or to give up the name King; and nearly all Waikato are unanimous on this point, *i. e.* they will not give it up through fear of the strong arm. A few months of moral force may possibly, with the Divine blessing, induce them to lay aside this obstacle to a cordial union of the two races. A chief called upon me to say they were most anxious to have a good system of law introduced, saying his own brother had been deeply injured (a case of adultery), and he did not wish to have recourse to their old Pikange (custom). His word to me was, 'We must have law: never mind the flag, it is only a sign that we will not sell our land; it is not opposition to the Queen.' This has been the uniform reply of all the chiefs who have spoken to me on this subject. Wiremu Tamahana told me, when he had determined to go to Taranaki, that the object of his visit was peace, to separate the combatants, and to allow the Queen to decide upon the disputed point. His words were—'*Ka kele ahau i te wahi papaku ka matu aheu,*' i. e. 'If I see a shallow place, I will work; if the quarrel is not too deep, I will use my influence to separate the combatants, and leave the matter (*i. e.* the land) for the Queen to judge.' He so far succeeded, that on his arrival at Taranaki he asked the general to suspend hostilities for two or three days. This was granted. He then assembled the different tribes—Wiremu Kingi (Te Rangitakei) and his tribe, Te Atiawa, Ngatiawa, and Hapurona; Rewi and his tribe from Waikato, also Epeha, a chief; Ngatimaniapoto from Kawhia, and Mokau and Ngatiruanui, from the south.

"I give the substance of Thompson's interview with these tribes, as given me by my native deacon, Rev. J. Tarawhiti, whom I sent to see Thompson on his return. It is as follows—

"*Thompson*—'The reason of my coming here is to convey the words of the Ministers and Maoris also. This is why I came to see Waitara, and to see the commanders of the war, and to visit you, Rangitakei, so that I may learn the grounds of this quarrel.'

"*William King* replies—'The quarrel is not mine, neither is Waitara. They are yours.

"*Thompson*—'With you is the quarrel; with you is Waitara.'

"*William King*—'It is with you.'

"*Thompson*—'A man has head, feet, and hands. Waikato is the feet. That is why I say Waitara is with you.'

"*William King*—'You are the head.'

"*Thompson*—'You are the head.'

"*William King*—'Yes; I am the head. Waitara is mine: the quarrel is mine. Here let Waitara be for you.'

"*Thompson*—'You see my hand (closing it), it will not let water spill: if I do this (opening it), the water will spill. How do you give Waitara to me; like this (closing his hand), or like that (opening his hand?'

"*William King*—'My giving of it is free (open-handed); I do not say another word about it after this.'

"*Hapurona*—'My brother, this is the word, that which William King has declared.'

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"*Thompson*, turning to Waikato, said—'Upset this.' He then turned to Te Atiawa, King's tribe—'Upset this.' Then to Ngatiruanui—'Upset this.' And last of all to Ngatimaniapoto—'Upset this.'

"*Rewi*, Chief of Waikato—'We have not another word to say: it is said as we wished. The feet are the feet; the head is the head. King is the head, and he has done it.'

"*Thompson* said—'Waikato, Patua, upset this; destroy it.'

"*Epeha*, Chief of Waikato, said—'Mine is the same as Rewi's.'

"*Thompson*—'That is all: Waikato, return to your place. Te Atiawa, King's tribe, return to Maitaitawa. Ngatiruanui, to your place. Let the soldiers return to New Plymouth. Waitara, let it be left for the law to protect.'

"Thompson was quite successful. The different parties returned to their homes, and William King accompanied Waikato on their return. He is now daily expected at Ngaruawahia, where a large meeting will be held. I was truly glad to give my worthy brother Burrows a hearty welcome. He arrived here last week, and will no doubt give the Society full particulars of proceedings at this all-important time.

"With regard to Thompson, although he is, and has been, the chief support of the King, or rather the *land* league party, he has always professed loyalty to the Queen. He did all he could to prevent natives of his tribe from going to Taranaki, and when a few would go, in spite of his remonstrance, he followed them as a peacemaker, and to bring them back. Terms have been agreed to by Hapurona, Te Atiawa, *i.e.* Ngatiawa, but William King has not yet acceded to them. Separate terms are to be offered to Waikato and Ngatiruanui. I trust a few months of quiet and persevering effort may induce them to fall in with them, as no military operations can be carried on during the winter. In the mean time the friends of the natives are not idle.

"Sir W. Martin has written to Thomson, and his letter has had considerable influence. The bishops also have written, and I do believe that God will be better than all our fears, and exceed our warmest expectations. We shall see what our God will do for us and for our poor people. It is a blessed thing to trust in Him: we shall never have reason to be ashamed of our hope; but I do believe we shall have reason to be ashamed of our unbelieving fears: if we could only believe, we should more frequently see the salvation of our God. Another ground of hope is, all the natives (originating entirely among themselves) throughout Waikato keep the tenth day of each month as a day of fasting and prayer, that peace may be established, and those natives who have backslided may be restored. My own native teachers continue to meet every morning at ten A.M. for prayer for the same object. Some of the natives have been accused in the public papers of erasing the name of the Queen from the Common-Prayer Book, and not using the prayers for her. This is not the case in this district, for even at Ngaruawahia the prayer for the Queen is used, and throughout the Taupiri district, as I see my teachers the first Monday in every month, I know this to be the case. The Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiruanui, and the belligerent tribes, I cannot speak of, excepting the Ngatihaua, whom I and teachers visit. We always use the prayers for the Queen and Governor, and no objection has been made: on the contrary, I do not remember an instance in which the prayer has not been followed by responses."

Extracts from a letter of the Rev. Robert Burrows, dated June 11, 1861—

"I wish I had something more definite and satisfactory to communicate than what my last letter contained. I then informed you that the natives were just assembling at Ngaruawahia for the meeting. On the same day I wrote, a letter from the Governor arrived at the place of meeting, and on the morrow I was the bearer of a copy of it to the Rapa, where William Thompson, William King, Te Rangitake, and about 500 natives were then assembled, preparatory to their coming down to join those already assembled at Ngaruawahia. In the evening Thompson read the letter to the leading men of the several tribes then assembled, who expressed no opinion further than of a want of confidence in any document emanating from the Government.

"I spent the Sabbath with this people, and on the Monday they moved on and joined the other tribes at Ngaruawahia. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were spent in talking and eating, but it was not until Thursday that any real question of importance was discussed, when the following points were brought forward—

"1. The taking down of the King flag, and the breaking up of the combination into which they had entered to keep their lands, &c.

"2. The restoration of plunder, and payment for what had been destroyed.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"3. What they would regard as a recommencement of hostilities on the part of the Government.

"The first question was almost entirely disposed of by Thompson himself, who commenced by denying that the flag, &c., had ever been intended to ignore the Queen's supremacy as a protector of their rights and privileges, but was a badge of a combination which they had formed not to part with more of their lands, and also that they had agreed to hold meetings, &c., which should take cognizance of, and suppress, evil among themselves. He detailed the good which he considered had resulted from their combination, mentioning

"*a.* That disputes about boundaries, which existed at the commencement of the 'combination,' had been set at rest.

"*b.* That other disputes of the same kind, which had arisen since, had been quietly arranged.

"*c.* That drunkenness, adultery, and other evils, had been suppressed.

"*d.* And that they were now working to suppress existing evils.

"He then contrasted the good which had resulted from the 'combination' with the evil which had arisen from the Governor's going to Taranaki with troops. He denied that the flag had been the cause of the Waikatos going to Taranaki, but maintained that blood relationship would have driven them to it, had there been no flag. He particularized the relationship between some of the leading Waikato men who had been to Taranaki and William King. He expressed his goodwill towards the colonists generally, remarking that he had never fought against the Pakeha, but had been instrumental in stopping fighting at Waitara, and that he wished for peace; *but* intimated, that in the event of the renewal of hostilities, he should not be able to *remain neutral*. He then ended with saying, that when the flag was set up upon any land fairly sold to the Queen, or when it otherwise interfered with the rights of the colonists, then would be the time for the Governor to interfere.

"The question of the restoration of plunder, and making compensation for the destruction of property, was disposed of by the following argument—

"The Queen's troops commenced the war by going to Taranaki, attacking William King's pa, driving him from thence, burning and destroying his pa, and what was in it, taking and appropriating what cattle he and other natives had at Waitara, and by otherwise setting fire to and destroying their property. That, therefore, the Governor having set the example, was responsible for what followed, and that they regarded it as unfair to demand restitution and compensation for what the Maoris had destroyed, when the Governor did not say a word about compensating them for their losses. Reference was also made to the loss they had sustained in the number of their relatives killed, which they regarded as no small payment (utu). They said, moreover, that comparatively little plunder had been brought away by them, as they did not go to plunder, but to fight the soldiers who were fighting against their friends, &c.

"The discussion on the third question had reference to the future survey of Waitara by the Government, and the movements of the troops.

"1. They would regard the survey of any portion of William King's land, or the lands of his tribe, at the present time, as a recommencement of hostilities on the part of the Government.

2. The stationing of troops at Mangatawhiri (the point where the great south road meets the Waikato River,) or on any other point or place where it would be clear that hostile movements towards them were intended, would also be a call to them to awake out of sleep, as they expressed themselves.

"A fourth question was discussed, but it had reference to us as Missionaries, when it was very unanimously decided that no harm should befal us from them, happen what may, so long as we remained amongst them, and pursued our proper vocation as ministers of 'peace and goodwill.'

"At the conclusion of the meeting, a rough copy of a letter to the Governor, drawn up by Thompson, in which he enters into many of the questions discussed, was read to the leading men of the several tribes, and generally agreed to. When I left on Friday last, the 7th instant, it was undergoing a revision. It will probably be delivered by the end of this week. They wish it to be printed for public information."

Writing July 5, Mr. Burrows was able to enclose the formal reply of the native conference to the Governor. It is, he says, "without doubt, THE answer to the Governor's declaration, and one which deserves the serious consideration of the Government at this time. It expresses the feelings of *nine-tenths* of the natives in the island, and shows what might be hoped for, if sufficient time were given for negotiations, and proper measures introduced for their adoption."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"Letter to His Excellency the Governor from the Runanga assembled at Ngaruawahia.

"Ngaruawahia June 7, 1861.

"FRIEND THE GOVERNOR,—Salutations to you. This is a word to you from the Maori Runanga. Hearken! This is our thought to you: Tell us of the death for this island first, and let the fighting be afterwards. Let not the proceeding be like that in the case of Taranaki, which we and you worked at in the dark: we did not understand what was the good of that quarrel. Let you and me deliberate carefully this time: these are our thoughts at the present time. We hear 'korero' (reports), the report of which is going about Waikato, and comes from where you are: that the General insists upon (urges) a war with Waikato. If this report is correct, write to us; let the talk come first, and do you carefully weigh the matter (turn the matter over in your mind). Let this be the result of reflection, even the withdrawal of the troops, who, we hear, are clearing the roads. If a stockade is made for the soldiers at Te Iia (Mangatawhiri), and at other places, our opinion is this:—Be not in haste to begin hostilities: let us duly remember the words of St. James, 'Slow to wrath, swift to hear.' This, O Governor, is what we think; do you look to these things, even fighting with words against the errors or offences of the Maories, and let it (the offence) be clearly laid down, that the eyes of the great and of the small may clearly perceive it, ere you be swift to wrath. This is our policy. We are not going to rise up to fight: rather will we wait until the eyes have seen, the ear heard, and understanding has entered into the heart; then shall we see what is the good of fighting, and there will be a just cause for the chastisement inflicted upon evil men, that is, us Maoris.

"But now, O friend! restrain your angry feelings against all parts of New Zealand. Let our warfare be that of the lips alone. If such be the course pursued by us it will be a long path; our days will be many while engaged in fighting that battle. Let it not be transferred to the battle (fought) with hands. That is a bad road, a short path; our days will not be many while engaged with the edge of the sword. But do you, the firstborn of God's sons, consider these things. Let not you and me be committed to the short path; let us take the circuitous one: though circuitous, its windings are upon firm ground.

"PROVERB.

"Not by the direct path, that means traveller's fare—short commons. Let us take the circuitous route, that means abundance, or the portion of the stayer at home.

"Nor more, O friend. It is for you to interpret the meaning of those proverbs. There are more to come. No more,

"From the RUNANGA MAORI.

"His Excellency, the Governor of New Zealand."

Mr. Burrows adds—"Thompson is now absent down the coast, no doubt employed in gaining adherents to his cause, and thus, although anxious for peace, preparing for war. Another mistake the Government has made is in treating Thompson rather as an insurgent than as a peacemaker, which he has really been."

Extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Morgan, dated Otawhao, May 29, 1861—

"William King, of Taranaki, is now on a visit to the Waikato tribes, and about the end of this week he will reach Ngaruawahia. The proposed great meeting will then be held, and the question of peace or war will probably be then settled. The present is one of the most critical moments in the history of New Zealand. Our only refuge is in prayer to God, that it may please Him to overrule the hearts of the assembled chiefs, to humble their pride, and dispose them to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the Queen. It is impossible now to say whether the Government will be able to arrange terms of peace or not. I have not heard what terms the Governor is likely to propose to the Waikatos; but it is generally reported that he will require them to abandon the Maori King movement. On this point, as far as we can yet judge, the natives of the Upper Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto are most obstinate. The peace of the colony, and the preservation of the Maori race, requires that the Queen's supremacy should be maintained, and that the Maori flag should no longer be a rallying-point for the aborigines, to lead them on to war. Whatever may be said on the subject of the Maori King movement by those only partially acquainted with it, it is beyond controversy that, had the King movement and land league not existed, the Waikatos would not have joined the Taranaki war. The Ngatiruanui deputation was sent up to hand over to the Maori king, not the Waitara only, but all

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

Taranaki, prior to the sending away of the troops from Auckland. King was preparing for the struggle, depending on the assistance of the Waikatos, and in this he was not disappointed. The Waikatos, on their part, considered themselves bound to assist any tribes who received their flag, in their opposition to the sale of land, whether in Waikato, Taranaki, Napier, or elsewhere. This was the chief object of the league and king. They consider themselves, and plainly affirm, that, under the king's flag, they are 'a united people,' and not, as formerly, separate and distinct tribes. In this feeling of nationality and independence in Maori districts lies the danger at the present time. As a general rule, the tribes do not wish for a renewal of the war, but they object to the terms of peace, as far as they are known. The Ngatimaniapotos object to give up their plunder, and nearly all Upper Waikato, Mokau, and Taupo object to resign the flag and abandon the king. On the Lower Waikato a better feeling exists, and I trust that many will be found ready to yield the flag; but at the same time I do not think that the majority of the meeting will agree to it. There is a strong feeling of pride as well as of nationality in the Maori mind, and this feeling will deeply influence their resolutions. It is a most difficult subject to deal with. On the one hand the Government consider it necessary that the flag and king should be abandoned; and, on the other hand, the aborigines inquire why they, a distinct race, cannot have a flag and a king on their own ground. If war is again commenced at the south with the Ngatiruanuis, many of the Waikatos say that they will return to Taranaki to fight; and if war is brought into the Waikato, then there is great fear that the natives resident near the southern towns may suddenly rise in arms. Such is our present state and prospects, and God alone knows what a single day may bring forth. If the natives could be persuaded to yield the points required by Government, then civil institutions could be introduced; but the natives are utterly incompetent to establish order and carry out law without the assistance of the British. It is to us a most anxious time. We have no fears as to our personal safety; but, situated as we are, in the very centre of the disaffected Waikatos, we feel deeply interested in passing events. If peace could now be restored on a just and solid basis—if the aborigines could be brought to feel that their interests would be best promoted by submission to the Queen—then peace would be restored, and union cemented between the two races. But should war enter our borders, no doubt the Taranaki tribes will again rise, and no can tell how many fresh tribes will join in the struggle. It is fearful to contemplate a renewal of the war. Being the winter season, it is favourable for peace; for although I have no hope that the coming meeting at Ngaruawahia will yield to the demands of the Government, a favourable change might take place in their views before the winter is over. May it please God, in his infinite mercy, to convince them of their sin and folly, and lead them to submit themselves to those who are placed over them."

Extract from a letter signed "Fabius," in the "New Zealander," of June 1, 1861—

"But notwithstanding the results that have thus attended the King movement in Waikato, it is undoubtedly desirable that it should be put down. The same fact which renders it justifiable renders it also possible peaceably to effect this: it is, that we can govern the Maoris better than they can govern themselves. I remember, in the discussion on the government of the Indian empire, a sentiment was expressed—I think by Lord Ellenborough—which was received with great applause, that the best security of British rule in India was 'the willing obedience of a prosperous and contented people.' The remark is equally applicable to New Zealand. If the Maories once saw the Government making earnest efforts to teach them civilization—if they saw their social condition improving, and their children receiving a really good education—we should, I believe, hear no more of land leagues and kings."

In a *Memorandum* of the Governor, dated May 27, 1861, in anticipation of the opening of the Assembly, the following important clauses occur. They clearly recognise the tribal right; and, while pointing out the evil of it, propose to the natives themselves a *voluntary* and gradual renunciation of it, and offer suggestions as to the formation of a tribunal for adjudication of disputes respecting the land.

The clause respecting education is significative in the present day, as indicative of the wide-extended determination of the British Government to dissociate religion from the education provided by the State—

"IV. Will they declare the whereabout of the hapus belonging to their tribe, and give a list of the families which compose each hapu, and the names of the chiefs who represent it? and if this can

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

be effected, will they be further willing to register the boundaries of the land belonging to each hapu, with the names of the chiefs whom they wish to act as trustees of such land for them; an assurance being then given that no purchase would be made within those boundaries without the assent of the trustees so registered?

"VII. Believing, as I do, that real civilization of the natives is impossible so long as their communal title continues in its present form, I am most anxious to induce them to register the lands belonging to their different hapus, as being a great advance towards individualization of property and the removal of disputes attending the alienation of land.

"IX. The opinion of the three judges has been given in reference to the establishment of a tribunal, having jurisdiction in disputes relative to land over which the native title has not been extinguished. They have not entered upon details, but it occurs to me that a judicial officer (*query*, a judge), residing in Auckland, should have power to issue a commission, enabling the holder to associate two native assessors with himself, and then to empanel a jury, as advised by the judges. I am myself inclined to think that the decision of a commissioner, with disinterested native assessors, would be safer, and more likely to decide impartially than a Maori jury; but I hesitate to advise any thing not exactly in accordance with the opinion of the judges: such a court, however constituted, would be powerless, unless both parties consent to abide by its decrees; but time and experience might give it additional influence.

"XIV. The education of the Maoris has hitherto been entrusted solely to the religious bodies, and the effect has been necessarily confined to certain districts. There is no school at all north of Auckland. No school has ever existed in many of the most populous places, more particularly in the Ngatiruanui country; and in one school only is any attempt made to give instruction in agriculture. Government is not less bound to care for the secular instruction of its people than the church is for their religious teaching."

We conclude these documents with a reprint of a Memorandum forwarded to the Government, July 6, and signed by the Bishop of New Zealand and several of the Society's Missionaries. Other signatures will be added in due time. It cites some passages from the Governor's Memorandum of May 25, which we did not place among our former extracts from that important paper, because they come in with greater force here—

"*Auckland, July* 4, 1861.

"*To his Excellency Governor Gore Browne, C.B.*

"SIR,—We, the undersigned, desire to draw your Excellency's attention to the following statements—

"1. That at the time of the breaking out of the war at Taranaki, there was no part of Her Majesty's dominions in which life or property was more secure than in the districts bordering on the Waikato river:

"2. That the native inhabitants of those districts, and especially those on the Lower Waikato, have always maintained friendly relations with the colonists:

"3. That the native inhabitants of those districts have shown a remarkable aptitude and willingness to receive English institutions, under the guidance of officers appointed by the Government:

"4. That Potatau, the so-called native king, was the firm friend of the English Government, from the time of Governor Hobson to the day of his death:

"5. That neither he nor his son ever encouraged their people to take any part in the war at Taranaki, nor have participated in any plunder from English settlers:

"6. That the same statement applies to William Thompson Tarapipipi, who is commonly reputed to be the chief supporter of the native king. It will be found on inquiry—

"That he has always been a friend to the English people:

"That he used his best endeavours to prevent any members of his tribe from going to Taranaki:

"That he controlled and led back quietly to their own places a party who came down to inquire into the death of Erietera at Putamahoe:

"That he has not participated in the plunder of any English settlers:

"That by his influence in sending back the fighting parties to their own homes, the Government has been enabled to withdraw its forces from Taranaki.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"7. That a Committee of the House of Representatives has investigated with the greatest care and patience the causes and history of the King movement, and recognised its true character '*as an effort to obtain law and order*.' (Report of Waikato Committee, F., No. 3.)

"8. That the main causes of distrust and irritation are believed to be these:—

"1. The uncertainty of the relations between the two races; and

"2. The system of land purchase.

"9. On the first point, Mr. Fortescue has admitted in his speech in the House of Commons on the 11th of April, as reported in the 'Times,' that—

"'The Governor of New Zealand is "obliged to act under a constitution which appears to have been framed in forgetfulness of the large native tribes within the dominions to which it was intended to apply."'

"10. And we observe that your Excellency has stated in your Memorandum of the 25th of May 1861, § XI., that—

"'Some of the most populous districts—such as Hokianga and Kaipara—have no magistrates resident among them; and many—such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape—have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and have little reason to think that the Government of the Colony cares at all about their welfare.'

"And further, in § XII. of the same Memorandum—

"'In New Zealand the Government is, and always has been, unable to perform *its duty* for want of a sufficient number of agents trained and qualified for the service required of them.'

"And further, that unless the native department be 'entirely remodelled,'

"'The Government will never be able to take its proper part in establishing institutions for the native race, or obtain any real hold upon their *confidence*.'

"11. On the second point, namely, the system of land purchase, we observe with satisfaction that your Excellency, in your Memorandum of the 15th of May 1861, § XVI., has given your opinion that

"'The system of purchasing land requires alteration.'

"And, again, § XVII., No. 13—

"'Alter the system of purchasing land, and, for the present, purchase only in districts which remain undisturbed.'

"12. We have no wish to say more on this subject than to express our opinion that the existing system of land purchasing has been one main cause of suspicion and dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives.

"13. We are glad to find also, from a letter to your Excellency of the 9th of May 1861, that the judges of the Supreme Court are of opinion

"'That a competent tribunal might probably be established by the formation of a land jury, selected by lot or otherwise from members of the various tribes in previously defined districts, nominated by such tribes as are competent to act in that capacity, to be presided over by a European officer or commissioner (not being an agent of the Crown for the purchase of land) conversant with the Maori language, and assisted, if necessary, by a native assessor, and whose duty it should be merely to propound the questions for the decision of the jury, to record their verdict, and to administer oaths to witnesses.'

"We are of opinion that the want of some such tribunal as that proposed by the judges is one main cause of dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives.

"14. We have only to add that we believe that the present unsatisfactory state of the relations between the two races may, in a great measure, be remedied by the suggestions your Excellency and the judges of the Supreme Court, carried out with the co-operation of the natives themselves.

"15. We are ready to assist the Government in our various districts, by inquiring into the causes which have produced dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives, and by using our influence to secure their co-operation. We have no reason to think that any of the New Zealanders desire to be the Queen's enemies. To effect any object with them, time and patience are absolutely necessary. But we believe that all the present difficulties admit of a peaceable solution."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

YORUBA MISSION.

EVENTS of considerable importance have taken place in this Mission. The notorious Are, the tyrant of Ijaye, is dead. At Abbeokuta four out of eight of the principal chiefs have died within twenty months—two very recently, one of the latter being Ogubonna, the firm friend of the Missionaries, and one who was at least almost persuaded to be a Christian. Lagos, again, has become a British possession, having been formally ceded, by treaty, on the 5th of August; while a treaty has been entered into with the king of Porto Novo, with a view to the suppression of the trade in slaves carried on from that port, and the substitution for it of legitimate commerce. These events cannot fail to exercise an important influence, the results of which may be expected speedily to develope themselves.

We are thankful, also, to report that letters have been received from Mr. Hinderer at Ibadan. The Mission party there are much straitened for want of cowries and the European necessaries of life; and Mr. Hinderer's health has suffered, principally in consequence of exposure during a perilous journey to Lagos and back; but they have been mercifully preserved, and write in good spirits. A few extracts from recent letters will exemplify these brief statements.

Of Ogubonna, the Rev J. B. Wood writes (Sept. 6, 1861)—

"He had been ill for some time in the camp; but his death—so far as I am aware—was unlooked for when it came. In April last he sent a messenger from the camp to us to send him a Book of Common Prayer and a Book of Psalms. I sent him two copies of each, hoping that they might be useful, and praying that the blessing of God might rest upon them. Since his death, I have heard that he had these read to him regularly on Sundays by one of his daughters, who had learned to read in one of our Mission schools; that he always observed Sunday in camp as a day of rest, when he had prayers read by the daughter just mentioned. When he fell sick the heathen priests told him that it was Ifa who was angry with him on account of his meddling so much with books. At this he only smiled, and kept on. When he seemed to be dangerously ill, the priests of Ifa threatened to tear the books in pieces, mix them with the grass, and let the horses eat them. They were prevented from doing this. I have not heard any thing particular of his last moments. One cannot but wish there had been something more decided and satisfactory. But he has departed beyond the praise or censure of man, to that great tribunal where 'we must all stand to give an account of the things done in the body.' He was undoubtedly Abbeokuta's best chief, as he was the long-tried, able, and faithful friend of Missionaries. No one has done in this country for civilization and commerce so much as he. It is not a little remarkable that two such chiefs (Shokenu and Ogubonna) should end their course so nearly together. Both were powerful and very influential. Each had a clear understanding, remarkably free from the petty prejudices of the masses of the people in this country. From the first visit of Missionaries to

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

this town, both seemed to comprehend, to a large extent, their views, and have almost unceasingly helped them in their difficulties. Both gave some of their own children to be trained in the Christian religion—both defended Christians in persecution; but in this Ogubonna stands the first — both, doubtless, had great failings. At this one does not wonder so much as their being so far in advance of those they governed. But a sad, almost a painful regret, is left on the mind, that men who went so far as they did—especially as Ogubonna did—who saw things so clearly, who acted so energetically, and, I believe, sincerely, should not have gone further, and have thrown off the trammels which bound them to a system in which, if they had any, they had very little faith.

"On the 25th of August the Are of Ijaye died. Report states, that as soon as he was dead, one of his principal slaves ran to the Ibadans to inform them of his death. The Ibadans would not believe it, they said they had been so often deceived. They said they would cut off the slave's head, for he deserved it; for if Are was not dead, he was deceiving them, and for that he deserved to pay for it with his life; and if Are was dead, he (the slave) deserved not to live, for he could not be a worthy man who could, after having been a confidential servant of Are's, run to them—Are's enemies—as he had done.

"We have heard that when the Ibadans knew of a truth that Are was no more, they made overtures of peace to the Ijayes, and requested that both might join against the Egbas. This was not agreed to. I state these only as reports: I cannot say what truth there may be in them."

Mr. Hinderer writes (Aug. 2)—"And now as to our present situation. Country provisions are very cheap here, as everybody is working his farm, and we could easily live upon them but for cowries. We are as badly off as before I went to Lagos. . . . . As to the European provisions, only a little reached us, the rest was lost on the road; and what I brought up is still in Ipara for want of a safe road to come up by; and if we had that, we have no cowries to pay the heavy carriage. But there was great mercy in some of the flour having reached Ibadan; for during my long attack of dysentery, had we not had flour we must have lived on yam, the worst thing for that complaint. Our people have been making farms, which helps them as well as us a little. During my absence Mrs. Hinderer had to pinch very much; but she managed cleverly, too, in turning old tin linings of deal boxes, biscuit tin boxes, lucifer match boxes of tin, and all sorts of things, into cowries. At present we are living on the articles of clothing and household utensils, which, however, have to be sold very much under their value. We do not know how we shall fare further on if the war lasts; but the Lord has helped us wonderfully hitherto: He will help us through to the end."

Mr. Hinderer gives an account of the negotiations on Are's death, which, when fairly interpreted, must be considered as substantially the same with that received from Abbeokuta. He hears that the Egbas sent to the Ibadan camp, proposing, as a condition of peace, *that Ijaye should be left to Abbeokuta;* that is, that the Egbas should have a footing in the Yoruba country (proper). This was refused, the principle on which the refusal was based being that Ibadan and Ijaye, as *Yoruba* towns, though now at variance, must hold together, and cannot be severed by making over the latter to the Egbas.—All these towns are the original habitat of the Egbas, who were driven out

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

to Abbeokuta by the Yorubas, when they in turn fled before the Foulahs. It is said that the Egbas are now bent on recovering their long-lost possessions, and determined to destroy Ibadan. Captain Bedingfield, of H.M.S. "Prometheus," it is believed, will exert himself to bring about a peace.

NIGER MISSION.

No further intelligence has been received from the steamers which have gone up the river. "The absence of intelligence," remarks Mr. Maser (Lagos, Sept. 10th), "is better than many letters. We hope the ship (the gun-boat 'Espoir,' which had been detained by her too deep draft of water) has gone abroad in the Niger, finding her element, like Noah's dove, and did not return, and we trust the Lord has assisted our friends to come out from their perilous situation."

The last words refer to the position of Dr. Baikie and the Mission agents at the Confluence and Onitsha. A packet of letters has been received from each of these places, by a circuitous route, and after much delay, the messengers from the Niger having found it impossible to make their way through the districts disturbed by war. The latest date from the Confluence is Jan. 5, 1861; from Onitsha Nov. 16, 1860. The non-ascent of the ships last year had not only reduced the several parties at these places to great straits for want of supplies, and shaken the confidence of the inquirers, but had greatly imperilled their safety. "As regards the church-members," writes Mr. Thomas, from Onitsha (Nov. 16th), "they are very good attendants, only they are still holding us with one hand, as some of them said, until Mr. Taylor arrives, before they know what they are about."

Dr. Baikie writes (Oct. 11, 1860), "I have just received very alarming accounts from the Ibo country. No ship having come, the natives below, headed by Aje of Abo, are threatening the lives of all in the factories. By Mr. L. Lyall's and my orders, Abo has been evacuated, and the people at Onitsha, but their things are equally dangerous. I have this morning sent to the Atta (of Idda) to request his immediate interference, and from his always professed friendship, I believe he will assist me. It is beyond Masaba's jurisdiction, or I would be sure of help. The Mission at Gbegbe is safe, but the people very badly off, and I can do but little to help them till I get supplies, which I have sent for. I am living on credit, and having fortunately acquired much influence around, I can keep this place quiet.

"It is a great pity no ship has come, every thing looked so promising. I have laboured harder than I fear I ever will be able to do again, but I have been blessed with excellent health. Our settlement looks so well that I am sorry no one has come to look at it: and on this very spot, not a year ago, the people on the opposite side of the river were afraid to land. Now I can send a high messenger anywhere, and all the roads are open to him.

"I have got accustomed to the people; and, in spite of their rudeness and savageness, I like them, and they seem to be accustomed to me, for my word goes far with them. In the present state of matters, I do not see how I can leave this place and no one behind me, as I believe my personal presence here just now does much to keep things quiet.

"The Ibos are a very troublesome people: human sacrifices are as rife as ever, and I begin to despair of doing any thing with the present generation. It would be hardly prudent to leave Mission stations here, except we have an open communication. We have now been isolated since last December, though now I think the Yoruba road is open, at least I am sending to try."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

As already observed, it was not so. "Abbega and Mr. Dalton," says Mr. Maser, "reached as far as Illorin, but were not allowed to pass further south on account of the war: they returned again to the Niger, and Dasaba sent a man with the despatches to a captain of Ibadan, who occupies the Efon country on the north-east of Ibadan, and by him the box was forwarded to Ibadan. There was a country letter in the box which was found here, consisting of a long hair and a curled African's hair, tied together, and some Malaquetta paper. It is supposed this was put into the box in case some accident should happen to the man, to show the natives and the white and black man who were forming the Niger expedition were in great distress, but that they had not perished."

NEW ZEALAND.

The New-Zealand mail has brought intelligence which will call forth songs of praise from the lips of those whose souls have been exercised with anxieties respecting its interesting people, and its rising church. It may be too early yet to say that all danger has passed away; but it is passing, and we shall be wanting in faith if we hesitate to accept what has already been accomplished (by the hand of a watchful Providence speakingly interposing at a crisis rarely surpassed in urgency) as an earnest of future and larger blessings. He who has begun the good work will assuredly complete it. The *Times'* correspondent speaks of the change of the Colonial ministry as reducing the chances of war to a *minimum*. The new Secretary is Dr. Featherston, who was deputed by the Wellington natives to protect their interests in the General Assembly. The new Attorney-General is Mr. Fox, a name familiar enough to our readers; and who, besides his exertions in opposition to a war policy in New Zealand, will be remembered as the brother of the Missionary Fox of Masulipatam. No fresh purchases of land will be made until arrangements have been made for the settlement of disputes; and thus a fertile source, and, indeed, well nigh the only source, of collision will be avoided. Our own correspondence speaks of the announcement of Sir George Grey's appointment as having given "universal joy," and as "one of the brightest events that has happened to New Zealand."

Archdeacon Kissling writes, August 8th—

"I called on the Parent Committee to sympathize with us in the miseries of war, which have well nigh ruined this goodly heritage, which it pleased God the Father to give to his blessed Son. There are still some plants of righteousness amongst us in blossom, and we hope and pray that they will bear fruit in due season, to his praise and glory. I have now the high satisfaction to convey to the Parent Committee tidings which will lead them to participate in our joy and thankfulness to Almighty God. He is our refuge, and we have a fresh proof that the Lord Omnipotent reigneth. I close this letter with a happier mind than I have done my last fifteen letters to you."

Archdeacon Hadfield (Aug. 5, 1861) says—

"Those persons who fancied that I and a few other clergymen were the only objectors to the Governor's war policy will be surprised that the result of a new election has been an unqualified condemnation of that policy. The king movement will have to be dealt with. I have always regarded it as more serious than it was generally thought to be.

"The natives in my district are perfectly quiet. I have never before been so convinced of the effect of religion upon them. There, is of course, chaff among the wheat."

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

CEYLON COOLY MISSION, AND TINNEVELLY.

THE Rev. Septimus Hobbs has recently paid a visit to the scene of his former labours in South India. His object was to seek assistants for his own Mission among the Tamil coolies in Ceylon. In this he was happily successful, and his success in this respect alone is a speaking testimony to the progress of Christianity in Tinnevelly. But his letter, after disposing of this, breaks off into a description of the state of that Mission which cannot fail to carry joy into the hearts of those interested in the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and call forth thanksgivings for the manifest outpourings of his Spirit.

Mr. Hobbs writes from Kandy, September 19th, 1861—

"It is with devout thankfulness to the God of all mercy that I now write to communicate to the Parent Committee some account of my recent visit to Tinnevelly in search of catechists.

"The result is an accession of six catechists to the staff of the Cooly Mission, who, being added to a few who had arrived before I left, and two or three of the former staff, who have consented to remain here, and four more who have been offered for the work from Jaffna, and whom I accepted, complete the full number I desired. They have all arrived in Kandy, except the four from Jaffna. May God be pleased to endue them richly with his Holy Spirit, and prosper their work of faith and labour of love.

"Besides the supply of catechists for the present necessity, I endeavoured to arrange for a continued succession, a point which I esteem to be of first-rate importance in every Mission; and several of my Missionary brethren have heartily consented to send young men into the Preparandi Institution especially for the Cooly Mission, when pious and otherwise suitable persons are found to volunteer for this service. Four are already admitted on these terms; but I regret to say that there is no more room in the Institution, and eight is the lowest number likely to be sufficient. Another wing ought to be added immediately to this invaluable Institution for preparing catechists. In the mean time, as the catechists of the Cooly Mission will always have something to do in the management of schools, it is desirable that some of them should have the advantage of the Training Institution, and I have requested that the other four may be admitted there, which request, I am happy to say, has been acceded to.

"There were many more volunteers for the work of the Cooly Mission amongst the senior catechists in Tinnevelly, a large proportion of whom were occupying such important positions in their respective districts that they could not be spared. I mention this fact, because it is a most gratifying proof, to my mind at least, that the motives which have influenced the catechists in offering themselves to this work are not such as have been attributed to them in some quarters. It can scarcely be supposed that men holding such high positions in the church in their native country could have thought that they should improve their finances by becoming ordinary catechists of the Cooly Mission. It is satisfactory to know that the native church

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

in Tinnevelly deserves to be more highly esteemed, and is evincing the true Missionary spirit, which is one of the most reliable signs of spiritual vitality.

"The first Mission station we arrived at after leaving Tuticorin was Paneivilei. Mr. Tucker and I landed at Madras on the same day, just nineteen years ago. It was a great pleasure to meet, after nearly eight years' absence, to unite in praise to God for his goodness in preserving us to labour in his vineyard for so long a time, and pray for a continuance of this high privilege. Time would fail to describe all that was gratifying in this and other stations—crowded congregations, flourishing schools for boys and girls, Preparandi classes, Bible classes, and every other sign of continued advancement. Mrs. Tucker's large Bible class of women was most interesting. Their reading was perfect, and the intelligence with which they replied to questions on Christian doctrine and practice, and the readiness and aptness with which they quoted Scripture, would have done credit to a class of catechists. The influence of educated Christian women can scarcely be over-estimated.

"After a most delightful visit to this station, we went on to Palamcotta, where I formerly resided for four years in charge of the seminary. The advance which has been made since then is most striking and gratifying. Indeed, I have never seen elsewhere Mission establishments so complete as the Preparandi and Training Institutions here.

"Fraternal affection may be supposed to induce some degree of partiality in speaking of an institution conducted by the beloved husband of a beloved sister, and my opinion may be taken *cum grano salis;* but I never saw a public institution conducted better than the Training Institution here. Seventy youths and young men, preparing for the office of schoolmasters, receive here instruction in the best method of teaching, and there is a model school and a practising school in the same compound, containing about eighty or ninety day-school children. Amongst them all it is very rare to see a downcast face. The cheerfulness of the whole establishment is most striking, and yet there is the most complete order and discipline. There is but one thing to desire in these two Institutions, which is their enlargement. They are the heart of the Mission, which we want so much in Ceylon, and without which the Ceylon Mission can never prosper.

"From Palamcotta we went on to Nallur and Pavur, where I had formerly resided for six years. The district of Pavur was, as might be supposed, the most interesting part of the province to me. Numbers of the people had come as far as Palamcotta (thirty miles) to meet us, but were disappointed, and obliged to return before our arrival there, because we had been detained a fortnight longer than we anticipated. Many, however, came and met us at Nallur. I arranged to go and see all the principal congregations in the district, and having found my old congregation-book at Nallur, I took it with me. That book contains the names of all the Christian professors (men, women, and children) at the time of my being compelled to leave the district from the failure of my health, seven years and three-quarters since. It distinguishes the unbaptized, baptized, confirmed, and communicants; with an account of the memoriter lessons acquired by each, and other particulars. In every congregation that I visited, I called over the old names, in order that I might not pass over any of my old friends without a word to each individual. The stedfastness of the people was thus put incidentally to a very severe test, and I rejoice to say that the result exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The relapses to heathenism have been very few in-

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

deed, but the accessions from heathenism very numerous. The people who were baptized before I left answered immediately to their names. But when I called the heathen names of those who had not been baptized before I left, there was hesitation in most cases until the individual replied, 'That is not my name now: I am baptized.' In some cases the heathen names were so completely forgotten, that the individual intended could not be distinctly made out. The people were greatly pleased to see me again. There had been two boarding-schools at the station, one for boys and the other for girls, and I was greatly interested in tracing the history of the scholars. The boys' boarding-school usually contained about twenty pupils; and I succeeded in tracing the history of twenty-eight of the scholars. Three of them are now employed as Scripture-readers; nine are schoolmasters; four are in the Training Institution at Palamcotta; one has been removed by death; nine are following secular occupations, all of them, except one, being spoken of as consistent Christians; and two, who were then very little boys, are still scholars in the boarding-school at Nallur. This is a result for which I cannot feel sufficiently thankful to Him without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy. And the gratification which I could not but feel was greatly enhanced on hearing from other Missionaries that the success of the boarding-schools in other districts has been at least equally great. It was not so easy to trace the history of the girls, because they have been married away into distant parts of the country; but we found out a great many of them, and were glad to see them respectably married and apparently very happy. There was one, and only one, of whom we heard a bad account; and it was one who had been received in the first instance rather with the view of rescuing her from danger. But time and space both warn me that I must pass on from this intensely-interesting visit to my whole district. I have, indeed, already far exceeded the limits I intended when I began to write, and yet seem to have said very little. One thing, however, I must not omit, which is, that every one who has spoken with coolies who have been in Ceylon and returned to their villages, speaks of them as having gained very much Christian knowledge from the preaching of the catechists of the Cooly Mission, and as being very well affected towards them. Some have embraced the truth since their return to their country.

"From my old district I returned to Palamcotta, and set out on a visit to the North Tinnevelly Itinerancy. Of all the interesting things I saw and heard here, I have only time to mention one, and that very briefly: it respects the late revival. I went to several of the villages where this influence had been felt, and saw many of the people who had been the subjects of it. All extraordinary excitement has long since ceased; but the solid effects remain to this day in the renewed life of many who had been notorious evil livers, but are now, through grace, consistent and exemplary Christians. It was much more extensive than I had supposed, and was not confined to Christian professors. I am of the opinion that we heard more about the extravagances and excitement than those things deserved; that the work itself was of God, and does and will remain.

"But I must conclude. I have seldom, if ever, enjoyed anything so much as this visit to the scene of my former labours. I met with the utmost cordiality and kindness everywhere, and from everybody; but the crowning point was that I witnessed advancement everywhere. Increase in the number of professing Christians, advancement in knowledge, advancement

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

in efficient machinery, and, above all, reliable indications of advancement in spirituality. That there is still room for improvement I admit; but dull indeed must my heart be if it did not glow with gratitude to God for such mercies bestowed, not only on the obscure corner of the province in which it was once my privilege to labour, but also, and much more abundantly, on the labours of my beloved colleagues.

"I perceive that I have been diverging from my subject. I began to write about my search after catechists, and have been stating my impressions respecting other things, on which I was not called upon to report. My only apology is, that what the heart is full of will find expression; and I have naturally supposed that the Committee will be pleased to hear of things which I was so delighted to see."

NIGER MISSION.

The expedition, consisting of H.M.S. "Espoir" (gunboat), and the "Sunbeam," has returned in safety to the Nun, after ascending the river as far as the Confluence. The gunboat was fired upon in the Delta, and lost two men. Two native villages were destroyed. The Mission parties, as well as the government officers and factory agents, were found well at Onitsha and the Confluence. "Here is much cause for thankfulness," writes Mr. Crowther, "to the God of all mercies, who is the preserver of all mankind. Under great privations for want of supplies to buy provisions for their necessary food, that the health of these persons should be preserved hitherto is a plain proof that the Niger, as a river, has nothing in it peculiar to itself more deadly to Europeans than any other African rivers."

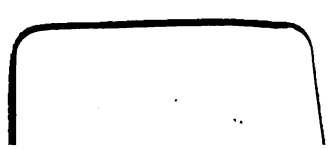
Of the Mission agents Mr. Crowther writes—"I was very glad to meet Messrs. Smart and Romaine, the two [native] Christian teachers at this place, in good health. That they suffered trials and encountered many difficulties there can be no doubt. To be repeating each particular circumstance is to repeat what others have again and again repeated, as common in the beginning of a new Mission among the heathen, but which all have overcome by faith and patient labour in the strength of the Lord." Mr. Crowther speaks of the state of the Mission as most hopeful, and adds, "How could these stations be given up without doing the greatest injury imaginable, both to the converts who are just coming forward, and to the population at large, who are just becoming acquainted, by daily observation, with the principles of the Christian religion?" The teachers who have so long and so well borne, alone and isolated, the burden and heat of the day, have been relieved for a season, and others are taking their places; while a new station has been commenced at Acassa, at the mouth of the river. Mr. Crowther's journal will be published with as little delay as possible.

DECEASE OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, late Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, died near Dublin, on October 22d, after a short illness.

Mrs. Mason, wife of the Rev. W. Mason, of the North-West-America Mission, died at Brompton on the 10th of October.

Mr. J. M. Flad died at Lagos on the 18th of July.

INVITATION TO PRAYER.

The prayers of the friends of Missions are desired on behalf of Mr. William Soans and Mr. John Cooper of the Church Missionary College, Islington, Candidates for Deacons' Orders at the hands of the Bishop of London, on Sunday, the 22nd inst.